Mer Harper

# CYPRIANUS ANGLICUS:

OR, THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# Life and Death,

OF

The most Reverend and Renowned PRELATE

# WILLIAM

By Divine Providence,
Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *ENGLAND*, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of the Universities of *Oxon.* and *Dublin*, and one of the Lords of the Privy Council to His late most SACRED MAJESTY

King CHARLES the First,

Second MONARCH of *Great Britain.*

*CONTAINING ALSO*

The Ecclesiastical History of the Three Kingdoms of *ENGLAND, SCOTLAND*, and *IRELAND* from His first rising till His Death.

---

By *P. Heylyn* D.D. and Chaplain to *Charles* the first and *Charles* the second, Monarchs of *Great Britain.*

---

ECCLUS. 44. VERS. 1, 3.

1. *Let us now praise Famous Men and our Fathers that begat Us.*
3. *Such as did bear Rule in their Kingdoms, Men Renowned for their Power, giving Counsel by their Understanding, and Declaring Prophesies.*

---

*LONDON:*
Printed for *A. Seile*, MDCLXVIII.

To the Honourable

Sir *JOHN ROBINSON* K^t and Baronet,

HIS MAJESTIES

Lieutenant of the Tower of *London.*

SIR,

*YOU have here before you the History of an Eminent* Prelate *and* Patriot, *a Person who lived the honour, and died a Martyr of the English Church and State, for it was his sad Fate to be crusht, betwixt* Popery *and* Schism; *and having (against both) defended the Protestant Cause with his* Pen, *he after chearfully proceeded to Seal that Faith with his* Bloud. *Together with the Story of this* Great Man, *you have likewise that of the Age he lived in, (especially so far as concerned the Church) wherein you will find recorded, many notable Agitations and Contrivances, which it were pity should be lost in silence, and pass away unregarded. These Considerations towards a Gentleman of your worth, Curiosity, and loyalty, are warrant enough to justifie me in this Dedication. And yet I must not conceal, that it belongs to you by another right; that is to say, the Care of recommending this Work to the Publick, was committed to a*

*Gentleman, who himſelf had preſented it to your hand, if God had not taken him away, juſt upon the point of putting his purpoſe in execution. So that it ſeems in me, as well matter of Conſcience, as of Reſpect, to deliver it wholly up to your Patronage and Protection; ſince in expoſing it to the world, I do but perform the will of my dead* Father; *and in addreſſing it to your ſelf, together with my own, I alſo gratifie that of* my deceaſed Friend. *The value of the Work it ſelf I do not pretend to judge of, my duty and intereſt for the Author forbids it, but for the Induſtry, Integrity, and good meaning of the Hiſtorian, I dare become anſwerable; And in truth, I hope well of the reſt: without which I ſhould not have made bold with* Sir John Robinſon's *Name in the Front of it; who being ſo nearly related both in bloud and affection to that Incomparable and Zealous Miniſter of God, and his Prince, cannot beſides a Natural, but upon an Honourable Impreſſion, concern himſelf in the glories or blemiſhes of this Character, defective in nothing, but that it could not be as ample as his worth. And now having diſcharged my truſt, and duty; as I could do no leſs, ſo I have little more to add for my ſelf, but that I am*

SIR,

Your moſt humble and

obedient Servant

HENRY HEYLYN.

# A Neceſſary INTRODUCTION To the following HISTORY.

BEFORE we come unto the Hiſtory of this Famous Prelate, it will not be amiſs to ſee upon what *Principles* and *Poſitions*, the *Reformation* of this Chutch did firſt proceed; that ſo we may the better Judge of thoſe *Innovations* which afterwards were thruſt upon her, and thoſe Endeavours which were uſed in the latter times to bring her back again to her firſt Condition.

1. Know therefore, that King *Henry* viii. having obtained of the *Biſhops* and *Clergie*, in their *Convocation*, *Anno* 1530. to be acknowledged the *Supream Head* on Earth of the Church of *England*, did about three years after, in the 26 of his Reign, confirm the ſaid *Supremacy* to Himſelf, his Heirs and Succeſſors, with all the Priviledges and Preheminencies thereunto belonging, by Act of Parliament. And having procured the ſaid *Biſhops* and *Clergie*, in another of their *Convocations*, held in the year 1532. to promiſe *in verbo Sacerdotii*, not to aſſemble from thenceforth in any *Convocation*, or *Synodical* Meeting, but as they ſhould be called by his Majeſties Writ; nor to make any *Canons* or *Conſtitutions*, *Synodal* or *Provincial*, without his Leave and Licence thereunto obtained; nor, finally, to put the ſame in Execution, till they were Ratified and Confirmed under the Great Seal of *England:* Procured alſo an Act of Parliament to bind the *Clergie* to their promiſe. Which Act, called commonly, *The Act of the Submiſſion of the Clergie*, doth bear this *name* in *Poulton*'s Abridgment, *viz. That the* Clergie *in their* Convocation, *ſhould Enact no Conſtitutions without the Kings aſſent*, Anno 25. *Henry* viii. *c.* 19. Which Grounds ſo laid, he cauſed this Queſtion to be debated in both Univerſities, and all the Famous Monaſteries of the Kingdom: *viz. An aliquid authoritatis in hoc Regno* Angliæ, *Pontifici* Romano *de jure competat*, *pluſquam alii cuicumq; Epiſcopo extero.*

I.

Submiſſion of the Clergie,

Character,

and

*extero.* Which Queſtion being concluded in the Negative, and that Concluſion ratified and confirmed in the *Convocation*, *Anno* 1534. there paſt an Act of Parliament about two years after, Intituled, *An Act Extinguiſhing the Authority of the Biſhops of Rome*; In which there was an Oath preſcribed, for abjuring the *Popes* Authority within this Realm: The refuſing whereof was made High-Treaſon, *Anno* 28. *H.* viii. *c.* 10.

Ejection of the Pope.

II. No Diminution of the Power and Priviledges of the Church by the Alteration.

2. But this Excluſion of the *Pope*, as it did no way prejudice the *Clergy* in their power of making *Canons*, *Conſtitutions*, and other *Synodical* Acts, but only brought them to a dependance upon the King for the better ordering of the ſame; ſo neither did it create any diminution of the Power and Priviledges of the Arch-Biſhops, and Biſhops in the free exerciſe of that Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction which anciently belonged to them. For in the Act of Submiſſion before-mentioned, there paſſed a Clauſe, that all former Conſtitutions *Synodal*, or *Provincial*, which were not contrary to the Word of God, the Kings Prerogative Royal, or the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, ſhould remain in force, until they were reviewed and fitted for the uſe of the Church, by 32 Commiſſioners, to be nominated by the King for that end and purpoſe: Which review being never made in the time of that King, nor any thing done in it by K. *Edw.* vi. (though he had an Act of Parliament to the ſame effect) the ſaid Old Canons and Conſtitutions remained in force, as before they were. By means whereof, all cauſes *Teſtamentary*, *Matrimonial*, and Suits for Tythes; all matters of Incontinency, and other notorious Crimes which gave publick Scandal; all wilful abſence from Divine Service, Irreverence, and other Miſdemeanours in the Church, not puniſhable by the Laws of the Land, were ſtill reſerved unto the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. Thoſe Ancient *Canons* and *Conſtitutions* remaining alſo for the perpetual ſtanding Rule by which the proceedings in thoſe Courts were to be regulated and directed; ſo as it doth appear moſt clearly, that it was not the purpoſe of that King, either to diminiſh the Authority, or to interrupt the Succeſſion of Biſhops, which had continued in this Church, from the firſt Plantation of the Goſpel, to that very time: but only to diſcharge them from depending on the *Popes* of *Rome*, or owing any thing at all to their *Bulls* and *Faculties*, which had been ſo chargeable to themſelves, and exhauſted ſo great a part of the Treaſure of the Kingdom from one year to another.

III. The manner of Electing and Confirming Archbiſhops and Biſhops, Eſtabliſhed by King HENRY viii.

3. Upon this ground he paſt an Act of Parliament, in the 25. year of his Reign, *for the Electing and Conſecrating of Archbiſhops and Biſhops.* In which it was Enacted, that on the Vacancy of every Biſhoprick within this Realm, his Majeſty ſhould iſſue out his Writ of *Conge d' eſlire* to the *Dean* and *Chapter* of the Church ſo Vacant, thereby enabling them to proceed to the Election of another Biſhop; that the Election being returned by the *Dean* and *Chapter*, and ratified by the Royal Aſſent, his Majeſty ſhould iſſue out his Writ to the *Metropolitan* of the Province, to proceed unto the

the Confirmation of the Party Elected; and that if the Party ſo Confirmed, had not before been Conſecrated Biſhop of ſome other Church, that then the *Metropolitan* taking to himſelf two other Biſhops at the leaſt, ſhould proceed unto the Conſecration, in ſuch form and manner, as was then practiſed by the Church; ſo that, as to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Conſecration, there was no alteration made at all. Thoſe which were Conſecrated after the paſſing of this Statute, were generally acknowledged for true and lawful Biſhops, by the Papiſts themſelves; or otherwiſe Dr. *Thomas Thurlby*, Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, had never been admitted to have been one of thoſe who aſſiſted at the Conſecrating of Cardinal *Pool*, when he was made Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, on the death of *Cranmer*. All which recited Statutes with every thing depending on them, being abrogated by Act of Parliament in the time of Queen *Mary*, were revived in the firſt Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, and ſo ſtill continue. But ſo it was not with another alteration made in the form of exerciſing their juriſdiction by King *Edw. 6.* In the firſt Parliament of whoſe Reign, it was enacted, that all proceſs out of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts ſhould from thence forth be iſſued in the Kings Name only, and under the Kings Seal of Arms contrary to the uſage of the former times. Which Statute being repealed by Queen *Mary*, and not revived by Queen *Elizabeth*, the Biſhops and their ſubordinate Miniſters have ever ſince exerciſed all manner of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in their own Names, and under the diſtinct Seals of their ſeveral Offices.

ſtill continuing in effect notwithſtanding ſome Statutes to the contrary by K. EDW. vi.

IV. The Reformation of the Church under EDW. vi.

4. In Doctrinals and forms of Worſhip, there was no alteration made in the Reign of K. *Hen.* 8. though there were many preparations and previous diſpoſitions to it; the edge of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs being ſomewhat blunted, and the people indulged a greater Liberty in conſulting with the Holy Scriptures, and reading many Books of Evangelical Piety, then they had been formerly: which having left the way more open to Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, and divers other learned and Religious *Prelates* in K. *Edwards* time (ſeconded by the Lord *Protector*, and other great ones of the Court, who had their ends apart by themſelves) they proceeded carefully and vigorouſly to a *Reformation*. In the managing of which great buſineſs, they took the Scripture for their ground, according to the general explication of the ancient Fathers; the practiſe of the Primitive times for their Rule and Pattern, as it was expreſſed to them in approved Authors: No regard had to *Luther* or *Calvin*, in the procedure of their work, but only to the Writings of the Prophets and Apoſtles, *Chriſt Jeſus* being the *Corner-ſtone* of that excellent Structure. *Melancthons* coming was expected (*Regiis Literis in* Angliam *vocatus*, as he affirms in an Epiſtle to *Camerarius*) but he came not over. And *Calvin* made an offer of his ſervice to Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, (*Si quis mei uſus eſſet*, if any uſe might be made of him to promote the work) but the Arch-Biſhop knew the man, and refuſed the other; ſo that it cannot be affirmed, that

Modelled according to the Scriptures and the Ancient Fathers.

but

with relation rather to the Lutheran, then Calvinian Forms.

the *Reformation* of this Church, was either *Lutheran* or *Calvinian* in its firſt original. And yet it cannot be denied, but that the firſt *Reformers* of it did look with more reſpectful eyes upon the *Doctrinals*, Government, and Forms of Worſhip in the *Lutheran* Churches, then upon thoſe of *Calvins* platform; becauſe the *Lutherans* in their Doctrines, Government, and Forms of Worſhip, approach't more near the Primitive Patterns than the other did: and working according to this rule, they retain'd many of thoſe ancient *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, which had been practiſed; and almoſt all the *Holy Dayes* or *Annual Feaſts* which had been generally obſerved in the Church of *Rome*. Nothing that was *Apoſtolick*, or accounted Primitive did fare the worſe for being *Popiſh*; I mean for having been made uſe of in times of *Popery*: it being none of their deſigns to create a new Church, but reform the old. Such Superſtitions and Corruptions as had been contracted in that Church, by long tract of time, being pared away, that which was good and commendable did remain as formerly: It was not their intent to dig up a foundation of ſuch precious ſtones, becauſe ſome ſuperſtructures of Straw and Stubble had been raiſed upon it. A moderation much applauded by King *James*, in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*; whoſe golden *Aphoriſme* it was, *That no Church ought further to ſeparate it ſelf from the Church of* Rome, either in *Doctrine or Ceremony, then ſhe had departed from her ſelf, when ſhe was in her flouriſhing and beſt eſtate*, p. 77.

V. Biſhops a diſtinct Order from that of the Presbytery.

5. The ſucceſſion of Biſhops continued as it did before, but fitted in the form and manner of their Conſecrations, according to the Rules laid down with the fourth Council of *Carthage*, celebrated *Anno* 407. or thereabouts, and generally received in all the Provinces of the Weſtern Church, as appears by the Book of *Conſecrating Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops*, &c. Approved firſt by the Book of *Articles*, and confirmed in Parliament, *Anno* 5. 6, *Edw. VI.* as afterwards juſtified by the *Articles* of Religion agreed upon in Convocation in Queen *Elizabeths* time, *Anno* 1562. And by an Act of Parliament in the 8th. Year of her Reign, accounted of as part of our Publick Liturgies. And by that book it will appear, that Biſhops were then looked upon as a diſtinct *Order* of themſelves, and not as a different *degree* only amongſt the reſt of the *Presbyters*; For in the Preface to that Book, it is ſaid expreſly, *That it is evident to all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture, and Ancient Authors, that from the* Apoſtles *time there have been theſe* Orders *of Miniſters in the Church of Chriſt*, Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons: Not long after which, it followeth thus, *viz. And therefore to the intent theſe* Orders *ſhould be continued, and reverently uſed and eſteemed in the Church of* England, *it is requiſite, that no man* (*not being at this preſent*, Biſhop, Prieſt, or Deacon) *ſhall execute any of them, except he be Called, Tryed, and Examined, according to the form hereafter following*. But becauſe perhaps it will be ſaid that the *Preface* is no part of the Book, which ſtands approved by the Articles of the Church, and eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the Land,

let

let us next look into the Body of the Book it ſelf, where, in the Form of *Conſecrating* of *Arch-Biſhops*, or *Biſhops*, we finde a Prayer in theſe words, *viz. Almighty God, giver of all good things, who haſt appointed divers* Orders *of* Miniſters *in thy Church, Mercifully behold this thy Servant, now called to the Work and Miniſtry of a* Biſhop, *and repleniſh him ſo with the truth of Doctrine, and Innocency of Life, that both by word and deed he may faithfully ſerve thee in this Office*, &c. Here we have three *Orders* of Miniſters, *Biſhops*, *Prieſts*, and *Deacons*; the *Biſhop* differing as much in *Order* from the *Prieſt*, as the *Prieſt* differs in Order from the *Deacon*; which might be further made apparent in the different *Forms* uſed in *Ordering* of the *Prieſts* and *Deacons*, and the form preſcribed for the *Conſecration* of an Arch-Biſhop, or Biſhop, were not this ſufficient.

VI. The Power aſcribed unto the Prieſt or Presbyter,

6. But though the *Presbyters* or *Prieſts*, were both in *Order* and *Degree* beneath the *Biſhops*, and conſequently not enabled to exerciſe any publick Juriſdiction in *Foro judicii*, in the Courts of Judicature: yet they retained their native and original power in *Foro Conſcientiæ*, in the Court of Conſcience, by hearing the confeſſion of a ſorrowful and afflicted *Penitent*, and giving him the comfort of *Abſolution*, a power conferred upon them in their *Ordination*; in the Form whereof, it is preſcribed that the *Biſhop*, and the aſſiſting *Presbyters*, ſhall lay their Hands upon the Head of the Party who is to be *Ordained Prieſt*, the Biſhop only ſaying theſe words, *viz. Receive the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſins thou doeſt forgive they are forgiven, and whoſe ſins thou doeſt retain, they are retained*; *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, Amen.* Which words had been impertinently, and unſignificantly uſed, if the *Prieſt* received not thereby power to *abſolve* a ſinner, upon the ſenſe of his ſincere and true repentance, manifeſted in Confeſſion, or in any other way whatſoever. And this appears yet further by the direction of the Church, in point of Practice; For firſt, it is adviſed in the end of the ſecond Exhortation before the receiving of the Communion, that *if any of the people cannot otherwiſe quiet his own Conſcience, he ſhould repair unto his Curate, or ſome other diſcreet and learned Miniſter of Gods Word, and open his grief, that he may receive ſuch Ghoſtly counſel, and advice, and comforts, as his Conſcience may be relieved, and that by the Miniſtry of Gods Word, he may receive comfort, and the benefit of Abſolution, to the quieting of his Conſcience, and avoiding all ſcruple and doubtfulneſs.* Agreeable whereunto is that memorable ſaying of St. *Auguſtine*, viz. *Qui confiteri vult ut inveniat gratiam, quærat ſacerdotem.* Secondly, It is preſcribed in the *Viſitation* of *the Sick*, *That the Sick perſon ſhall make a ſpecial Confeſſion, if he feel his Conſcience troubled with any weighty matter, and that the Prieſt ſhall thereupon* Abſolve *him in this manner following*, "Our "Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who hath left power to his Church to *Abſolve* "all Sinners which truly repent and believe in him, of his great "Mercy forgive thee thy Offences; and by his Authority committed "to me, *I Abſolve* thee from all thy Sins, in the name of the Father, and

in hearing the Confeſſion of,

and

giving Abſolution to the Penitent Party.

" and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, *Amen*. Which form of *Abſolution*, is plainly *Authoritative*, and not *Declarative* only, (ſuch as that is which follows the *General Confeſſion*, in the beginning of the Morning and Evening Prayer) as ſome men would have it.

VII. The ſecurity of the Penitent provided for by the Church,

7. Now that the *Penitent*, as well in the time of Health, as in extremity of Sickneſs, may pour his Sins into the Boſom of the Prieſt, with the more ſecurity; it is eſpecially provided, by the 113 *Canon* of the Year 1603. " That if any man Confeſs his ſecret and hidden " ſins to the Miniſter, for the unburthening of his Conſcience, and " to receive ſpiritual Conſolation and eaſe of Minde from him, we " do not any way binde the ſaid Miniſter by this our *Conſtitution*: but " do ſtreightly charge and admoniſh him that he do not at any time " reveal and make known to any perſon whatſoever any Crime or Of- " fence ſo committed to his ſecretie, (except they be ſuch Crimes as " by the Laws of this Realm his own Life may be called in queſtion " for concealing the ſame) under the pain of *Irregularity*. And by incurring the condition of *Irregularity*, the party offending doth not only forfeit all the *Eccleſiaſtical* Preferments which he hath at the preſent, but renders himſelf uncapable of receiving any other for the time to come. *Confeſſion* made upon ſuch ſecurity will be as ſaving to the *Fame* of the Penitent, as the *Abſolution* to his Soul. In which reſpect it was neither untruly nor unfitly ſaid by a learned Writer, *Dominus ſequitur ſervum*, &c. Heaven (ſaith he) waits and expects the Prieſts Sentence here on Earth; for the Prieſt ſits Judge on Earth, the Lord follows the Servant: and what the Servant bindes or looſeth here on Earth (*Clave non errante*) that the Lord confirms in Heaven.

and

the Authority of Abſolution more fully juſtified.

VIII. The ſeveral Offices which be performed by the Prieſt,

8. The like Authority is veſted in the Prieſt or Presbyter at his *Ordination* for officiating the Divine Service of the Church, offering the Peoples Prayers to God, Preaching the Word, and Miniſtring the Holy Sacraments in the Congregation; Which *Offices*, though they may be performed by the *Biſhops*, as well as the *Presbyters*: yet they perform them not as *Biſhops*, but as *Presbyters* only. And this appears plainly by the Form of their *Ordination*, in which it is preſcribed, that the *Biſhops* putting the Bible into their hands, ſhall pronounce theſe words, *Take thou authority to preach the Word, and Miniſter the Holy Sacraments in the Congregation where thou ſhalt be ſo appointed.* In the officiating of which Acts of Gods Divine Service, the *Prieſt*, or *Presbyter* is enjoyned to wear a *Surplice* of white Linnen Cloath, to teſtifie the purity of Doctrine, and innocency of Life and Converſation, which ought to be in one of that Holy Profeſſion. And this St. *Jerome* tells us in the general, *Religionem Divinam alterum habitum habere in miniſterio, alterum in uſu vitaque communi:* that is to ſay, that in the Act of Miniſtration, they uſed a different habit, from what they uſe to wear at ordinary times. And what this different habit was, he tells us more particularly in his reply againſt *Pelagius*, who it ſeems diſlik'd it; and askt him what offence he thought it could be to God, that Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, or thoſe of any in-

attired at ordinary times in his Surplice,

and

teriour

feriour Order, *in Adminiſtratione ſacrificiorum candida veſte proceſſerint*, did in the miniſtration of the Sacraments beſtir themſelves in a white Veſture; ſo he *adverſ. Pelag Lib.* 2. with which compare St. *Chryſoſtom* in his 83 *Homily* on St. *Matthews* Goſpel, for the *Eaſtern* Churches: *And hereunto the* Cope *was added in ſome principal Churches, eſpecially in the Celebration of the Bleſſed* Euchariſt. Both which appear moſt evidently by the firſt *Liturgy* of K. *Edw.* 6. compared with one of the laſt clauſes of the Act of Parliament, 1 *Eliz.* c. 2. in which it is provided, *that ſuch ornaments of the Church and of the Miniſters ſhall be retained and be in uſe, as were in the Church of* England *by Authority of Parliament in the ſecond year of the Reign of King* Edw. vi. But this Veſture having been diſcontinued (I know not by what fatal negligence) many years together, it pleaſed the Biſhops and *Clergy* in the *Convocation*, *Anno* 1603. to paſs a *Canon* to this purpoſe, *viz.* "That in *Cathedral* and *Collegiate* Churches the "Holy Communion ſhall be adminiſtred upon principal Feaſt dayes, "ſometimes by the Biſhops, &c. and that the principal Miniſter uſing "a decent *Cope*, &c. *Canon* 24.

at extraordinary in his Cope.

9. In that part of Divine Service which concerns the offering of the peoples Prayers to Almighty God, it was required of the *Prieſt* or *Presbyter*; firſt, that in all the dayes and times appointed, he uſed the Prayers preſcribed in the publick *Liturgy*, according to the Act of Parliament, 1 *Eliz.* c. 2. and many ſubſequent *Canons* and *Conſtitutions*, made in that behalf. Secondly, "That he conformed himſelf "to thoſe *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, which were preſcribed in that Book, "and unto ſuch as ſhould be afterwards ordained by the Queens Ma"jeſty, with the advice of her Commiſſioners appointed, and au"thorized under the great Seal of *England*, for cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, "or of the *Metropolitan* of this Realm, as may be moſt for the ad"vancement of Gods Glory, the edifying of his Church, and the due "reverence of Chriſts Holy Myſteries and Sacraments. And third"ly, and more particularly, "That in his reading of the Prayers and "Pſalms, he turn his face toward the Eaſt, and toward the People in "the reading of the Leſſons or Chapters, as appears plainly by the Rubrick which directs him thus, "That after the reading of the "Pſalms, the Prieſt ſhall read two Leſſons diſtinctly, that the people "may hear; the Prieſt that reads the two Leſſons ſtanding, and turn"ing himſelf ſo as he may beſt be heard of all ſuch as be preſent. The Pſalms or Hymns to be indifferently ſaid or ſung at the will of the Miniſter; but the *Hymns* for the moſt part ſung with *Organs*, and ſometimes with other Muſical Inſtruments; both in the *Royal* Chappels and *Cathedral* Churches. Fourthly, "That he makes uſe of no "other Prayers in the Congregation; (and therefore neither before nor "after Sermon) then thoſe which are preſcribed in the ſaid Book of "Common Prayer: it being ſpecially provided in the Act aforeſaid, "that no Prieſt, nor Miniſter ſhall uſe any other Rite, Ceremony, Or"der, Form, or manner of Celebrating the Lords Supper openly,

IX. The Prieſt in his officiating the Divine Service of the Church,

Reſtrained to his appointed Poſtures,

Not permitted to uſe any Form of his own Compoſing.

or

" or privately, or *Mattens*, Evening Song, Adminiſtration of the " Sacraments, or other *open Prayers* (that is to ſay, ſuch Prayers as " are meant for others to come unto or hear, either in common " Churches, or private Chappels, *&c.*) then is mentioned or ſet " forth in the ſame Book. Fifthly, " That all Prieſts and Deacons " ſhall be bound to ſay daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, either " privately or openly, except they be lett by Preaching, ſtudying of " Divinity, or ſome other urgent cauſe. And ſixthly, " That the Cu- " rate that miniſtreth in every Pariſh Church, or Chappel, being at " home, and not being otherwiſe reaſonably letted, ſhall ſay the ſame " in the Pariſh Church or Chappel where he miniſtreth, and ſhall toll " a Bell thereto at convenient time, before he begin, that ſuch as are " diſpoſed, may come to hear Gods Word, and pray with him; ſo as in ſome caſes it may be ſaid of the Prieſt, as the Father doth of Chriſt, that he is, *Os ipſum per quod loquimur*, The very mouth by which we ſpeak unto our Father which is in Heaven. And though it be intended in the Act of Parliament, and expreſt in the Articles of Religion, that the Prayers are to be made in ſuch a tongue as may be underſtood of the common people; yet it is not meant as is declared in the Preface to the Book it ſelf, but that when men ſay Morning and Evening Prayers privately, they may ſay the ſame in any language that they themſelves underſtand. Nor was it meant but that the Morning and Evening Service might be uſed in the Colledges and Halls of either Univerſity in the Latine tongue, where all may be ſuppoſed to underſtand it; as appears clearly by the conſtant and continual practiſe of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxon*, in which the firſt Morning Prayers commonly read about ſix of the Clock, were in Latine: the Morning and Evening Service, with the Pſalms of *David*, being printed in Latine by themſelves for that end and purpoſe.

Tyed to officiate daily both at morning and evening,

but

With a liberty of officiating in the Latin tongue at ſome times and places.

X. Presbyters not to Preach without being Licenced,

10. As for the Preaching of the *word*, that belongs properly and originally (as the performance of all other Divine Offices did of old) to the Biſhops themſelves, as being the ordinary Paſtors of the ſeveral and reſpective Dioceſſes; and to the Prieſts no otherwiſe then by deputation, as *Curates*, and ſubſtitutes to the Biſhops, as may be proved out of the Inſtrument of their *Inſtitution*. For when a Clerk is to be admitted into any Benefice, he puts himſelf upon his knees; and the Biſhop laying one Hand upon his Head, and having the Inſtrument in the other, repeats theſe words, *viz. Te N. N. ad Rectoriam, de N. Ritè & Canonicè inſtituimus, curam & regimen animarum Parochianorum ibidem tibi in Domino committentes, & committimus per preſentes*; that is to ſay, that he doth inſtitute him into the ſaid Benefice, according to the Laws and Canons; committing to him by theſe preſents, the care and Government of the Souls of all the Pariſhioners therein: And therefore it concerns the Biſhop not to Licence any man to Preach to the Congregation, of whoſe good affections to the Publick, abilities in Learning, ſobriety of Life and Converſation, and conformity to the Government, Diſcipline, and

Form

form of Worſhip here by Law eſtabliſhed, he hath not very good aſſurance. For though the Prieſt or Presbyter by his Ordination hath Authority to preach the word of God in the Congregation, yet it is with this clauſe of Limitation, *If he ſhall be ſo appointed*; that is to ſay, ſufficiently Licenced thereunto and not otherwiſe. And none were *Licenced* heretofore, as was expreſly ordered in the injunctons of *Edward* VI. and Queen *Elizabeth*, but either by the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, who is to anſwer by the Law (for every Miniſter he admits into the ſame) for that Dioceſs only: or by the *Metropolitan* of the Province, for that Province alone: or finally by either of the Univerſities (upon the well performing of ſome publick exerciſe) over all the Kingdom. Conſidering therefore that every man that could pronounce well, was not found able to endite, and every man that could endite, not being to be truſted in a buſineſs of ſuch weight and moment; it ſeemed good in the Wiſdom of the firſt Reformers to compile ſome good and profitable Sermons (called by the name of *Homilies*) to be read carefully and diſtinctly on the Sundayes and Holy dayes for the inſtruction of the people.

By whom they were to be ſo licenced,

And why they were directed to the reading of Homilies.

11. Such courſe was taken for the peace and edification of the Church by the firſt *Reformers*, , not only in the choice of the men to whom they gave Licences to preach, but in ſupplying the defect and want of ſuch preaching by the Book of *Homilies*: and they had as great a care too for the keeping the people in good ſtomach, not cloying them with continual Preaching, or *Homilizing*: but limiting them to once a day, as appears by the Rubrick after the *Nicene* (or rather the *Conſtantinopolitan Creed.*) One Sermon or *Homily* in the mornings of Sundayes and other Holy dayes, for the edification of the elder; and Catechizing by way of queſtion and anſwer in the afternoon, for the inſtruction of the younger, was eſteemed ſufficient. *Lectures* upon the week dayes were not raiſed upon this foundation, but were brought in afterwards, borrowed by *Travers* and the reſt, toward the latter end of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, from the new faſhions of *Geneva*; the *Lecturer* being ſuper-added to the *Parſon*, or *Vicar*, as the *Doctor* was unto the *Paſtor* in ſome forreign Churches. Nor were they raiſed ſo much out of care and conſcience, for training up the people in the wayes of Faith and Piety, as to advance a Faction, and to alienate the peoples mindes from the Government and Forms of Worſhip here by Law eſtabliſhed. For theſe *Lecturers* having no dependance upon the Biſhops, nor taking the Oath of Canonical Obedience to them, nor ſubſcribing to the doctrine and eſtabliſht Ceremonies, made it their work to pleaſe thoſe Patrons, on whoſe arbitrary maintenance they were planted, and conſequently to carry on the *Puritan* intereſt, which their Patron drove at. A generation of men neither Lay, nor Clergy, having no place at all in the Prayers of the Church, where we finde mention only of Biſhops, Paſtors, and Curates; nor being taken notice of in the terms of Law, as being neither *Parſons*, nor *Vicars*: or, to ſpeak them in the

XI. Preaching or Homilizing only once a day on the Sundays and Holy dayes.

Lectures upon working dayes, by whom, and for what ends erected,

and

Of the dangers which aroſe from the Inſtitution.

vulgar proverb, neither fleſh, nor fiſh, nor good red herring: No creature in the world ſo like them as the *Bats*, or *Reremice*; being neither Birds, nor Beaſts, and yet both together. Had theſe men been looked upon in time, before their numbers were increaſed, and their power grown formidable, before the people went a madding after new inventions, moſt of the miſchiefs which have thence enſued might have been prevented. And had there been more reading of *Homilies* in which the Reader ſpeaks the ſenſe of the Church; and not ſo much of *Sermonizing*, in which the Preacher many times ſpeaks his own factious and erroneous ſenſe; the people might have been trained up in no leſs knowledge, but in much more obedience then they have been in theſe latrer times.

XII. Of Sacraments and Sacramentals.

12. As for the Sacraments which were advanced to the number of ſeven in the Church of *Rome*, this Church hath brought them back to two (as *generally neceſſary to ſalvation*) *Baptiſme*, and the *Holy Supper*: Four of the reſt, that is to ſay, *Marriage*, *Orders*, *Confirmation*, *and the Viſitation* (though not the *Extream Unction*) of *the Sick* being retained under the name of *Sacramentals* in our publick *Liturgy*: Of which the Book of Conſecrating Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, *&c.* is by the Act of Parliament 8 *Eliz. c.* 1. affirmed to be a Supplement, or Additional only (added, put to, and annexed, as the words do vary) to the ſaid Book of Common-Prayer. And of theſe four, two are reſerved unto the Biſhop, that is to ſay, *Confirmation*, and the giving of *Orders*; the other two, *viz. Marriage*, and the *Viſitation* of the Sick, being common to both alike, though executed in the moſt part by the Presbyter only. Of thoſe reſerved unto the Biſhop, the one is ſo reſerved *ad neceſſitatem operis*, becauſe it cannot be done without him: the other *ad honorem ſacerdotii* (as the Schools diſtinguiſh) becauſe it cannot be well done but by him. Touching the firſt, we have the general conſent of all ancient Writers, and the example of *Coluthus*, who took upon him the ordaining of *Presbyters*, contrary to the Rules of the Church, and the *Canons* of the moſt famous Councils. But when the buſineſs came to be examined, his *Ordinations* were declared to be null and void, becauſe he was a *Presbyter* only, and not a Biſhop; as is affirmed by *Athanaſius* in *Apol.* 2. The other grounded on the 8th. Chapter of the *Acts*, as St *Cyprian* in his 73. Epiſtle tells us; where *Peter* and *John* are ſaid to have laid hands on them in *Samaria*, which had been before Baptized in *the Name of the Lord Jeſus*, that *they might receive the Holy Ghoſt*, and that *by laying on of their hands they did receive the Holy Ghoſt accordingly*, verſe 16, 17. *Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur*, &c. "Which is alſo "done, ſaith St. *Cyprian* (and *Cyprian* flouriſht in the middle of the "third Century) amongſt our ſelves, when they which be already "Baptized, are brought unto the *Prelates* of the Church (*Præpoſitis Eccleſiæ offeruntur*) that by our Prayer and Impoſition of our "hands they may receive the Holy Ghoſt, and be ſtrengthened by "the Seal of the Lord. Upon which grounds (beſides the great antiqui-

No orders to be given but by Biſhops only,

and Confirmation reckoned for one of their peculiars.

antiquity of it) it was retained by the firſt *Reformers*, as in the *Rubrick* before *Confirmation*, in the *Common-Prayer-Book*. And had it been as diligently practiſed by the Biſhops in the declining times of this Church, as it was piouſly and religiouſly retained by them, it would have much conduced to their ſafe ſtanding in the Church, and procured a greater veneration to their Perſons alſo. The other two, *viz. Marriage*, and the *Viſitation of the Sick*, together with the *Burial of the Dead*, and the *Churching* of Women after Child-birth, are left to the officiating of the Prieſt, or Parochial Miniſter, unleſs the Biſhop pleaſe to take that work upon himſelf in ſome certain caſes.

The reſt promiſcuouſly permitted to the Presbyter alſo.

13. But as for *Penance* (one of the ſeven Sacraments in the Church of *Rome*) we muſt look upon in a double capacity. Firſt, As it was ſolemnly performed on *Aſhwedneſday*, as a preparative to the approaching Feaſt of *Eaſter*; the people humbling themſelves before the Lord in Sackcloth and Aſhes, whence it had the name. And ſecondly, As impoſed on ſuch particular perſons, as lay under the cenſures of the Church. Touching the firſt, it is related in the beginning of the *Commination*, that in the Primitive Church there was a godly Diſcipline, "That at the beginning of *Lent*, ſuch "perſons as were notorious ſinners were put to open Penance, and "puniſhed in this world, that their Souls might be ſaved in the day "of the Lord, and that others admoniſhed by their example might "be the more afraid to offend. The Reſtitution of which godly Diſcipline, though they much deſired; yet finding that the times were not like to bear it, they contented themſelves with preſcribing a form of *Commination*, to be obſerved upon that day, containing a recital of Gods Curſes thundered out againſt impenitent Sinners, to be publickly read out of the Pulpit, by the *Prieſt* or *Presbyter*; ſubjoyning thereunto one of the *Penitential Pſalms*, with certain Prayers which had been uſed in the *Formularies* of the times foregoing; and then proceeding to the Epiſtle and Goſpel (with the reſt of the Communion Service) appointed for the firſt day of *Lent* in the publick *Liturgy*. As for the other ſort of *Penance*, there was not any thing more frequent in the practice of the Church, and the diſpenſation of the Keyes, then the impoſing of it by the Biſhops and their Officers, upon Adulterers, Fornicators, and ſuch as otherwiſe have given ſcandal by their irregular courſe of life, or by their obſtinate inconformity to the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* here by Law eſtabliſht: upon performance of which *Penance* in the face of the Church, or in the way of *Commutation* for the uſe of the poor, they were to have the benefit of *Abſolution*, and conſequently be reſtored to the peace and boſom of the Church. And though there be no form preſcribed in our *Liturgy*, for the reconciling of a *Penitent* after the performance of his *Penance*, which I have many times wondered at; yet ſo much care was taken in the *Convocation* of the year 1640. that no *Abſolution ſhould be given, but by the Biſhop himſelf in perſon, or by ſome other in Holy* Orders, *having Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, or by ſome grave Miniſter*, (being a

## XIII.

Penance how far retain'd in the Church of *England*.

Not only as commemorated on Aſhwedneſday yearly,

but

As judicially impoſed on ſcandalous and notorious Sinners in the open Conſiſtory.

*Maſter of Arts at the leaſt) and Beneficed within the Dioceſs, to be appointed by the Biſhop, the ſame to be performed in the open Conſiſtory, or ſome Church or Chappel, the Penitent humbly craving, and taking it upon his knees*, Can. 13. Which was as much as could be done in that point of time.

XIV. Conſecration of Churches truly Primitive.

14. Such being the duty of the Prieſt, we ſhall next look upon the place and times in which they are to be performed; the place of publick Worſhip they call generally (according to the ſtyle of the ancient Fathers) by the name of the *Church*. For conſecrating or ſetting apart whereof to Religious uſes, I finde ſo great authority in the Primitive times, as will ſufficiently free it from the guilt of *Popery*: Witneſs the teſtimony which Pope *Pius* gives of his Siſter *Eutorepia*, in an Epiſtle to *Juſtus Viennenſis*, *Anno* 158. or thereabouts, for ſetting apart her own Houſe for the uſe and ſervice of the *Church*: Witneſs the teſtimony which *Metaphraſtes* gives of *Felix* the firſt, touching his Conſecrating of the houſe of *Cicilia*, about the year 272. And that which *Damaſus* gives unto *Marcellinus*, who ſucceeded *Felix*, for conſecrating the houſe of *Lucinia* for Religious uſes: witneſs the famous conſecration of the *Temple* of the *Holy Martyrs* in *Jeruſalem*, founded by *Conſtantine* the Great, at which almoſt all the *Biſhops* in the Eaſtern parts were ſummoned, and called together by the Emperors Writ: and finally (not to deſcend to the following times) witneſs the 89th Sermon of St. *Ambroſe*, entituled, *De Dedicatione Baſilicæ*, Preached at the Dedication of a *Church* built by *Vitalianus* and *Majanus*, and the invitation of *Paulinus*, another *Biſhop* of that Age, made by *Sulpitius Severus* his eſpecial Friend, *Ad Baſilicam quæ pro rexerat, in nomine Domini conſummabitur, dedicandum*, to be preſent at the Dedication of a *Church* of his foundation: which Dedications, as they were ſolemnized with Feaſtings, for entertainment of the company which reſorted to them; ſo were thoſe Feaſts perpetuated in ſucceeding Ages by an annual Repetition, or Remembrance of them: ſuch annual Dedication-Feaſts being called in *England*, *Wakes*, or *Revels*, and in ſome places only *Feaſts*, according the ſtyle and phraſe of their ſeveral Countries. I muſt confeſs that there occurs no form of ſuch Conſecration in our Engliſh *Liturgies*: thoſe times were more inclinable to the pulling down of old *Churches*, then building of new; witneſs the demolition of ſo many *Hoſpitals*, *Chanteries*, and *Free Chappels* in the unfortunate minority of King *Edward* vi. But when the times were better ſettled, and that new Churches began to be erected, and the old ones to be repaired, ſome *Biſhops* made a Form of *Conſecrating* to be uſed by themſelves on ſuch occaſions. And others followed a Form compoſed by Biſhop *Andrews*; a man as much averſe as any, from the Corruptions and Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*. But if the *Convocation* of the Year 1640. had not been ſo precipitated to a ſpeedy concluſion by the tumults of unruly people, it is probable, if not certain, that a Canon had been paſſed for digeſting an uniform

Honoured with Dedication Feaſts.

and

Thoſe Feaſts made annually,

and

Of the Form of Conſecration obſerved, but not preſcribed ſince the Reformation.

order

order of ſuch Conſecrations, as there was made a body of Viſitation-Articles for the publick uſe of all that exerciſed Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, which every Biſhop and Arch-Deacon had before faſhioned for themſelves.

XV. What kinde of Images they are, which were prohibited by the Queens Injunctions.

15. Next to the Conſecration of Churches, follows in courſe the neceſſary repair and adorning of them; not only required by ſeveral Canons and Injunctions of Queen *Elizabeths* time, the Canons of the Year 1603. and ſome Rubricks in the Book of Common-Prayer; but alſo by ſome Homilies which were made of purpoſe to excite the people thereunto: that is to ſay, the Homilies of the right uſe of the Church, for repairing and keeping clean the Church, and of the time and place of Prayer. The queſtion is, whether the uſe of painted Images on the Walls or Windows were tolerated or forbidden by the Rule of the Reformation; They which conceive them to have been forbidden by the Rules of the Church, alledge for defence of their opinion, the Queens injunction, publiſhed in the firſt year of her Reign, *Anno* 1559. the Articles of the Regal Viſitation following thereupon, and the main ſcope of the three Homilies againſt the peril of Idolatry. In the firſt of which it was ordered, firſt, "That to "the intent that all Superſtition, and Hypocriſie crept into divers "mens hearts might vaniſh away, no Eccleſiaſtical perſons ſhould ſet "forth or extol the Dignity of any Images, Reliques, or Miracles; "but declaring the abuſe of the ſame, they ſhall teach that all good-"neſs, health, and grace ought to be both asked and looked for only "of God as the very author and giver of the ſame, and of none other. "*Num.* 2. And ſecondly, That they ſhall take away, utterly extinct, "and deſtroy all *Shrines*, coverings of *Shrines*, all Tables, Candle-"ſticks, *Trindals*, and Rolls of Wax, Pictures, Paintings, and all "other Monuments of fained Miracles, Pilgrimages, Idolatry, and "Superſtition; ſo that there remain no memory of the ſame, in "Walls, Glaſs-Windows, or elſewhere, within their Churches and "Houſes; preſerving and repairing nevertheleſs both the Walls and "Glaſs-Windows: and that they ſhould exhort all their Pa-"riſhioners to do the like, within their ſeveral Houſes, *Num.* 23. "For which laſt, there follows afterwards a more ſpecial *Injunction*, *Numb.* 35. According whereunto this *Article* was framed to the Viſitation. *viz.* "Whither in all Churches, and Chappels, all Images, "Shrines, Tables, Candleſticks, Trindals, and Rolls of Wax, Pi-"ctures, Paintings, and other Monuments of feigned and falſe Mi-"racles, Pilgrimages, Idolatry, and Superſtition, were removed, "aboliſhed, and deſtroyed, *Numb.* 2. But theſe objections carried their own anſwers in them, it being manifeſt by the words both of the Articles and Injunctions, that it never was the meaning of the Queen, her Councel, or Commiſſioners, to condemn, aboliſh, or deface all Images, either of Chriſt himſelf, or of any of the Prophets, Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſſors, and other godly Fathers in the Church of Chriſt; the abuſe whereof is ordered to be reformed by the

The Articles of the Regal Viſitation,

and the firſt Injunction, but only to remove ſuch Pictures of falſe and feigned Miracles, as had no truth of being, or exiſtence in Nature; and therefore were the more abuſed to Superſtition, and Idolatry in the times of *Popery*. In anſwer to ſuch paſſages as are alledged out the ſaid Homilies, it is replyed; firſt, that is confeſſed in the beginning of the laſt of the ſaid three *Homilies*, that Images in Churches *are not ſimply forbidden by the New Teſtament*, *Hom.* Fol. 39. And therefore no offence committed againſt the Goſpel, if they be uſed only for Hiſtory, Example, and ſtirring up of pure Devotion in the ſouls of men; in which reſpect called not unfitly by Pope *Gregory*, *The Lay-mans Books*. Secondly, The Compilers of thoſe Homilies were the more earneſt in point of removing or excluding Images, the better to wean the People from the ſin of Idolatry, in which they had been trained up from their very infancy, and were not otherwiſe to be weaned from it, then by taking away the occaſions of it. And thirdly, All that vehemence is uſed againſt them; not as intollerable in themſelves, but as they might be made in thoſe broken and unſettled times an occaſion of falling, before men could be fully inſtructed in the right uſe of them; as appears plainly by theſe paſſages, *viz.* *Our Images alſo have been, and be, (and if they be publickly ſuffered in Churches, and Chappels) ever will be alſo worſhipped, and ſo Idolatry committed to them*, p. 13. *So hard it is, and indeed impoſſible any long time to have Images publickly in Churches and Temples without Idolatry*, fol. 33. And finally by the paſſage which before we touched at, where after much vehemency, not only againſt Idolatry and Worſhipping of Images, but alſo againſt Idols and Images themſelves, the heats thereof are qualified by this expreſſion, *viz.*, *I mean alwayes thus herein, in that we be ſtirred and provoked by them, to worſhip them; and not as though they were ſimply forbidden by the New Teſtament, without ſuch occaſion and danger*, ibid. fol. 39. And thereupon it is firſt alledged by thoſe of contrary judgment, that all ſuch as lived in times of Popery, being long ſince dead, and the people of this laſt age ſufficiently inſtructed in the unlawfulneſs of worſhipping ſuch painted Images, they may be lawfully uſed in Churches, without fear of Idolatry, which ſeems to have been the main inducement for their firſt defacing. Secondly, Many of the Eaſtern Churches, which notwithſtanding do abominate the Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*, retained the uſe of painted Images, though they reject thoſe which were cut, and carved. Thirdly, That *Images* are ſtill uſed in the *Lutheran* Churches, upon which our firſt Reformers had a ſpecial eye; and that *Luther* much reproved *Caroloſtadius* for taking them out of ſuch Churches, where before they had been ſuffered to ſtand, letting him know, *Ex mentibus hominum potius removendas*, that the worſhip of Images, was rather to be taken out of mens mindes by diligent and painful preaching, then the Images themſelves to be ſo raſhly, and unadviſedly caſt out of the Churches. That painted Images were not only retained in the Chappels of the Queen, and of many great men of the Realm, in

What is to be ſaid in anſwer to ſuch paſſages as are found againſt them in the Book of Homilies.

moſt

moſt of the Cathedral Churches, and in ſome private Churches and Chappels alſo, without any defacing (witneſs the curious painted Glaſs in the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, the Pariſh Church of *Faireford* in the County of *Gloceſter*, and the Chappel of the Holy Ghoſt, near *Baſingſtoke*) but a rich and maſſy Crucifix was kept for many years together, on the Table or Altar of the Chappel Royal in *Whitehal* (as appears by *Saunders* and *Du Cheſne*) till it was broke in pieces by *Pach*, the Queens Fool (when no wiſer man could be got to do it) upon the ſecret inſtigation of Sir *Francis Knollis*: and finally, it appears by the Queens Injunctions, that the Prieſts being commanded not to extol the dignity of any Images, Relicks, *&c.* and the people diligently to teach, that all Goodneſs, Health, and Grace ought to be asked and looked for only at the hands of God, whereby all Superſtition might be taken out of their hearts, the Images might lawfully remain as well in publick Churches, as in private Houſes, as they had done formerly.

16. As for the times of publick Worſhip, we muſt behold them in their *Inſtitution*, and their *Obſervation*. And firſt, as for their Inſtitution it is agreed on of all hands, that the Annual Feaſts, Saints Dayes, or Holy Dayes, as now commonly called, do ſtand on no other ground then the Authority of the Church, which at firſt ordained them; ſome in one age, and ſome in another, till they grew unto ſo great a number, that it was thought fit by King *Henry* viii. and afterwards by King *Edward* vi. to aboliſh ſuch of them as might beſt be ſpared. Nor ſtands the Sunday, or Lords Day (according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*) on any other ground then the reſt of the Holy dayes; for in the Homily touching the time and place of Prayer, it is thus doctrinally reſolved, *viz.* "As concerning "the time in which God hath appointed his people to aſſemble toge- "ther ſolemnly, it doth appear by the fourth Commandment, *&c.* "Which Example and Commandment of God, the godly Chriſti- "an people began to follow, after the *Aſcenſion* of our Lord Chriſt, "and began to chuſe them a ſtanding day in the week to come toge- "ther in; yet not the ſeventh day, which the Jews kept, but the "Lords day, the day of the Lords *Reſurrection*, the day after the "ſeventh day, which is the firſt day of the week, *&c.* This makes the matter clear enough, and yet the Statute 5 and 6 of *Edw.* vi. In which all the Prelates did concur with the other Eſtates, makes it clearer then the *Homily* doth "Foraſmuch (ſaith the Statute) as men "be not at all times ſo mindeful to laud and praiſe God, ſo ready to "reſort to hear Gods holy Word, and come to the holy Communi- "on, *&c.* as their bounden duty doth require; therefore to call "men to remembrance of their duty, and to help their infirmities, "it hath been wholeſomely provided, that there ſhould be ſome cer- "tain dayes and times appointed wherein Chriſtians ſhould *ceaſe* "*from all kindes of labour*, and apply themſelves only and wholly "unto the aforeſaid holy works properly pertaining to true Reli- "gion,

XVI. The Lords Day built upon the ſame foundation with the other Holy dayes,

according to the Book of Homilies,

and

The Act of Parliament, 5. 6 of EDW. vi.

gion, *&c. Neither is it to be thought that* there is any certain *times or* " *definite number of dayes* preſcribed in *Holy Scripture*: but the ap- " pointment both of the time, and alſo of the number of dayes, is " left by the *Authority* of *Gods Word*, unto the *Liberty* of Chriſts " Church to be determined and aſſigned orderly in every Countrey " by the diſcretion of the *Rulers* and *Miniſters* thereof, as they ſhall " judge moſt expedient to the ſetting forth of Gods Glory, and the " edification of their people. Now for the number and particula- rities of thoſe dayes which were required to be kept holy to the Lord, they are thus ſpecified and enumerated in the Common-Prayer-Book, confirmed by Parliament in that year. Theſe to be kept Holy Dayes, and no other; that is to ſay, all Sundayes in the Year, the Feaſt of the *Circumciſion* of our Lord and Saviour, the Feaſt of the *Epiphany*, *&c.* Which ſpecification and enumeration, is made alſo in the aforeſaid Statute.

XVII. What works of labour were permitted on the Lords Day, and the other Holy dayes,

17. As for the obſervation of thoſe dayes, there was no difference made between them by the firſt Reformers; the ſame Divine Offices preſcribed for both; the diligent attendance of the people required in both; the penalties upon ſuch as wilfully and frequently did abſent themſelves, were the ſame for both; and finally the works of neceſſary labour no more reſtrained upon the one then upon the other.

by the Book of Homilies.

For firſt it is declared in the foreſaid *Homily*, that *Chriſtian People are not tyed ſo ſtreightly to obſerve and keep the other Ceremonies of the Sabbath day*, as were the *Jews*, as *touching the forbearing of the work and labour in time of great neceſſity*, &c. Secondly, and more particularly in the Statute before-mentioned we finde it thus, *viz.*

The Statute 5. and 6. of EDW. vi.

" That it ſhall be lawful for every Husband-man, Fiſher-man, and " to all and every other perſon or perſons, of what Eſtate, Degree, " or Condition he or they be upon the Holy Dayes aforeſaid (of " which the Lords Day is there reckoned for one) in Harveſt, or at " any other times in the Year, when neceſſity ſhall ſo require, to " Labour, Ride, Fiſh, or Work any kinde of Work at their own will " and pleaſure. Thirdly, It is ordered in the Injunctions of the

The Injunctions of King EDW. vi.

ſaid King *Edw.* vi. that it ſhall be lawful for the people in time of Harveſt to labour upon Holy and Feſtival Dayes, and ſave that thing " which God hath ſent; and that ſcrupuloſity to abſtain from work- " ing on thoſe dayes, doth grievouſly offend God. Fourthly, We

and

Of Queen ELIZ.

finde the like in the *Injunctions* of Queen *Elizabeth*, publiſhed " with the advice of her Council, *Anno* 1559. Being the firſt year of " her Reign, *viz.* That all perſons, Vicars, Curates, ſhall teach and " declare unto their Pariſhioners, that they may with a ſafe and " quiet conſcience after Common-Prayer in the time of Harveſt la- " bour upon the Holy and Feſtival Dayes, and ſave that thing which God hath ſent. " And if for any ſcrupuloſity or grudge of Conſci- " ence, men ſhall ſuperſtitiouſly abſtain from working on thoſe dayes, " that then they ſhould grievouſly offend and diſpleaſe God. And as " for the practice of the Court, it was ordered by the ſaid King " *Ed-*

*Edward*, "That the Lords of the Council ſhould upon Sunday at- "tend the publick affairs of the Realm, and diſpatch anſwers to "Letters for the good order of the State, and make full diſpatches "of all things concluded in the Week before: Provided, that they "be preſent at Common-Prayers, and that on every Sunday night "the Kings Secretary ſhould deliver him a memorial of ſuch things as were to be debated in the Privy Council the week enſuing. Which courſe of meeting in the Council on Sunday in the afternoon, hath been continued in the Court, from the time of the ſaid King *Edward* the vi. to the death of King *Charles*, without diſlike or interruption. If then the Country people in ſome times and caſes were permitted to employ themſelves in bodily labour on the Sundayes and other Holy Dayes; and if the Lords of the Council did meet together on thoſe dayes to conſult about affairs of State, as we ſee they did, there is no queſtion to be made but that all man-like exerciſes, all lawful Recreations and honeſt Paſtimes were allowed of alſo.

Practiſed accordingly in the Court from that time to this.

XVIII. 18. As for the duties of the people in thoſe times and places, it was expected at their hands, that due and lowly reverence ſhould be made at their firſt entrance into the Church; the place on which they ſtood, being by Conſecration made Holy Ground, and the buſineſs which they came about being holy buſineſs. For this there was no Rule nor Rubrick made by the firſt Reformers, and it was not neceſſary that there ſhould; the practice of Gods people in that kinde being ſo univerſal, *Vi Catholicæ conſuetudinis*, by vertue of a general and continual uſage, that there was no need of any Canon to enjoyn them to it: Nothing more frequent in the Writings of the ancient Fathers then Adoration toward the Eaſt, which drew the Primitive Chriſtians into ſome ſuſpicion of being Worſhippers of the Sun, *Inde ſuſpicio, quod innotuerit nos verſus orientis regionem præcari*, as *Tertullian* hath it. And though this pious cuſtom began to be diſuſed, and was almoſt diſcontinued, yet there remains ſome footſteps of it to this very day. For firſt, It was obſerved by the Knights of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, (who I am ſure hate nothing more then Superſtitious Vanities) at their approaches toward the *Altar* in all the Solemnities of that Order. Secondly, In the Offerings or Oblations made by the *Vice-Chancellor*, the *Proctors*, and all Proceeders in the *Arts and Faculties* at the *Act* at *Oxon*. And thirdly, By moſt Countrey Women, who in the time of my firſt remembrance, and a long time after, made their obeyſance toward the Eaſt, before they betook themſelves to their Seats; though it was then taken (or miſtaken rather) for a Courteſie made unto the Miniſter; revived more generally in theſe latter times (eſpecially amongſt the *Clergy*) by the Learned and Reverend Biſhop *Andrews*, a man as much verſt in Primitive Antiquity, and as abhorrent from any thing which was meerly *Popiſh*, as the greateſt *Preciſian* in the Pack. Which point I finde exceedingly well applyed, and preſt in the Speech made by this Arch-Biſhop, at the Cenſure of Dr. *Baſtwick*, Mr. *Barton*, on

Reverence required of the people at their firſt entrance into the Church,

According to the practice of the Primitive times,

and

The example of the Knights of the Garter, &c.

and

That example well enforced by Archbiſhop LAUD, P. 47.

*June* 26. 1637. Who ſpeaking to ſuch of the Lords as were *Knights* of the *Garter*, he accoſts them thus, "And you (ſaith he) my Ho-"nourable Lords of the *Garter*, in your great ſolemnities, you do "reverence, and to Almighty God I doubt not: but yet it is *verſus* "*Altare*, toward the *Altar*, &c. And this your reverence you do "when you enter the Chappel, and when you approach nearer to "offer, *&c.* And Idolatry it is not to worſhip God toward his *Holy* "*Table*; for if it had been Idolatry, I preſume Queen *Elizabeth*, "and King *James* would not have practiſed it, no not in this great "Solemnity. And being not Idolatry, but true Divine Worſhip, "you will I hope give a poor Prieſt leave to Worſhip God as your "ſelves do. For if it be Gods Worſhip, I ought to do it as well as "you, and if it be Idolatry, you ought not to do it more then I.

XIX. Kneeling and ſtanding, when required.

19. This duty being performed at their firſt entrance into the Church, it was next required by the *Rubrick*, that they ſhould reverently kneel at the reading of the publick Prayers, and in the receiving of the Holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper; that they ſhould ſtand up at the reading of the Apoſtles Creed; and conſequently at the *Athanaſian* and *Nicene* alſo, which are as Commentaries on that Text; as alſo at the frequent Repetitions of the *Gloria Patri*, which is an Abridgement of the ſame. And in the next place it was required by the Queens *Injunctions*, "That whenſoever the Name of *Jeſus* "ſhall be in any Leſſon, Sermon, or otherwiſe, in the Church pro-"nounced, that due reverence be made of all perſons, young and "old, with lowneſs of courteſie, and uncovering the heads of the "mankinde, as thereunto doth neceſſarily belong, and heretofore "hath been *accuſtomed*. In which it is to be obſerved, that though this Injunction was publiſhed in the firſt year of the Queen, yet then this bowing at the Name of *Jeſus* was lookt on as an ancient cuſtom; not only uſed in Queen *Maries* Reign, but alſo in King *Edwards* time, and in thoſe before. And in this caſe, and in that before, and in all others of that nature, it is a good and certain rule, that all ſuch Rites as had been practiſed in the Church of *Rome*, and not aboliſht, nor diſclaimed by any Doctrine, Law, or Canon of the firſt *Reformers*, were to continue in the ſame ſtate in which they found them. But this commendable cuſtom, together with all other outward reverence in Gods publick Service, being every day more and more diſcontinued, as the *Puritan* Faction got ground amongſt us, it ſeemed good to the *Prelates*, and *Clergy*, aſſembled in *Convocation*, *Anno* 1603. to revive the ſame with ſome enlargement, as to the uncovering of the Head in all the acts and parts of publick worſhip. For thus we have it in the 18. Canon of that year, *viz.* "No man "ſhall cover his head in the Church or Chappel in time of Divine "Service, except he have ſome Infirmity; in which caſe let him wear "a night Cap or Coife. And likewiſe when the Name of *Jeſus* ſhall "be mentioned, due and lowly reverence ſhall be done by all per-"ſons preſent, as it hath been accuſtomed; teſtifying by this out-

The reverence to be uſed at the name of Jeſus continued by Injunct. 52.

and

Afterwards renewed by the Canon of the year, 1603.

with

The Reaſons for it.

ward

"ward Ceremony, and Geſture, their inward Humility, Chriſtian "Reſolution, and due acknowledgement, that the *Lord Jeſus* Chriſt "the true and eternal Son of God is the only Saviour of the world, "in whom alone all Graces, Mercies, and Promiſes of Gods love to "mankinde for this life, and the life to come, are wholly compri-"ſed. In which Canon, we have not only the Doctrine, that bowing is to be uſed to the Name of *Jeſus*, but the uſes alſo; and not alone the cuſtom, but the reaſons of it: both grounded on that Text of Scripture, *Phil.* 2. 10. that *at the Name of JESUS every knee ſhould bow*, according to ſuch expoſitions as were made thereof by St. *Ambroſe*, and others of the ancient Writers.

XX. The moderate proceedings of the firſt Reformers,

20. In matters which were meerly *doctrinal*, and not *practical* alſo, the firſt *Reformers* carried on the work with the ſame equal temper, as they did thoſe which were either mixt or meerly *practical*. And firſt, beginning with the *Pope*, having diſcharged themſelves from the Supremacy, which in the times foregoing he had exerciſed over them in this Kingdom; I finde no Declaration in any publick Monument, or Records of the Church of *England*, that the *Pope* was *Antichriſt*, whatſoever ſome of them might ſay in their private Writings; ſome hard expreſſions there are of him in the Book of Homilies, but none more hard then thoſe in the publick Litany, firſt publiſhed by King *Hen.* viii. at his going to *Bolongne*, and afterwards retained in both Liturgies of King *Edward* vi. In which the people were to pray *for their deliverance from the tyranny of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and his deteſtable enormities*, &c. This was conceived to be (as indeed it was) a very great ſcandal and offence to all thoſe in the Realm of *England*, who were well affected to the Church of *Rome*; and therefore in the Liturgy of Queen *Elizabeth* it was quite left out, the better to allure them to the Divine Service of the Church as at firſt it did: And for the Church of *Rome* it ſelf, they beheld it with no other eyes, then as a Member of the viſible Church, which had for many hundred years maintained the *Fundamentals* of the Chriſtian *Faith*, though both unſound in Doctrine and corrupt in *Manners*: Juſt as a man diſtempered in his Brain, Diſeaſed in all the parts of his Body, and languiſhing under many putrified Sores, doth ſtill retain the being of a natural man as long as he hath ſenſe and motion, and (in his lucid intervals) ſome uſe of Reaſon. They tell us in the 19. Article, *that the Church of* Rome *hath erred not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but in matters of Faith.* But then they lookt upon her as a Member of the Viſible Church, as well as thoſe of *Jeruſalem*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, which are there affirmed *to have erred alſo*. *Erre* then ſhe might, and *erre* ſhe did indeed too groſly, and yet might notwithſtanding ſerve as a *conduit-pipe* to convey to us many of thoſe Primitive Truths, and many of thoſe godly *Rites* and *Ceremonies* which ſhe had ſuperſtitiouſly defiled. In which laſt place it was a very pious rule, that in the Reformation of a Church, abuſes being taken away, the primitive Inſtitution ſhould be left remaining;

In reference to the Pope and

The Church of ROME.

Obſerved and applauded by K. JAMES.

*Tollatur abuſus, maneat uſus*, as the ſaying is: and in the firſt, as piouſly obſerved by King *James* in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, that *in all Reformations, he would not have any ſuch departure from the Papiſts in all things, that becauſe we in ſome points agree with them, therefore we ſhould be accounted to be in an error.* Let us then ſee how near the firſt *Reformers* did and might come unto the *Papiſts*, and yet not joyn with them in their *Errors* to the betraying of the Truth.

XXI. The Power of the Church aſſerted in the twentieth Article.

21. The *Pope* they deprived of that unlimitted Supremacy, and the Church of *Rome* of that exorbitant power, which they formerly challenged over them; yet did they neither think it fit to leave the Church without her lawful and juſt Authority; nor ſafe to put her out of the protection of the Supream Governour. Touching the firſt, it was reſolved in the 20. Article, "*That the Church hath power not only to decree Rites and Ceremonies, but alſo in Controverſies of Faith*, as the Engliſh, *Eccleſia habet Ritus & Ceremonias Statuendi jus, & in fidei controverſiis Authoritatem*, as it is in the Latine. And ſo it ſtands in the Original Acts of the Convocation, *Anno* 1562. and publiſht in the ſelf ſame words both in *Latine* and *Engliſh*. Afterwards in the year 1571. by the power and prevalency of ſome of the *Genevian* Faction the Articles were reprinted and this Clauſe left out. But the times bettering, and the Governors of the Church taking juſt notice of the danger which lay lurking under that omiſſion; there was care taken that the ſaid clauſe ſhould be reſtored unto its place in all following impreſſions of that Book, as it hath ever ſince continued: Nor was this part of the Article a matter of *ſpeculation* only, and not reducible to *practice*, or if reducible to *practice*, not fit to be enforced upon ſuch as gain-ſaid the ſame. For in the 34. Article it is thus declared, "That whoſoever through his private judgement willingly and purpoſely doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies "of the Church, which be not repugnant unto the word of God, and "be ordained and approved by common Authority, ought to be re- "buked openly (that others may fear to do the like) as he that offendeth againſt the common order of the Church, and hurteth the "the Authority of the Magiſtrate, and woundeth the Conſciences of "the weak Brethren. More power then this as the See of *Rome* did never challenge; ſo leſs then this, was not reſerved unto it ſelf by the Church of *England*. And as for the *Authority of the Church in controverſies of Faith*, the very Articles by which they declared that power (ſeconded by the reſt of the points which are there determined) is a ſufficient Argument, that they uſed and exerciſed that power which was there declared. And becauſe ſome objection had been made both by the *Papiſts*, and thoſe of the *Genevian* party, that a *Papal* power was granted, as at firſt to King *Henry* viii. under the name of *Supream Head*, ſo afterwards to Queen *Elizabeth* and her Succeſſors; it was thought expedient by the Church to ſtop that clamour at the firſt; and thereupon it was declared in the Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy (who make the repreſentative Body of the Church of *England*)

In the 34th. reduced to practice,

and

Of the power aſcribed in Sacred Matters to the Kings of ENGLAND.

*land*) in the 37. Article of the year 1562. "That whereas they had "attributed to the Queens Majeſty the chief Government of all the "Eſtates of this Realm, whether *Eccleſiaſtical* or *Civil* in all caſes, "they did not give unto their Princes, the miniſtring either of Gods "Word, or of the Sacraments, but that only *Prerogative* which was "known to have been given alwayes to all godly Princes, in Holy "Scripture by God himſelf; that is to ſay, that they ſhould rule all "*Eſtates* and *Degrees* committed to their charge by God, whether "they be *Eccleſiaſtical* or *Temporal*, and reſtrain with the Civil Sword, "the ſtubborn and evil doers. Leſs *Power* then this, as good Subjects could not give unto their King, ſo more then this hath there not been exerciſed or deſired by the Kings of *England*. Such power as was by God vouchſafed to the godly Kings and Princes in Holy Scripture may ſerve abundantly to ſatisfie even the unlimited deſires of the mightieſt *Monarch*, were they as boundleſs as the *Popes*.

XXII. The Sacrament of the Lords Supper called frequently,

22. Next to the point of the *Supremacy*, eſteemed the Principal Article of Religion in the Church of *Rome*, (*primus & præcipuus* Romanenſis *fidei Articulus*) as is affirmed in the Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, the moſt material differences betwixt them and us relate to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and the natural *efficacy* of good works, in which the differences betwixt them and the firſt *Reformers* ſeem to be at the greateſt; though even in thoſe they came as near to them as might ſtand with Piety. The Sacrament of the Lords Supper they called the Sacrament of the *Altar*, as appears plainly by the Statute, 1 *Edward* vi. entituled, *An Act againſt ſuch as ſpeak unreverently againſt the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, commonly called the Sacrament of the ALTAR:* For which conſult the Body of the Act it ſelf. Or ſecondly, by Biſhop *Ridley* (one of the chief Compilers of the Common-Prayer-Book) who doth not only call it the *Sacrament of the Altar*, affirming thus, *that in the Sacrament of the* Altar, *is the natural Body and Blood of Chriſt*, &c. But in his Reply to an Argument of the Biſhop of *Lincoln's*, taken out of St. *Cyril*, he doth reſolve it thus, *viz.* "The word *Altar* in the Scripture ſig-"nifieth as well the *Altar* whereon the Jews were wont to offer their "Burnt Sacrifice, as the Table of the Lords Supper: and that St. "*Cyril* meaneth by this word *Altar*, not the *Jewiſh Altar*, but the "Table of the Lord, *&c. Acts and Mon.* part 3. p. 492. and 497. Thirdly, By Biſhop *Latimer* his fellow Martyr who plainly grants, "That the Lords Table may be called an *Altar*, and "that the Doctors called it ſo in many places, though there be no "propitiatory Sacrifice, but only Chriſt, *part* 2. *p.* 85. Fourthly, By the ſeveral affirmations of *John Lambert*, and *John Philpot*, two Learned and Religious men, whereof the one ſuffered death for Religion under *Henry* viii. the other in the fiery time of Queen *Mary*. This Sacrament being called by both, the Sacrament of the *Altar* in their ſeveral times: for which conſult the Acts and Monuments commonly called the *Book of Martyrs*.

The Sacrament of the Altar, as, viz. by the Act of Parliament,

by

Biſhop RIDLEY,

Biſhop LATIMER,

and

Some other Martyrs.

23. And

XXIII. The Lords Table ordered to be placed where the Altar ſtood,

And that this Sacrament might the longer preſerve that name, and the Lords Supper be adminiſtred with the more ſolemnity, it was ordained in the *Injunctions* of Queen *Elizabeth*, no *Altar* ſhould be taken down, but by the over-ſight of the Curate of the Church, and the Church-Wardens, or one of them at leaſt, and that the Holy Table in every Church be decently made and ſet up in the place where the *Altar* ſtood, and there commonly covered as thereto belongeth. It is beſides declared in the Book of Orders, *Anno* 1561. publiſhed about two years after the ſaid *Injunction*, "That in the place where "the Steps were, the Communion Table ſhould ſtand; and that there "ſhall be fixed on the Wall over the Communion Board, the Tables "of Gods Precepts imprinted for the ſame purpoſe. The like occurs in the Advertiſements publiſhed by the *Metropolitan*, and others the High Commiſſioners, 1565. In which it is ordered, "That the Pariſh "ſhall provide a decent Table, ſtanding on a frame for the Commu-"nion Table, which they ſhall decently cover with a Carpet of Silk, "or other decent covering, and with a white Linnen Cloath in the "time of the adminiſtration, and ſhall ſet the Ten Commandments "upon the Eaſt-Wall over the ſaid Table. All which being laid together, amounts to this, that the Communion-Table was to ſtand above the ſteps, and under the Commandments; therefore all along the Wall, on which the Ten Commandments were appointed to be placed, which was directly where the *Altar* had ſtood before. Now that the *Holy Table* in what poſture ſoever it be plac't, ſhould not be thought unuſeful at all other times, but only at the time of the Miniſtration; it was appointed by the Church in its firſt *Reformation*, that the *Communion-Service*, commonly called the *Second Service*, upon all Sundayes and Holy-dayes, ſhould be read only at the Holy Table. For firſt, in the laſt *Rubrick* before the beginning of that Service, it is ordered, that the Prieſt ſtanding at the Holy Table ſhall ſay the Lords Prayer, with the Collect following, *&c.* And it is ordered in the firſt Rubrick after the Communion, "That on the Holy Dayes (if "there be no Communion) ſhall be ſaid all that is appointed at the "Communion until the end of the Homily; concluding with the ge-"neral Prayer for Chriſts Church Militant here on earth, and one or "more of the Collects before rehearſed, as occaſion ſhall ſerve. No place appointed for the reading of the ſecond Service, but only at the *Altar*, or Communion Table.

by the Injunctions of Q. ELI7, 1559. The Book of Orders, 1561 and

Advertiſ. of the year 1565.

and

At the ſame the ſecond Service to be ſaid on the Sundayes and Holy Dayes.

XXIIII. The Lords Supper frequently called a Sacrifice by

24. Here then we have the Wood, the *Altar*; *ſed ubi eſt victima holocauſti* (as *Iſaac* ſaid unto his Father) *But where is the Lamb for the burnt-offering*? Gen. 22. 7. Aſſuredly, if *the Prieſt* and *Altar* be ſo near, the *Lamb* for the Burnt-Offering cannot be far off, even the moſt bleſſed *Lamb of God*; *which taketh away the ſins of the world*, as the Scripture ſtyles him, whoſe Paſſion we finde commemorated in the Sacrament, called therefore the Sacrament of the *Altar*, as before is ſaid: called for the ſame reaſon by St. *Auguſtine* in his *Enchiridion*, *Sacrificium Altaris*, the *Sacrifice* of the *Altar*; by the Engliſh *Liturgy*

The Ancient Fathers

in

in the Prayer next after the *participation*; the *Sacrifice of praiſe and thanksgiving* (*Sacrificium laudis*;) by *Chryſoſtom*, Ἀνάμνησις θυσίας, the remembrance of a *Sacrifice*; by many Learned Writers amongſt our ſelves, a *commemorative Sacrifice*. For thus ſaith Biſhop *Andrews* in his anſwer to Cardinal *Bellarmine*, c. 8. *Tollite de Miſſa Tranſubſtantiationem veſtram nec diu nobiſcum lis erit de Sacrificio*, &c. "Take from "the Maſs your *Tranſubſtantiation*, and we will have no difference "with you about the *Sacrifice*. And the King grants (he means the "learned Prince, King *James*) the name of a *Sacrifice* to have been "frequent with the Fathers. Which *Sacrifice* he ſometimes calls *Commemorationem Sacrificii*, and ſometimes *Sacrificium Commemorativum*, *A Commemorative Sacrifice*. The like we finde in Biſhop *Morton*, who in his Book of the Roman Sacrifice, *l. 6. c. 5.* called the *Euchariſt*, *a repreſentative* and *commemorative Sacrifice*, in as plain terms as can be ſpoken. But what need any thing have been ſaid for the proof hereof, when the moſt Reverend Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, one (and the chief) of the Compilers of the publick Liturgy, and one who ſuffered death for oppoſing the *Sacrifice* of the Maſs, diſtinguiſheth moſt plainly between the *Sacrifice propitiatory*, made by Chriſt himſelf only, and the *Sacrifice commemorative* and gratulatory made by Prieſts and People: for which conſult his Defence againſt Biſhop *Gardiner*, *lib. 5. p. 439.* And finally the teſtimony of *John Lambert*, who ſuffered for his Conſcience in the time of King *Henry* viii. whoſe words are theſe: "Chriſt (ſaith he) being offered up "*once for all* in his own proper perſon, is yet ſaid to be offered up, "not only every year at *Eaſter*, but alſo every day in the Celebration "of the Sacrament; becauſe his Oblations *once for all*, made it there- "by repreſented, *Act. Mon.* p. 2. 35. So uniform is the conſent of "our Liturgy, our Martyrs, and our Learned Writers in the name "of *Sacrifice*; ſo that we may behold the *Euchariſt* or the Lords Supper. Firſt, as it is a *Sacrifice*, or the *Commemoration* of that *Sacrifice* offered unto God; by which both we and the whole Church do obtain remiſſion of our Sins, and all other benefits of Chriſts Paſſion. And ſecondly, As it is a *Sacrament*, participated by men, by which we hope, that being made partakers of that Holy Communion we may be fulfilled with his Grace and heavenly Benediction. Both which occur in the next Prayer after the Communion. Look on it as a *Sacrifice*, and then the Lords Board not improperly may be called an *Altar*, as it is properly called the Table in reſpect of the *Sacrament*.

By many Learned men amongſt our ſelves.

Some of our godly Martyrs alſo,

and

In what reſpect.

25. With the like uniform conſent we finde the Doctrine of a *Real Preſence* in the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Lords Supper to be maintained and taught in the firſt Conſtitution of this Church: and this is firſt concluded from the words of *Diſtribution*, retained in the firſt *Liturgy* of King *Edward* vi. and formerly preſcribed in the ancient *Miſſals*, viz. *The Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt which was given for thee, preſerve thy Body and Soul unto life everlaſting. The Blood*

XXV. A Real Preſence proved by

The publick Liturgy,

*Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was ſhed for thee*, &c. Which words being thought by ſome preciſe and ſcrupulous perſons to encline too much toward *Tranſubſtantiation* (and therefore not unfit to juſtifie a Real Preſence) were quite omitted in the ſecond Liturgy of that King: the words of *Participation*, *Take and eat this*, &c. *Take and drink this*, &c. being uſed in the place thereof. Which alteration notwithſtanding, it is affirmed by Biſhop *Ridley* (one of the principal Compilers of theſe two Books) *that in the Sacrament of the Altar is the natural Body and Blood of Chriſt.* And if there be the *Natural Body*, there muſt needs be a *Real Preſence* in his opinion. When this laſt *Liturgy* was reviewed by the command of Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1558. the former clauſe was ſuper-added to the other, which put the buſineſs into the ſame ſtate and condition in which we finde it at the firſt. And when by the Articles of Religion, agreed upon in Convocation, *Anno* 1562. the *Sacrifice* of the *Maſs* was declared to be a pernicious Impoſture, a blaſphemous Figment, and that Tranſubſtantiation was declared to be repugnant to the plain words of Holy Scripture, to overthrow the Nature of a Sacrament, and to have given occaſion to many Superſtitions; yet ſtill the Doctrine of a *Real Preſence* was maintained as formerly. *Alexander Nowel*, Dean of St. *Pauls*, was choſen Prolocutor for that Convocation, and therefore as like to know the true intent and meaning of the Church of *England* in every point which was there concluded, as any other whatſoever; and yet he thought it no contradiction to any of them to maintain and teach a *Real Preſence*. For in his *Catechiſm* publickly allowed of in all the Grammar Schools of this Realm, he firſt propounds this queſtion, *viz. Cæleſtis pars & ab omni ſenſu externo longe disjuncta, quænam eſt?* &c. that is to ſay, What is the Heavenly, or Spiritual part of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, which no ſenſe is able to diſcover? To which the party Catechized returns this anſwer, *Corpus & Sanguis Chriſti, quæ fidelibus in cœna dominica præbentur, ab illis accipiuntur, comeduntur, & bibuntur, cæleſti tantum & ſpirituali modo, verè tamen atque reipſa.* That is to ſay, the heavenly or ſpiritual part is the Body and Blood of Chriſt which are given to the faithful in the Lords Supper, and are taken, eaten, and drank by them; which though it be only in an heavenly and ſpiritual manner; yet are they both given and taken *truly*, and *really*, or in very deed. Conform to which we have in brief the Suffrage of the Right Learned Biſhop *Bilſon*, who lived the greateſt part of his time with the ſaid Mr. *Nowel*, by whom we are told in his Book of *True Subject*. &c. p.779. And he tells it with a God forbid, that we deny not, "That the Fleſh "and Blood of Chriſt are truly preſent, and truly received of the "faithful at the *Lords Table*.

By Biſhop RIDLEY.

and

By Mr. *Alex. Nowel.*

By Biſhop BILSON.

XXVI. The ſame confirmed by the words of the Catechiſm

26. A clear explication of which Doctrine was made in the beginning of the Reign of King *James*, by whoſe appointment, with the conſent of the *Metropolitan*, ſome of the Biſhops and other learned men of the *Clergy*, it was ordered in the *Conference* at *Hampton Court*, that

that the Doctrine of the Sacraments ſhould be added to the Authorized Catechiſm of the Church where before it was not: in which addition to the Catechiſm, it is ſaid expreſly, *That the Body and Blood of Chriſt are verily and indeed taken of the Faithful in the Lords Supper. Verily and indeed*, ſaith the Engliſh Book, *Vere & reipſa*, or *Vere & realiter*, ſaith the Latine Tranſlations; by which the Church doth teach us to underſtand, that Chriſt is *truly* and *really* preſent (though after a *ſpiritual* manner) in that Bleſſed Sacrament. And that this was the Churches meaning will be made apparent, by the Teſtimony of ſome of the moſt learned men, which have written ſince; two of which I ſhall here produce, that *out of the mouths of two ſuch Witneſſes*, the truth hereof may be *eſtabliſhed*. The firſt of theſe ſhall be the moſt eminent Biſhop *Andrews*, a contemporary of the ſaid Biſhop *Bilſon*, who in his anſwer unto Cardinal *Bellarmine*, thus declares himſelf, *Preſentiam credimus non minus quam vos veram, deinde preſentiæ nil temere definimus*: We acknowledge (ſaith he) a *preſence* as true and real as you do, but we determine nothing raſhly of the manner of it. The ſecond ſhall be Biſhop *Morton*, as great an enemy to the Errors and Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*, as any that ever wrote againſt it, who could not but be ſixty years of age at the death of Biſhop *Andrews*; and he affirms expreſly, "That the "queſtion betwixt us and the *Papiſts* is not concerning a *Real Pre-* "*ſence*, which the Proteſtants (as their own Jeſuites witneſs) do al- "ſo profeſs. *Fortunatus*, a Proteſtant, holding that Chriſt is in the Sacrament moſt *Really*, *Veriſſime*, *Realiſſime*, as his words are. By which it ſeems it is agreed on on both ſides (that is to ſay, the Church of *England*, and the Church of *Rome*) that there is a *true* and *real* Preſence of Chriſt in the Holy *Euchariſt*; the diſagreement being only in the *modus preſentiæ*.

As alſo by the teſtimony of Biſhop ANDREWS.

Biſhop *Morton*.

27. The like Diſpute is alſo raiſed *de modo deſcenſus*, touching the manner and extent of Chriſts *Deſcending* into Hell, which the *Papiſts* will have to be only partial, and to extend no farther then to the upper Region of that infernal Habitation, called by them commonly *Limbus Patrum*. The *Calviniſts* will have it to be only figurative, no *deſcent* at all, and they are ſub-divided into three opinions. *Calvin* himſelf interprets it of our Saviours Sufferings on the Croſs, in which he underwent all thoſe torments, even to *Deſperation*, which the damned do endure in Hell. Many of the *Calvinian* party underſtand nothing by Chriſts *Deſcent* into Hell, but his *Deſcending* into the Grave; and then his deſcending into Hell will be the ſame with his being buried, Which Tautology in ſuch a ſhort ſummary of the Chriſtian Faith cannot be eaſily admitted. And therefore the late Lord *Primate* of *Ireland* not liking either of their opinions, will finde a new way by himſelf; in which I cannot ſay what leaders he had, but I am ſure he hath had many followers. And he by Chriſts deſcending into Hell, will haue nothing elſe to be underſtood but his *continuing in the State of Separation between the Body and the Soul*, *his remaining under*

XXVII. The Article of Chriſts deſcent made figurative by *Calvin*, and The Lord Primate, but

*under the power of death during the time that he lay buried in the Grave*, which is no more in effect though it differ ſomewhat in the terms, then to ſay he dyed and was buried, and roſe not again till the third day, as the Creed inſtructs us; and then we are but where we were with the other *Calviniſts*. But on the contrary, the Church of *England* doth maintain a *Local Deſcent*, that is to ſay, "That the Soul "of Chriſt at ſuch time as his Body lay in the Grave, did *Locally* "*Deſcend* into the neathermoſt parts, in which the Devil and his "Angels are reſerved in everlaſting Chains of Darkneſs, unto the "Judgment of the great and terrible Day. And this appears to be the meaning of the firſt *Reformers*, by giving this Article a diſtinct place by its ſelf, both in the Book of *Articles*, publiſhed in the time of King *Edward* vi. *Anno* 1552. and in the Book agreed upon in the Convocation of the 5. of Queen *Elizabeth*, 1564. in both which it is ſaid expreſly in the ſelf-ſame words, *viz. As Chriſt dyed for us and was buried, ſo alſo is it to be believed that he went down into Hell:* which is either to be underſtood of a *Local Deſcent*, or elſe we are tyed to believe nothing by it, but what explicitely or implicitely is comprehended in the former Article, in which there is particular mention of Chriſts Sufferings, Crucifying, Death, and Burial. Now that this is the Churches meaning, cannot be better manifeſted then in the words of Mr. *Alexander Nowel* before-mentioned; who for the reaſons before remembred, cannot in reaſon be ſuppoſed to be ignorant of the true ſenſe and meaning of the Church in that particular: and he accordingly in his Catechiſm publickly allowed of, with reference to a *Local Deſcent*, doth declare it thus, *viz. Ut Chriſtus corpore in terræ viſcera; ita anima, corpore ſeparata, ad inferos deſcendit*, &c. that is, "As Chriſt deſcended in his Body into the "bowels of the earth, ſo in his Soul, ſeparated from that Body, he "deſcended alſo into Hell; by means whereof the power and effi- "cacy of his Death was not made known only to the dead, but to "the Devils themſelves: inſomuch that both the ſouls of the un- "believers did ſenſibly perceive that condemnation, which was "moſt juſtly due to them for their incredulity: and Satan himſelf, "the Prince of Devils, did as plainly ſee, that his tyranny, and "all the powers of darkneſs were oppreſt, ruined, and deſtroyed. Which Doctrine (when it began to be decryed, and the *Calvinian Gloſs*, to get ground upon it) was learnedly aſſerted by Dr. *Thomas Bilſon*, then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in his Book, entituled *A Survey of Chriſts Sufferings*; in which he hath amaſſed together, whatſoever the Fathers, Greek and Latine, or any of the ancient Writers have affirmed of this Article, with all the points and branches which depend upon it,

Juſtified to be Local,

By the Articles of the Church of ENGLAND.

The words of Mr. *Alexander Nowel*.

and

The works of Learned Biſhop *Bilſon*.

XXVIII. The neceſſity of Baptiſme maintained by the firſt Reformers,

28. The Sufferings of Chriſt repreſented in the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Lords Supper, with ſome of the effects thereof by his deſcending into Hell, being thus diſpatched, we ſhall next look into that of *Baptiſme*, in which we ſhall conſider the *neceſſity* firſt, and after-

afterwards the *efficacy* of it: And firſt in reference to the *Neceſſity*. The firſt Reformers did not only allow the adminiſtration of this Sacrament in *private* houſes, but permitted it to private perſons, even to women alſo. For it was ordered in the *Rubrick* of *Private Baptiſm*, "That when any great need ſhall compel (as in extremity of weak-"neſs) they which are preſent ſhall call upon God for his Grace, "and ſay the Lords Prayer if the time will ſuffer, and then one of "them ſhall name the Childe, and dip him in the water, or poure "water upon him, ſaying theſe words, N. *I Baptize thee in the name* "*of the Father*, &c. At which paſſage when King *James* ſeemed to be offended in the *Conference* at *Hampton-Court*, becauſe of the liberty which they gave to *Women* and *Laicks*: It was anſwered then by Dr. *Whitgift*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, "That the adminiſtrati-"on of *Baptiſme* by Women and Lay Perſons, was not allowed in "the practice of the Church: but enquired of, and cenſured by the "*Biſhops* in their *Viſitations*; and that the words in the Book infer-"red no ſuch meaning. Againſt which when the King excepted, urging and preſſing the words of the Book, that they could not but intend a permiſſion and ſuffering of Women, and private Perſons to Baptize: It was anſwered by Dr. *Babington*, then Biſhop of *Worceſter*, "That indeed the words were doubtful, and might be preſſed "to that meaning, but that it ſeemed by the contrary practice of "this Church (cenſuring Women in this caſe) That the Compilers "of that Book did not ſo intend them, and yet propounded them am-"biguouſly, becauſe otherwiſe perhaps the Book would not have "then paſſed in the Parliament. But then ſtood forth the Biſhop of *London*, (Dr. *Bancroft*) and plainly ſaid, "That it was not the intent "of thoſe Learned and Reverend men, who framed the Book of "*Common-Prayer* by ambiguous terms, to deceive any; but did in-"deed by thoſe words intend a permiſſion of private perſons to Ba-"ptize in caſe of *Neceſſity*, whereof their Letters were witneſſes, "ſome parts whereof he then read; and withal declared, "That the "ſame was agreeable to the practice of the ancient Church, as ap-"peared by the Authority of *Tertullian*, and of S. *Ambroſe* on the "4th. of the *Epheſians*, who are plain in that point; laying alſo open the abſurdities and impieties of their opinions who think there is no *neceſſity* of *Baptiſm*. And though at the motion of that King it was ordered that the words *Lawful Miniſter* ſhould be put into the *Rubrick* (*Firſt let the LAWFUL MINISTER, and them that be preſent, call upon God for his Grace*, &c. *The ſaid LAWFUL MINISTER ſhall dip it into the Water*, &c. yet was the alteration greater in ſound then ſenſe, it being the opinion of many great Clerks, that any man in caſes of extream *neceſſity* (who can pronounce the words of *Baptiſm*) may paſs in the account and notion of a *lawful Miniſter*. So much for the *neceſſity* of *Baptiſm*. And as for the *efficacy* thereof, it is ſaid expreſly in the 27. *Article*, "To be a ſign of "*Regeneration*, or *New Birth*, whereby, as by an Inſtrument, they

Juſtified in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*

and

Not gain-ſaid by any alteration in the publick Rubrick,

and

Of the efficacy aſcribed unto it by the Church.

": that receive *Baptiſme* rightly, are grafted into the Church; the " promiſes of forgiveneſs of Sin, and of our Adoption to be the " Sons of God by the Holy Ghoſt, are viſibly ſigned and ſealed; " Faith is confirmed, and Grace is encreaſed by vertue of Prayer un- " to God: and, as expreſly it is ſaid in one of the *Rubricks* before " *Confirmation*, That it is certain by Gods word, that Children be- " ing *Baptized*, have all things neceſſary for their Salvation, and be " undoubtedly ſaved: that is to ſay (for ſo it muſt be underſtood) in caſe they dye before they fall into the committing of *Actual* Sins.

XXIX. Juſtification how divided betwixt Faith and Works,

29. Touching *good works*, and how far they conduce unto our *Juſtification*, the breach was wider at the firſt breakings out of *Luther* then it hath been ſince: *Luther* aſcribing *Juſtification unto Faith* alone, without relation unto *works*; and thoſe of *Rome* aſcribing it to good *works* alone, without relation unto *Faith*, which they reckoned only amongſt the *preparatives* unto it. But when the point had been long canvaſed, and the firſt heats were ſomewhat cooled, they began to come more neer unto one another. For when the *Papiſts* attributed *Juſtification* unto *works* alone, they deſired to be underſtood of ſuch good *works* as proceeded from a true and lively *Faith*: and when the *Lutherans* aſcribed it to *Faith* alone, they deſired to be underſtood of ſuch a *Faith* as was productive of good *Works*, and attended by them. The *Papiſts* thereupon began to cheriſh the diſtinction between the firſt and ſecond *Juſtification*, aſcribing the firſt unto *Faith* only; the ſecond (which the *Proteſtants* more properly called by the name of *Sanctification*) to the *works* of Righteouſneſs. The *Proteſtants* on the other ſide diſtinguiſhing between *Fides ſola*, and *ſolitaria*, between *Sola Fides*, and *Fides quæ eſt Sola*, intending by that nicity; that, though *Faith* alone doth *juſtifie* a ſinner in the ſight of God: yet that it is not ſuch a *Faith* as was alone, but ſtood accompanied with good *works*. And in this way the Church of *England* went in her Reformation, declaring in the 11, *Article*, " That we are accounted righteous before God, only " for the Merits of our Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt* by Faith, and " not for our own works or deſervings. Which Juſtification by Faith only is further declared to be a moſt wholeſome Doctrine, and very full of comfort; for which we are referred to the Book of *Homilies*. And in the Book of *Homilies* we ſhall alſo finde, " That we may " well bear the name of Chriſtian men; but we lack that true *Faith* " which belongeth thereunto: For true *Faith* doth evermore bring " forth good *works*, (as St. *James* ſpeaketh) Shew me thy *Faith* by " thy *works*. Thy Deeds and *works* muſt be an open teſtimony of " thy *Faith*; otherwiſe thy *Faith* being without good *works*, is but " the Devils *faith*, the *faith* of the wicked, a phantaſie of *Faith*, " and not a true Chriſtian *Faith*. And that the people might be be trained up in the works of Righteouſneſs, it is declared in the 7th. Article, That no Chriſtian man whatſoever is free from the obe-

In what reſpect ſaſcribed to Faith, by the Church of ENGL.

and

In what to Works.

obedience of the Commandments, which are called Moral. According whereunto, it is ordered by the publick *Liturgy*, that the ſaid Commandments ſhall be openly read in the Congregation upon *Sundayes* and *Holy Dayes* (contrary to the uſage of all ancient *Liturgies*) the people humbly praying God, *To have mercy upon them for their tranſgreſſion of thoſe Laws*; and no leſs humbly praying him *To encline their hearts to keep the ſame.* So that, though Faith muſt lead the way to our *Juſtification*; yet holineſs of life manifeſted in the works of *Charity*, and all other acts of godly living, muſt open the way for us to the Gates of Heaven, and procure our entrance at the ſame, as is apparent by the 25. of St. *Matthews* Goſpel, from *verſe* 34. to 41.

XXX. Of the efficacy of good Works,

30. Which being ſo, it may be well affirmed without any wrong to Faith, that good Works are neceſſary to ſalvation; and not ſo only: but that they are *efficienter neceſſaria*, as was maintained publickly in the Schools of *Cambridge*, though it was much carpt at by ſome men that did not rightly and diſtinctly underſtand the term. And ſecondly, It may be ſaid without any wrong to the *Free Grace and Merits* of Almighty God, that a reward is due for the *Works of Righteouſneſs*, proceeding from a *lively Faith*, in a man regenerate; not that the Church aſcribeth any merit to the works of man, which may deſerve eternal life, either *ex congruo*, or *condigno*, as the School-men phraſe it; for *Deus non coronat in nobis merita noſtra ſed dona ſua*, as the Father hath it. No reward is due unto good Works, *ratione operis*, in reference to the work it ſelf: but *ratione pacti & acceptationis* (though *Bellarmine* be otherwiſe minded) in reſpect of Gods merciful acceptance, and his moſt gracious promiſe to reward the ſame. It was his grace and goodneſs only which moved him to encourage our imperfect and weak obedience with the promiſe of eternal life: yet having made the promiſe, he became our debtor, *Non aliquid debendo, ſed omnia promittendo, Deus ſe facit debitorem*, as St. *Auguſtine* tells us. And moſt agreeable it is to his heavenly juſtice, not to be wanting to his promiſe. Such a *Reward* as this for the works of Righteouſneſs, as the Scriptures frequently do mention both in the *Old Teſtament* and *New*, *Gen.* 47. *Pſalm* 19. 11. *Mat.* 5. 12. and 10. 41, 42. *Mark* 9. 41. *Apoc.* 22. 11. ſo is the ſame defended in the Church of *England*. And this appears firſt by the *Athanaſian* Creed, incorporated into the body of our publick Liturgy, as a part thereof. In the cloſe of which it is affirmed, "That "at Chriſts coming unto Judgement all men ſhall riſe again with "their bodies, and give an account of their own works, that they "which have done good ſhall go into life everlaſting, and they that "have done evil into everlaſting fire. And ſecondly, It appears as plainly by the Collect for the 25. Sunday after Trinity, where the Church called on the Lord, "To ſtir up the wills of his faithful "people, that they plenteouſly bringing forth the fruits of good "works, may of him be plenteouſly rewarded, through *Jeſus* "*Chriſt*.

and

The Reward belonging to them,

and

Of the Doctrine of the Church of ENGLAND in that particular.

"*Chriſt*, In which we have not only a *reward for the fruit of good works*, but a *plentiful reward* into the bargain, according to the quality of the work it ſelf, and the acceptableneſs of the perſon in the ſight of God.

XXXI. The great Diviſions in the Church touching Predeſtination.

31. Next look we on the Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, and the points depending thereupon, which have given matter of diviſion to the Chriſtian Church in all times and ages, dividing between the general current of the Fathers till St. *Auguſtines* time, and the learned men which followed him and his authority; between the *Jeſuites* and *Franciſcans* on the one ſide, and the *Dominicans* on the other in the Church of *Rome*; between the *moderate* and *rigid Lutherans* in the Church *Proteſtant*; between the *Remonſtrants*, and the *Contra-Remonſtrants* in the Schools of *Calvin*; and finally between the *Sublapſarians*, and the *Supra-Lapſarians*, amongſt the *Contra-Remonſtrants* themſelves. Of theſe the *Sublapſarian Calviniſts* (for of the dotages of the other I ſhall take no notice) the *Rigid Lutherans* and the *Dominican Friars* pretend St. *Auguſtine* for their Patron: and on the other ſide, the *Remonſtrants* (commonly nick-named *Arminians*) The *Moderate* or *Melancthonian Lutherans*, together with the *Jeſuites* and *Franciſcans*, appeal unto the general current of the ancient Fathers, who lived and flouriſhed *ante mota certamina Pelagiana*, before the ſtarting up of the *Pelagian* Controverſies. And to this general current of the ancient Fathers, the Church of *England* moſt enclines; teaching according to their Doctrine, that God from all eternity, intending to demonſtrate his power and goodneſs, deſigned the Creation of the World, the making of man *after his own Image*, and leaving him ſo made, in a perfect liberty to do or not to do what he was commanded; and that fore-knowing alſo from all eternity, that man abuſing this liberty, would plunge himſelf and his poſterity into a gulph of miſeries, he graciouſly reſolved to provide them ſuch a *Saviour* who ſhould redeem them from their ſins; to elect all thoſe to life eternal, who by true Faith laid hold upon him, leaving the reſt in the ſame ſtate in which he found them, for their incredulity. It is reported of *Agilmond* the ſecond, King of the *Lombards*, that riding by a Fiſh-Pond, he ſaw ſeven young Children ſprawling in it, whom their unnatural Mothers (as *Paulus Diaconus* conceived) had thrown into it not long before. Amazed whereat, he put his Hunting Spear amongſt them, and ſtirred them gently up and down, which one of them laying hold of, was drawn to Land, called *Lamiſtus*, from the word *Lama*; which in the Language of that people ſignifies a Fiſh-Pond, trained up in that Kings Court, and finally made his Succeſſor in the Kingdom. Granting that *Agilmond* being fore-warned in a Viſion, that he ſhould finde ſuch Children ſprawling for life in the midſt of that Pond, might thereupon take a reſolution within himſelf to put his Hunting Spear amongſt them; and that which of them ſoever ſhould lay hold upon it, ſhould be gently drawn out of the water, adopted for his Son, and made

× × ×

The ſtating of the point by the Church of ENGLAND,

Illuſtrated by the ſtory of *Agilmond* and *Lamiſtus*, Kings of *Lombardy*.

made Heir of all his Kingdom: no humane Story could afford us the like parallel caſe to Gods proceeding in the great work of *Predeſtination* to eternal life, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

XXXII. Predeſtination how defined.

32. Now, that ſuch was the Doctrine of the firſt *Reformers*, may be made evident by the *Definition* of *Predeſtination*. "Predeſtination unto life (ſaith the 17. Article) is the everlaſting purpoſe of "God, whereby, (before the foundations of the world were "laid) he hath conſtantly declared by his Council, ſecret to us, to "deliver from curſe and damnation, thoſe whom he hath choſen in "Chriſt out of mankinde, and to bring them by Chriſt to everlaſt-"ing Salvation. In which *Definition* there are theſe things to be obſerved; Firſt, That *Predeſtination* doth pre-ſuppoſe a curſe or a ſtate of Damnation, in which all mankinde was preſented to the ſight of God. Secondly, That it is an act of his from everlaſting, becauſe from everlaſting he foreſaw that miſery into which wretched man would fall. Thirdly, That he founded it, and reſolved for it in the Man and Mediator Chriſt Jeſus, both for the purpoſe and performance. Fourthly, That it was of ſome ſpecial ones alone, *Elect*, *called forth*, and *reſerved in Chriſt*, and not generally extended unto all mankinde. Fifthly, That being thus elected in Chriſt, they ſhall be brought by Chriſt to everlaſting ſalvation. And ſixthly, That this Council is ſecret unto us; for though there be revealed to us ſome hopeful ſignes of our *Election* and *Predeſtination unto life*: yet the certainty thereof is a ſecret hidden in God, and in this life unknown to us. Nothing obſcure in this Definition but theſe words, *Whom he hath choſen in Chriſt*; which being the very words of the Apoſtle, *Eph.* 1. 4. are generally interpreted by the ancient Fathers, of thoſe who *do believe in Chriſt*, For thus St. *Ambroſe* amongſt others, *Sicut elegit nos in ipſo*, as he hath choſen us in him; *Preſcius enim Deus omnes ſcit qui crediturі eſſent in Chriſtum*, For God (ſaith he) by his general Preſence did fore-know every man that would believe in Chriſt: The like ſaith *Chryſoſtom* on the Text. And that our firſt Reformers did conceive ſo, it appears by that of Biſhop *Latimer* in his Sermon on the third Sunday after the *Epiphany*, "When (ſaith "he) we hear that ſome be *choſen*, and ſome be *damned*, let us have "good *hope*, that we be among the *choſen*, and live after this *hope*, "that is uprightly and godly; then ſhall we not be deceived. Think "that God hath choſen thoſe that *believe in Chriſt*; and Chriſt is the "*Book of Life*: If thou believeſt in him, then art thou written in "the *Book of Life*, and ſhall be ſaved. Secondly, The Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, as before laid down, may be further proved out of the laſt clauſe of the ſaid 17. Article, where it is ſaid, "That we "muſt receive Gods promiſes in ſuch wiſe as they be generally ſet "forth to us in holy Scripture; and that in all our doings, that will of "God is to be followed, which we have expreſly declared to us in "the word of God. Then which nothing can be more repugnant to

The definition explicated.

The explication juſtified by the ancient Fathers,

By Biſhop LATIMER,

and

The laſt clauſe of the 17th. Article.

the

the Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, delivered by the *Contra-Remonſtrants* (whither *Supra-lapſarian*, or *Sub-lapſarian*, is no great matter) which reſtrains *Predeſtination unto Life* to a few particulars, without reſpect had to their *Faith* in *Chriſt*, or to *Chriſts* Sufferings and Death for them: which few particulars ſo *predeſtinated* to life eternal, ſhall (as they teach us) by an irreſiſtable Grace, be brought to God, and by the infallible conduct of the Holy Spirit, be preſerved from falling away from grace and favour.

XXXIII. The Church why ſilent in the point of Reprobation.

33. Such is the Churches Doctrine in the point of *Election* or *Predeſtination unto life*, but in the point of *Reprobation* or *Predeſtination* unto death, ſhe is utterly ſilent; leaving it to be gathered upon *Logical* Inferences from that which is delivered by her in the point of *Election* (for *Contrariorum contraria eſt ratio*, as *Logicians* ſay) though that which is ſo gathered ought rather to be called, a *Derelict*ion, then a *Reprobation*. No ſuch *abſolute irreverſible*, and *irreſpective* decree of *Reprobation* taught or maintained in any publick Monument or Record of the Church of *England*, by which the far greateſt part of mankinde are præ-ordained (and conſequently præ-condemned to the pit of Torments, without reſpect had unto their ſins, as the *Supra-lapſarians*, or to their credulities, as generally is maintained by the *Sub-lapſarians* in the Schools of *Calvin*. Much I am ſure there is againſt it in the Writings of Biſhop *Hooper*, and Biſhop *Latimer*, who took great pains in the firſt carrying on of the *Reformation*; and therefore we may judge by them of the Churches meaning in that particular. For in the Preface to a Book written by *John Hooper*, afterwards Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, containing an Expoſition of the Ten Commandments, and publiſhed, *Anno* 1550. we ſhall finde it thus, *viz.* "That *Cain* "was no more excluded from the promiſe of *Chriſt*, till he exclu- "ded himſelf, then *Abel*; *Saul*, then *David*; *Judas*, then *Peter*; "*Eſau*, then *Jacob*: that God is ſaid to have hated *Eſau*, not becauſe "he was diſ-inherited of eternal Life, but in *laying his Mountains* "*and his Heritage waſte for the Dragons of the Wilderneſs*, Mal. 1. 3. "That the threatnings of God againſt *Eſau*, (if he had not of his "wilful malice excluded himſelf from the promiſe of Grace) ſhould "no more have hindered his Salvation, then Gods *threatnings* againſt "*Ninive*, &c, That it is not a Chriſtian mans part to ſay, That "God hath written fatal Laws, as the *ſtoick*, and with neceſſi- "ty of deſtiny, violently pulleth the one by the hair into *Heaven*, "and thruſteth the other head-long into *Hell*; that the cauſe of *Re-* "*jection*, or *Damnation* is ſin in man, which will not hear, neither "receive the promiſe of the Goſpel, *&c.* And in a Sermon on the third Sunday after *Epiphany*, we finde Biſhop *Latimer* ſpeaking thus, *viz.* "That if the moſt are damned, the fault is not in God, "but in themſelves; for *Deus vult omnes homines ſalvos fieri*, God "would that all men ſhould be ſaved, but they themſelves procure "their own *damnation*, and deſpiſe the *Paſſion* of Chriſt by their "wicked and inordinate living. Thus alſo in his fourth Sermon preached

The abſolute Decree unknown to Biſhop HOOPER,

By Biſhop LATIMER,

Preached in *Lincolnſhire*, "That *Chriſt* only, and no man elſe merited *Remiſſion*, *Juſtification*, and eternal felicity, for as many as will "believe the ſame; that Chriſt ſhed as much Blood for *Judas*, as "for *Peter*; that *Peter* believed it, and therefore was ſaved; that "*Judas* would not believe, therefore was condemned; the "fault being in him only, and no body elſe. More of which paſſages might be gathered from the Writings of thoſe godly Martyrs, were not theſe ſufficient. And though the *Calvinian* fancies in the points of *Election* and *Reprobation* got ſo much ground on this Church, that they began to be obtruded on the people for the Doctrines of it; yet were they vigorouſly oppoſed by ſome of our *Confeſſors* in Priſon in Queen *Maries* dayes, by Dr. *Harſnet*, and Mr, *Banret* in the Pulpit; and *Peter Baro*, and Dr. *Overald* in the Divinity Schools of *Cambridge* in Queen *Elizabeths* time; by Dr. *Bancroft*, then Lord Biſhop of *London*, in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, *Anno* 1603. being the firſt year of King *James*: and finally by King *James* himſelf, refuſing (as he did) to admit the nine Articles of *Lambeth*, containing all the points and particularities of the *Calvinian* Doctrines of *Predeſtination*, and *Reprobation*, among the Articles of Religion here by Law eſtabliſht, when Dr. *Reynolds* in that *Conference* did deſire it of him: But nothing better proves the Churches Doctrine in theſe points, than the Church it ſelf; by holding forth the univerſal Redemption of all mankinde, by the Death of Chriſt; the free *co-operation* of the will of man, with the Grace of God in the chief acts of his Converſion; the poſſibility of falling into grievous ſins, Gods diſpleaſure, and conſequently from the grace received: all which are utterly deſtructive of *Calvins* Doctrine in this point, and that not of the whole *Machina* only, but of every part and parcel of that ruinous building, as will appear by the particulars hereafter following.

and

By King *James*.

XXXIV. Univerſal Redemption maintained by the Book of Articles.

34. And firſt the Univerſal Redemption of all mankinde by the death of Chriſt, hath been ſo clearly and explicitely delivered by the Church of *England*, that nothing can be more plain. For in the ſecond Article it is ſaid expreſly, "That Chriſt ſuffered, was "Crucified, Dead, and Buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and "to be a *Sacrifice* not only for Original Guilt, but alſo for "the actual ſins of men. Agreeable whereunto, it is declared, "*Art.* 31. That the offering of Chriſt once made, is the per-"fect *Redemption*, *Propitiation*, and *Satisfaction* for the ſins of the "*whole* world, both *original and actual*. In both which Articles, as well the *Sacrifice*, as the effect and fruit thereof, which is the *Reconciliation* of mankinde to God the Father, is delivered in general terms, without any *Reſtriction* put upon them. Neither the *Sacrifice*, nor the *Reconciliation* are by the Articles either reſtrained to this man, or that, or unto one part of the world only, (as for example, *Intra partem donati*) and not to another, but extended to the *whole world*, ſaith the 31. Article; to mankinde, or to men in general, as it is in the ſe-

cond. A clearer comment on which Text we cannot poſſibly have (as to the underſtanding of the Churches meaning) then that which may be found in the publick Liturgy: For firſt in the authorized *Catechiſm* of the Church of *England*, the party *Catechized* being asked what he doth learn in his belief, makes anſwer as to this particular, that *he believes in God the Father, who made him and all the world:* And ſecondly, that he believes *in God the Son, who hath redeemed him and all mankinde*, &c. It may be ſecondly proved in that clauſe in the Letany, *O God the Son*, Redeemer *of the world, have mercy upon us*, &c. Thirdly, By the Prayer of *Conſecration* before the *Communion*, viz. "Almighty God our heavenly Father, which of thy tender "mercy didſt give thy only Son *Jeſus Chriſt* to ſuffer death upon the "Croſs for our *Redemption*, who made there (by his own Oblation "of himſelf once offered) a full, perfect, and ſufficient Sacrifice, "Oblation, and Satisfaction for the ſins of the *WHOLE WORLD*, &c. And fourthly, By the Prayer or Thankſgiving, after the *Communion*, in which we do moſt humbly beſeech the Lord to grant that by the Merits and Death of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and through Faith in his Blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remiſſion of our Sins, and all other benefits of his Paſſion. Nor was it without ſome meaning this way, that She ſelected thoſe words of our Saviour in St. *Johns* Goſpel, viz. *God ſo loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son*, &c. to be uſed in the preparation of the Communion; as She reiterated ſome others, *viz. O Lamb of God, that takeſt away the ſins of the world*, &c. incorporated into the *Gloria in excelſis*, at the end thereof. A truth ſo clear in the delivery of this Church, that there needs no proof of it from the Writings of private men: or if there did, what could be more expreſs than thoſe words of Biſhop *Hooper*, viz. As the ſins of *Adam* without priviledg, or exception, extended and appertained unto all *Adam*'s, and every of *Adam*'s Poſterity; ſo did the promiſe of Grace generally appertain as well to every, and ſingular of *Adam*'s Poſterity, as to *Adam* himſelf, as in the Preface above-mentioned: or what can be more poſitive than that of Biſhop *Latimer* in his firſt Sermon, preached in *Lincolnſhire*, viz. The promiſes of Chriſt our Saviour are general, they pertain to all mankinde. He made a general proclamation, ſaying, *Qui credit in me, habet vitam æternam, Whoſoever believeth in me hath everlaſting life*? eſpecially being ſeconded with that which before we had, that Chriſt did ſhed as much Blood for *Judas*, as he did for *Peter*; which puts the matter high enough without all exception.

Many plain paſſages in the Publick Liturgy,

And the teſtimony of our ancient Martyrs.

XXXV. The freedom of the Will too much advanced by the Pelagians.

35. Touching *Free-Will*, the powers of nature and the celeſtial inferences of the Grace of God, in the converſion of a ſinner, the Church of *England* ran after a middle way, between the *Rigid Lutherans*, and the old *Pelagians*. It was the Hereſie of *Pelagius* to aſcribe ſo much power to the will of man, in laying hold upon the means of his Salvation, *Ut gratiam Dei neceſſariam non putaret*, that he thought the Grace of God to be unneceſſary, of no uſe at all.

all. And *Luther* on the other ſide aſcribed ſo little thereunto, that he publiſhed a Book, entituled, *De ſervo Arbitrio*, touching the ſervitude of the will; in which he held that there was no ſuch thing as *Free-Will*; that it was a meer fiction, *Et nomen ſine re*, a thing only titular, but of no exiſtency in nature, that a man is forcibly drawn to heaven, *Velut inanimatum quiddam*, No otherwiſe than a ſenſleſs ſtock, or an unreaſonable creature. The like we finde to be declared by the *Contra-Remonſtrants*, in the *Collatio Hagienſis*, by whom there was no more aſcribed to the *will* of man in the work of his own *Regeneration*, or in the raiſing of himſelf from the death of Sin, to the life of Righteouſneſs, than they did aſcribe unto him in his generation to the life of nature, or in his Reſurrection from the Dead to life eternal. For thus they ſay, *Sicut ad nativitatem ſuam nemo de ſuo quicquam confert; neque ad ſui exitationem ex mortuis nemo quicquam confert de ſuo, ita etiam ad converſionem ſuam, nemo homo quicquam confert, ſed eſt purum putum opus ejus gratiæ Dei in Chriſto, quæ in nobis operatur, non tantum potentiam credendi, ſed etiam fidem ipſam.* Which monſtrous *Paradox* of theirs was afterwards inſerted in the Canons of the *Synod* of *Dort*: againſt which that divine ſaying of St. *Auguſtine* may be fitly uſed, *Si non eſt gratia Dei, quomodo ſalvat mundum, Si non eſt liberum Arbitrium quomodo judicat mundum,* If there be no Grace of God (ſaith he) by what means can he ſave the world; if there no *Free-will* in man, with what equity can he condemn it. Of the ſame temper is the Doctrine of the Church of *England*: For firſt, ſhe thus declares againſt the *Pelagians* in the firſt clauſe of the 10th. Article, "That the condition of man after the "fall of *Adam* is ſuch, that he cannot turn and prepare himſelf by "his own natural ſtrength and good *Works* to *Faith* and calling upon "God. And ſecondly, ſhe declares thus againſt *Luther* in the ſecond clauſe of that Article, *viz*, "That without the Grace of God by "Chriſt preventing us, that we may have a good will and working "with us; when we have that good will, we have no power to do "good works, which are pleaſing and acceptable unto God: and thereupon it muſt needs follow, that by the freedom of mans will, co-operating with *grace preventing*, and by the *ſubſequent Grace* of God co-operating with the will of man, we have a power of doing ſuch works as may be acceptable and pleaſing to our heavenly Father: which may be further evidenced by this Collect after the Communion, *viz.* "Prevent us O Lord in all our doings, with thy "moſt gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help, that "in all our works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may "glorifie thy Holy Name, and finally by thy Mercy obtain life ever-"laſting, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

Decryed as much by *Luther*, and

The *Contra Remonſtrants*.

The temper of St. *Auguſtin* in it.

Approved and imitated in the Articles of the Church of ENGL.

and

Her Publick Liturgie.

XXXVI.

The Churches Doctrine vindicated and explained by Biſhop *Hooper*.

36. Now that both the laſt clauſe of the Article, and the whole Collect in the *Liturgy* are to be underſtood no otherwiſe then as it is before laid down, appears by this Gloſs of Biſhop *Hooper* on that Text of St. *John*, *viz. No man cometh to me except my Father draw him,*

*him*, chap. 6. 44. Many (ſaith he) underſtand the words in a wrong
and ſenſe; as if God required no more in a reaſonable man, than in a *dead poſt*, and marke not the words which follow, "*Every man* "*that heareth and learneth of my Father cometh to me:* God draweth "with his word, and the Holy Ghoſt, but mans duty is to hear and "learn, that is to ſay, to *receive the grace offered*, conſent to the "promiſe, and *not repugn* the God that calleth. The like occurs in
by Biſhop *Latimer*; Biſhop *Latimers* Sermon on the *Sunday* commonly called *Septuageſima*; in which we find, "That ſeeing the preaching of the Goſpel "is univerſal, it appeareth that God would have all mankinde ſa-"ved; and that the fault is not in him if they be damned: for it is "written thus, *Deus vult omnes homines ſalvos fieri.* God would "have all men be ſaved; but we are ſo wicked of our ſelves, that "we *refuſe the ſame*, and will not take notice when it is offered to us.
as alſo It cannot be denyed, but that the ſame Doctrine is maintained by the *Arminians* (as they call them) and that it is the very ſame with that of the Church of *Rome*, as appears by the Council of *Trent*, cap. *De fructu juſtificationis, & merito bonorum operum*, *Can.* 3. 4. But then it muſt be granted alſo, that it is the Doctrine of the *Me-*
by the *Lutheran* Churches, *lanctonian* Divines, or *Moderate Lutherans*, as was confeſſed by *Andreas vega*, one of the chief ſticklers in the Council of *Trent*, who on the agitating of the point did confeſs ingenuouſly, that there was no difference betwixt the *Lutherans* and that Church touching that
and particular. And then it muſt be granted alſo, that it was the Doctrine of St. *Auguſtine*, according to that divine ſaying of his, *Sine gratia Dei præveniente, ut volimus, & ſubſequente ne fruſtra volimus, ad pietatis opera nil valemus:* ſo that if the Church of *England* muſt
St. *Auguſtine* himſelf. be *Arminian*, and the *Arminians* muſt be *Papiſt*, becauſe they agree together in this particular, the *Melanctonian* Divines among the *Proteſtants*, yea and St. *Auguſtine* himſelf muſt be *Papiſt* alſo.

XXXVII. The Churches Doctrine in the point of Falling away, 37. Such being the freedom of the *will*, in laying or not laying hold upon thoſe means which are offered by Almighty God for our Salvation; it cannot be denyed, but that there is a freedom alſo of the will, in ſtanding unto Grace received, or departing from it: Certain I am that it is ſo reſolved by the Church of *England* in the 16th. Article for Confeſſion, in which it is declared, "That after "we have received the Holy Ghoſt, we may depart from *Grace* gi-"ven, and fall into ſin, and by the grace of God we may ariſe again, "and amend our lives; which is the very ſame with that of the 14th. Article in King *Edward's* Book of the year 1557. where plainly the Church teacheth a poſſibility of falling or departing from the grace of the Holy Ghoſt, which is given unto us; and that our riſing again, and the amending of our lives upon ſuch a riſing, is a matter of contingency only, and no way neceſſary on Gods part to aſſure us of. Conform to which we finde Biſhop *Hooper* thus diſ-
Made clear by ſome expreſſions of Biſhop *Hooper*, courſing in the ſaid Preface to his expoſition of the Ten Commandments, "The cauſe of *Rejection* or *Damnation* (ſaith he) is ſin in man,

"man, which *will not hear*, neither *receive* the promiſe of the Goſ-
"pel; or elſe after he hath received it, by accuſtomed doing of ill,
"*falleth* either into a contempt of the Goſpel, and will not ſtudy to
"live thereafter; or elſe hateth the Goſpel, becauſe it condemneth
"his ungodly life, And we finde Biſhop *Latimer* diſcourſing thus in Of Biſhop *Latimer*.
his eighth Sermon in *Lincolnſhire*, "Thoſe perſons (ſaith he) that be
"not come yet to Chriſt, or if they were come to Chriſt, be *fallen*
"*again from him*, and ſo *loſt their Juſtification* (as there be many of
"us when we *fall willingly* into ſin againſt Conſcience) we *loſe the*
"*favour of God*, our *Salvation, and finally* the *Holy Ghoſt*. And be-
"fore (*c.* 6.) thus, But you will ſay (ſaith he) How ſhall I know
"that I am in the *Book of Life*? How ſhall I try my ſelf to be the
"*Elect* of God to everlaſting life? I anſwer, Firſt, We may know and
"that we may be one time in the *Book*, and another time *come out*
"*again*, as it appeareth by *David*, who was written in the *Book of*
*Life*: but when he ſinned, he at that time was *out of the Book* of the
"*favour of God*, until he repented, and was ſorry for his faults:
"ſo that we may be in the Book one time, and afterwards when we
"forget God and his Word, and do wickedly, we come out of the
"Book, that is, out of Chriſt, who is the Book. Which makes
the point ſo clear and evident on the Churches part, that when it
was moved by Doctor *Reynolds* at *Hampton-Court*, that the words, The Con-
*Nec tolaliter, nec finaliter*, might be added into the Clauſe of that ference at *Hampton Court*.
Article, the motion was generally rejected, and the Article left
ſtanding in the ſame terms, in which it then ſtood. By which we
may the better judge of ſome ſtrange expreſſions amongſt the moſt
*Rigid* ſort of the *Contra-Remonſtrants*, eſpecially of that of *Roger*
*Dontelock*, by whom it is affirmed, that if it were poſſible for any
one man to commit all the ſins over again which have been acted in
the world, it would neither fruſtrate his Election, nor alienate him
from the love and favour of Almighty God: for which conſult
the *Appendix* to the *Preſſeor Declaratio*, *Sententiæ Remonſtrantium*,
Printed at *Leyden*, *Anno* 1616.

38. Such is the Doctrine of this Church, and ſuch the Judge- XXXVIII.
ment of thoſe Reverend Biſhops, and right godly Martyrs in the Pre- The harmony
deſtinarian Controverſies, before remembred. And though I have in- and conſent
ſiſted on thoſe two alone, yet in theirs I include the Judgement of in Judgment
*Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and the reſt of thoſe learned men who laboured in between Biſhop *Hooper* and Biſhop *Ridley*.
the great work of the Reformation. Some difference there had
been betwixt *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, on the one ſide, and *Hooper* only
on the other in matter of Ceremony in which *Hooper* at the laſt
ſubmitted to the other two. But in all the Doctrinal truths of
their Religion there was a full conſent between them: which appears
plainly in this paſſage of a Letter ſent from *Ridley* to *Hooper*, when and
they were both priſoners for the ſame cauſe, though in ſeveral pla-
ces. "But now my dear Brother (ſaith he) for as much as I under-
"ſtand by your works, which I have but ſuperficially ſeen, that we
"through-

"throughly agree, and wholly conſent together in thoſe things "which are the grounds and ſubſtantial points of our Religion, "againſt which the world ſo rageth in theſe our dayes: Howſoever "in times paſt, in certain by-matters, and circumſtances of Reli-"gion, your Wiſdom, and my ſimplicity (I grant) have a little jar-"red; each of us following the *aboundance of his own ſenſe and* "*Judgement*. Now I ſay, be you aſſured, that even with my whole "heart (God is my witneſs) in the Bowels of Chriſt I love you in "truth, and for truths ſake, which abideth in us, and I am perſwa-"ded by the Grace of God, ſhall abide in us for evermore. *Acts and Mon. in Edw.* vi. fol. 1366. Now as Biſhop *Ridley* thus declares himſelf to be of the ſame Judgement with Biſhop *Hooper*, ſo *Cranmer* the Archbiſhop doth declare himſelf to be of the ſame Judgement with Biſhop *Ridley*: for being charged in his examination with thinking otherwiſe in the point of the Sacrament then he had done about ſeven or eight years before, he anſwereth, "That he "then believed otherwiſe than he did at that preſent, and that he "did ſo till the Lord of *London*, Dr. *Ridley*, did confer with him; "and by ſundry perſwaſions and Authorities of other Doctors, "drew him quite from his opinion, with whom he now agreed, *ibid*, *fol.* 1702. Which words though ſpoken only in relation to ſuch points about the Sacrament of the *Altar*, concerning which he was then examined by the Popes Commiſſioners; yet do they ſignifie withal that he relyed very much on *Ridleys* Judgement, and that they were as like to be accorded in all other matters of Religion, as they were in that. And though *Cranmer* exerciſed his Pen for the moſt part againſt the Papiſts, yet in his Book againſt *Steven Gardiner*, *Concerning the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood*, firſt publiſhed in the year 1551. he thus delivereth his opinion in the preſent Controverſies. For ſpeaking of the Sacrifice which was made by Chriſt, he lets us know, "That he took unto himſelf not only "their ſins that many years before were dead, and put their truſt in "him; but alſo all the ſins of thoſe that until his coming again "*ſhould truly believe his Goſpel*: ſo that now we may look for no "other Prieſt, nor Sacrifice to take away our ſins, but only him and "his Sacrifice; that as he dying once was offered for all, ſo "as much as pertained unto him, he took all mens ſins unto him-"ſelf, *fol.* 372. Which is as much as could be looked for from a man, who did not purpoſely apply himſelf to the points in queſtion. Finally, it were worth the learning to know why the Paraphraſes of *Eraſmus* (a man of a known difference in Judgement from *Calvins* Doctrines in theſe points, ſhould be tranſlated into Engliſh by the care of our Prelates; and being ſo tranſlated, ſhould be commended both by King *Edward* vi. and Queen *Elizabeth*, to the diligent reading of their Subjects of all conditions; which certainly they had not done, if they had not been thereunto perſwaded by thoſe Biſhops, and other learned men about them, who had a principal hand

Between Biſhop *Ridley* and Archbiſhop *Cranmer*.

The judgment of Archbiſhop *Cranmer* in the point diſputed.

hand in the Reformation, which clearly ſhews how much, as well the Prieſt as the people were to aſcribe unto the Judgement of that learned man, and conſequently how little unto that of *Calvin* in the preſent Controverſies.

The authority aſcribed to the Works of *Erasmus* by our firſt Reformers.

39. So near this Church comes up unto the Church of *Rome* in Government, forms of Worſhip, and ſome points of *Controverſie*. And ſome there are in which they totally diſagreed, and ſtood in oppoſition unto one another, *viz.* In the Articles touching the *ſufficiency of the Scripture*, *Juſtification*, the *merit* of *good Works*, *Works* done before *Juſtification*, *Works* of *Supererogation*, the Fallibility or Infallibility of the Church of *Rome*; the *Authority* of *General Councils*, *Purgatory*, Adoration of Images, *Invocation* of Saints, the *Celebrating* of Divine Service in the vulgar tongues; the nature and number of the *Sacraments*, *Tranſubſtantiation*, the Communion in both kindes, the *Sacrifice* of the *Maſs*, the ſingle life of *Prieſts*, the power of *National Churches* in ordaining *Ceremonies*, and of the Civil Magiſtrate in matters of Eccleſiaſtical nature: In many of which it might be found no difficult matter to atone the differences, whereſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to commit the managing of them to moderate and prudent men, who prefer truth before opinion, and peace before the prevalency of their ſeveral parties. But whether it be ſo in all, is a harder queſtion, and will remain a queſtion to the end of the world, unleſs all parties lay aſide their private intereſt, and conſcienciouſly reſolve to yield as much to one another as may ſtand with Piety. And then what reaſon can there be, why the breaches in the walls of *Jeruſalem* ſhould not be made up? and being made up, why *Jeruſalem* ſhould not be reſtored to its former Honour, of being *a City at unity within it ſelf*? The hopes of which may be the greater, becauſe there are ſo many points (ſo far forth as they ſtand compriſed in the Book of Articles) in which the firſt *Reformers* were ſo far from being at any difference with the Church of *Rome*, that they did rather joyn with them, in oppoſing the common enemy, *Familiſts*, *Libertines*, *Anti-Trinitarians*, *Anabaptiſts*, and other *Hereticks* of that age, who ſeemed to dig at the foundation of the Chriſtian Faith, and aim at the ſubverſion of humane Society; Of which ſort are the *Articles* of the *Holy Trinity*, the Incarnation of the Son of God, the *Divinity* of the *Holy Ghoſt*, of the Old Teſtament, of the three *Creeds*, of Original Sin, of the *Authority* of the Church, of miniſtring in the Congregation, of hindring the effect of the Sacraments by unworthy Miniſters, of Infant Baptiſm, and the *Traditions* of the Church; of the Conſecration of *Biſhops*, and *Miniſters*; of the Authority of the Civil Magiſtrate in making Wars, and puniſhing *Malefactors* with *Temporal* Death; of the community of Goods, and the exacting of an Oath to finde out the truth: Of moſt of which it may be ſaid in St. *Auguſtines* language, *His qui contra dicit, aut a Chriſti fide alienus eſt, aut eſt Hereticus*; that he who ſhall

XXXIX. The Points which ſtill remain in difference betwixt the Churches.

How far within the poſſibility of Reconcilement.

And in what points they joyn together againſt the Anabaptiſts and Sectaries.

ſhall deny to give his aſſent unto them, is either an alien from the Faith, or at leaſt an *Heretick*.

XL. Liberty of Opinion left in other Points by the firſt Reformers,

40. And then there are ſome other things which are not comprehended in thoſe *Articles*, in which, though there were differences between them in point of Judgement, yet the Reformers thought not fit to determine of them poſitively upon either ſide, but left them to the liberty of opinion, to be diſputed, *Pro* and *Con*, amongſt learned men, according as their underſtandings fancy, or affections ſhould diſpoſe them to it: ſome points there are of *Phylological*, and others of *Scholaſtical Divinity*, in which there is *Libertas opinandi*, a liberty of opinion left unto us, *de quibus, ſentire quæ velis, & quæ ſentias loqui liceat*, in the words of *Tacitus*. In theſe and ſuch as theſe St. *Paul* himſelf ſeems to leave a latitude, when he gives way, *Ut quilibet Abundet in ſuo ſenſu*, Rom. 14. 5. that is to ſay, *Let every man abound in his own ſenſe*, as the *Rhemiſts* read it; eſpecially, *If he be fully perſwaded in his own minde* (touching the truth of what he writes) as our laſt Tranſlation: Which *liberty* as ſome have taken, in cloſing with the *Papiſts* in ſome particulars, which are not contrary to the *Faith* and *Doctrine*, or to the eſtabliſht *Government*, and *Forms* of *Worſhip* of the Church of *England*, they are not for ſo doing to be branded by the name of *Papiſts*; or their writings to be cenſured and condemned for *Popiſh*, becauſe perhaps they differ in thoſe matters from the Churches of *Calvins Platform*, *Veritas a quocunque eſt, eſt a ſpiritu ſancto*, as divinely *Ambroſe*. Truth is no more reſtrained to the Schools of *Calvin*, then to thoſe of *Rome*; ſome truths being to be found in each, but not all in either. And certainly in this the firſt *Reformers* did exceeding wiſely, in not tying up the judgements of learned men, where they might be freed; but leaving them a ſufficient ſcope to exerciſe their wits and Pens, as they ſaw occaſion. Had they done otherwiſe, and condemned every thing for *Popiſh*, which was either taught or uſed in the times of *Popery*, they muſt then have condemned the Doctrine of the *Trinity* it ſelf, as was well obſerved by King *James* in the *Conference* at *Hampton-Court*: And then ſaid he, *You* (Dr. *Reynolds*) *muſt go barefoot, becauſe they wore hoſe and ſhooes in times of Popery*, p. 75. Beſides which inconvenience it muſt needs have followed, that by a general renouncing of all ſuch things as have been taught and uſed by the Church of *Rome*, the Confeſſion of the Church of *England*, muſt have been like that (both in condition and effect) which Mr. *Craig* compoſed for the Kirk of *Scotland*, of which King *James* tells us, *p.* 39. that with his, I renounce and I abhor his Deteſtations and *Proteſtations*, he did ſo amaze the ſimple people, that they (not able to conceive all thoſe things) utterly gave over all, falling back to Popery, or ſtill remaining in their former ignorance.

and

Their diſcretion in ſo doing:

Approved and commended by King *James*.

41. Such

41. Such was the Moderation which was uſed by our firſt *Reformers*, and on ſuch Principles and Poſitions, did they ground this Church. Which I have laid down here at large, that ſo we may the better Judge of thoſe Deviations, which afterwards were made by Factious and unquiet men; as alſo of the Piety of their endeavours, who aimed at the Reduction of her to her firſt condition. If the great *Prelate*, whom I write of, did either labour to *ſubvert* the *Doctrine* or *innovate* any thing, either in the Publick Government, or Formes of Worſhip, here by Law Eſtabliſhed, contrary to the Principles and Poſitions before expreſſed; his Adverſaries had the better Reaſon to clamor againſt him whilſt he lived, and to perſue their clamors till the very laſt. But on the other ſide, if neither in his own perſon, or by the diligence and activity of his *ſubſervient Miniſters*, he acted or ſuffered any thing to be juſtified in point of Practice, or allowed any thing to be Preached or Prayed, or hindred any thing from being Publiſhed or Preached, but what may be made good by the Rules of the Church, and the complexion of the times in which he lived; thoſe foul Reproaches, which ſo unjuſtly and uncharitably have been laid upon him, muſt return back upon the Authors, from whom they came, as ſtones thrown up againſt the Heavens, do many times fall upon the heads of thoſe that threw them. But whither ſide deſerved the blame for innovating in the Doctrine, Rites, and Ceremonies of the *Anglican* Church, according to the firſt Principles and Poſitions of it; will beſt appear by the courſe of the enſuing Hiſtory, Relation being had to this Introduction, which I have here placed in the front, as a Lamp or Candle (ſuch as we find commonly in the Porches of Great Mens houſes) to light the way to ſuch as are deſirous to go into them, that they may enter with delight, converſe therein with pleaſure, and return with ſafety. XLI.

# *CYPRIANUS ANGLICUS:*

OR, THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# Life and Death,

OF

The most Reverend and Renowned PRELATE

# WILLIAM

By Divine Providence,

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *ENGLAND*, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of the Universities of *Oxon.* and *Dublin*, and one of the Lords of the Privy Council to His late most SACRED MAJESTY

King CHARLES

Second MONARCH of *Great-Britain.*

---

PART. I.

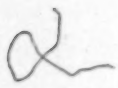
*Containing the History of his Life and Actions from the day of his Birth*, Octob. 7. 1573. *to the day of his Nomination to the See of* Canterbury, August 6. 1633.

---

*LONDON:*

Printed by *E. Cotes* for *A. Seile*, 1668.

---



# THE LIFE OF The most Reverend FATHER in GOD WILLIAM Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

## LIB. I.

*Extending from the time of his Birth, till his being made Biſhop of St.* Davids.

TO Recommend unto Poſterity the *Lives* and *Actions* of eminent and famous Perſons, hath alwayes been eſteemed a work becoming the moſt able Pens. Nothing ſo much enobleth *Plutarch*, as his committing unto memory, the Actions and Achievements of the moſt renowned *Greeks* and *Romans*; or added more unto the fame of *Diogenes Laertius*, than that which he hath left us of the *Lives* and *Apophthegms* of the old *Philoſophers*. Some pains have fortunately been taken in this kind, by *Paulus Jovius* Biſhop of *Como*, and by *Matthew Parker* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the dayes of our Fathers. Nor can we be ſo little ſtuddied in the World, as not to know, that even particular perſons (I ſpeak not here of Kings and Princes) have had their own particular and diſtinct *Hiſtorians*; by whom their Parts and Piety, their Military Exploits, or Civil Prudence, have been tranſmitted to the knowledge of ſucceeding ages. So that adventuring on the *Life* of this famous *Prelate*, I cannot be without Examples, though without Encouragements. For what Encouragements can there be to ſuch a worke,

LIB. I. work, in which there is an impoſſibility of pleaſing all; more than an ordinary probability of offending many; no expectation of Reward, nor certainty of any thing but miſconſtructions, and Detractings, if not dangers alſo. Howſoever I ſhall give my ſelf the ſatisfaction, of doing my laſt duty, to the memory of a man ſo Famous, of ſuch a Publick Spirit in all his actions, ſo eminently deſerving of the Church of *England*: With which profeſſion of my Piety, and Ingenuity, I ſhall not be altogether out of hope, but that my Labours in this *Piece* may obtain a pardon, if they ſhall not reach to an Applauſe.

*Anno Dom.* 1573. *William Laud* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was born on the 7th. day of *October*, *An.* 1573. A year remarkable for the buſlings of the *Puritan* Faction, who before they had ſerved an Apprentiſhip in the Trade of Sedition, began to ſet up for themſelves; and ſeeing they could not have the countenance of Authority, to juſtifie the advancing of their Holy Diſcipline, reſolved to introduce it by little and little, as opportunity ſhould be given them; which they did accordingly. His *Birth place*, *Reading*, the principal Town of *Berks*, for Wealth and Beauty; remarkable heretofore for a ſtately and magnificent *Abby*, founded and liberally Endowed by King *Henry* I. and no leſs eminent in theſe laſt Ages for the Trade of Clothing, the Seminary of ſome Families of Gentry within that County. And of this Trade his Father was, who kept not only many *Lomes* in his houſe, but many *Weavers*, *Spinners*, and *Fullers*, at continual work; living in good Eſteem and Reputation amongſt his Neighbours to the very laſt. His Mother *Lucy Webb*, was Siſter to Sir *William Webb* Lord Maior of *London*, *Anno* 1591. the Grand-Father of Sir *William Webb* not long ſince deceaſed: She was firſt Marryed to *John Robinſon* a Clothier of the ſame Town alſo; but a Man of ſo good Wealth and Credit, that he Marryed one of his Daughters to Dr. *Cotsford*, and another unto Dr. *Layfield*, men of parts and worth; and left his youngeſt Son called *William*, in ſo good a way, that he came to be *Doctor* of *Divinity*, *Prebend* of *Weſtminſter*, and *Archdeacon* of *Nottingham*, beſide ſome other preferments which he dyed poſſeſt of. Having buryed her Husband *John Robinſon*, ſhe was Re-marryed unto *Laud*, this Archbiſhops Father, to whom ſhe brought no other child than this Son alone; as if ſhe had ſatisfied that duty which was owing to her ſecond Marriage bed, by bringing forth a Son, who was to be the Patriarch (in a manner) of the *Britiſh Iſlands*.

(ab) *Brev.* 1. Lord *Brook*, p. 3. He was not born therefore of ſuch *Poor and* (a) *obſcure Parents*, as the Publiſher of his *Breviat* makes him, much leſs (b) *E fæce Plebis*, of the dregs of the People, as both he and all the reſt of the Biſhops were affirmed to be by the late Lord *Brook* (who of all others had leaſt Reaſon to upbraid them with it) in a book of his touching the nature of that *Epiſcopacy*, which had been exerciſed in *England*.

*England.* But granting that he had been born of as *poor and obſcure Parents* as thoſe Authors make him; yet muſt it needs add to the commendation of his Parts and Induſtry, who from ſo mean and low a Birth, had raiſed himſelf into ſuch an eminent height of Power and Glory, that no Biſhop or Archbiſhop, ſince the Reformation, had attained the like. The greateſt Rivers many times have the ſmalleſt Fountains, ſuch as can hardly be found out, and being found out, as hardly quit the coſt of the diſcovery; and yet by long running, and holding on a conſtant and continual courſe, they become large, navigable, and of great benefit unto the Publick. Whereas ſome Families may be compared to the *Pyramides* of *Ægypt*, which being built on great Foundations, grow narrower and narrower by degrees, until at laſt they end in a ſmall *Conus*, in a point, in nothing. For if we look into the Stories of the Times foregoing, we ſhall find, that poor and obſcure Cottages have bred Commanders to the Camp, Judges unto the Seats of Juſtice, Counſellors to the State, Peers to the Realm, and Kings themſelves unto the Throne, as well as *Prelates* to the Church: When ſuch as do pretend to a Nobler Birth, do many times conſume themſelves in effeminate Luxuries, and waſte their Fortunes in a Prodigal and Libidinous Courſe. Which brings into my mind the Anſwer made by Mr. *Pace* (one of the Secretaries to King *Hen.* viii.) to a Nobleman about the Court; For when the ſaid Nobleman had told him, in contempt of Learning, *That it was enough for Noblemens Sons to wind their* Horn, *and carry their* Hawk *fair, and to leave Study and Learning to the Children of mean men*; Mr. *Pace* thereunto replied, *Then his Lordſhip, and the reſt of the Noblemen, muſt be content to leave unto the Sons of meaner Perſons, the managing of Affairs of Eſtate; when their own Children pleaſe themſelves with winding their* Horns, *and managing their* Hawks, *and other Follies of the Country.*

LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1573.

*Camd. Rem. p.* 273. laſt Edit.

But yet notwithſtanding, ſuch was the envy of the Times, that he was frequently upbraided in the days of his Greatneſs, as well (in common Speech) as ſcattered Libells, with the *mean* condition of his Birth. And I remember that I found him once in his Garden at *Lambeth*, with more than ordinary Trouble in his Countenance; of which not having confidence enough to enquire the Reaſon, he ſhewed me a Paper in his hand, and told me it was a printed Sheet of a Scandalous *Libel* which had been ſtopp'd at the Preſs, in which he found himſelf reproach'd with ſo baſe a Parentage, as if he had been raked out of the Dunghil; adding withal, That though he had not the good fortune to be born a Gentleman, yet he thank'd God he had been born of honeſt Parents, who lived in a plentiful condition, employed many poor People in their way, and left a good report behind them. And thereupon beginning to clear up his Countenance, I told him as preſently as I durſt, That Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth, as ſtout a Pope as ever wore the Triple Crown,

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1573. Crown, but a poor mans Son, did uſe familiarly to ſay, in contempt of ſuch *Libells* as frequently were made againſt him, That he was *Domo natus Illuſtri*, becauſe the Sun-beams paſſing through the broken Walls and ragged Roof, *illuſtrated* every corner of that homely Cottage in which he was born; with which facetiouſneſs of that Pope (ſo applicable to the preſent occaſion) he ſeemed very well pleaſed.

1589. But to go forwards with our Story. Having eſcaped a dangerous Sickneſs in his Childhood, he was trained up (as ſoon as he was fitted for it) in the Free Grammar-School of *Reading*; in which he profited ſo well, and came on ſo faſt, that before he was ſixteen years of age (which was very early for thoſe times) he was ſent to *Oxon.* and entred a Commoner in St. *John*'s Colledge, and there committed to the tuition of Mr. *Buckeridge*, one of the Fellows of that Colledge, and afterwards the worthy Preſident of it. It proved no ordinary happineſs to the Scholar, to be principled under ſuch a *Tutor*, who knew as well as any other of his time, how to employ the two-edged Sword of Holy Scripture, of which he made good proof in the times ſucceeding, brandiſhing it on the one ſide againſt the *Papiſts*, and on the other againſt the *Puritans* or *Nonconformiſts*. In reference to the firſt, it is ſaid of him in the general by Biſhop *Godwin*, (*d*) That he endeavoured moſt induſtriouſly, both by Preaching and Writing, to defend and propagate the True Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed: Which appears plainly by his Learned and Laborious Piece, entituled, *De poteſtate Papæ in Temporalibus*, Printed at *London*, *Anno* 1614. in which he hath ſo ſhaken the Foundation of the *Papal* Monarchy, and the pretended Superiority of that *See* over Kings and Princes, that none of the Learned men of that Party did ever undertake a Reply unto it. With like ſucceſs, but with leſs pains unto himſelf, he managed the Controverſie concerning Kneeling at the Lords Supper, againſt thoſe of the *Puritan* Faction; the Piety and Antiquity of which Religious Poſture in that Holy Action, he aſſerted with ſuch ſolid Reaſons and ſuch clear Authorities, in a Treatiſe by him publiſhed *Anno* 1618. that he came off without the leaſt oppoſition by that Party alſo. But before the publiſhing of theſe Books, or either of them, his eminent Abilities in the Pulpit had brought him into great credit with King *James*; inſomuch that he was choſen to be one of the four (Dr. *Andrews* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *Barlow* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Dr. *King* then Dean of *Chriſtchurch*, and not long after Biſhop of *London*, were the other three) who were appointed to Preach before his Majeſty at *Hampton-court* in the Month of *September* 1606. for the Reductions of the two *Melvins*, and other *Presbyterian Scots*, to a right underſtanding of the Church of *England*. In the performance of which Service, he took for his Text thoſe words of the Apoſtle, *Let every ſoul, &c.* Rom. 13. 1. In canvaſing whereof, he fell upon the Point of the Kings *Supremacy* in Cauſes *Eccleſiaſtical*; which he handled

(a) *Etiam ſcribendo, quam concionando veritatem Evangelicam haud ſegniter ſatagit propugnare.* Godwin Catal. Epiſc. 584.

handled (*e*) (as the moſt Reverend Archbiſhop *Spotwood* (who was preſent at the Sermon) hath informed us of him) "both learned-"ly and ſoundly, to the ſatisfaction of all the hearers; but that the "*Scottiſh* Miniſters ſeemed very much grieved to hear the *Pope* and "the *Presbytery* ſo often equalled in their oppoſition to *Sovereign* "Princes. *Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Lib.* VII. *pag.* 497. And though the other three, with the like abilities and elocution had diſcharged their parts, yet gained they nothing on the *Scots*, who were reſolved, like the *deaf Adder* in the Pſalmiſt, *not to give ear unto the Charmers, charmed they never ſo wiſely.* But whatſoever they loſt in the opinion of that proud and refractory Generation, they gained exceedingly on the King, and great Preferments for themſelves, Biſhop *Andrews* being not long after removed to the See of *Ely*, Biſhop *Barlow* unto that of *Lincoln*, Dr. *King* preferred to the See of *London*, and Dr. *Buckridge* to that of *Rocheſter*, where he continued till the year 1627. when by the power and favour of this his preſent *Pupill* (then Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*) he was tranſlated to the rich Biſhoprick of *Ely*, in which *See* he died.

LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1589.

(e) *Hiſt. of Scot. lib.* 7. *p.* 497.

Of this man I have ſpoken the more at large, that finding the temper of the *Tutor*, we may the better judge of thoſe ingredients which went to the making up of the *Scholar*. Having ſpent about a year in his Colledge, there was raiſed ſuch a good report of him in the Town of *Reading*, that partly by his own proficiencies, and partly by the good eſteem which was had of his Father, he was nominated by the Mayor and others of that Corporation unto a Scholars place in that Houſe, according to the Conſtitutions of Sir *Tho. White*, the Honourable and ſole Founder of it, who though he had deſigned the *Merchant-Taylors* School in *London* for the Chief Seminary of his Colledge, yet being a man of a more publick Spirit, than to confine himſelf to any one place, he allowed two Fellowſhips to the City of *Coventry*, and as many to *Briſtol*, two alſo to the Town of *Reading*, and one to *Tunbridg*. Admitted a Scholar of the Houſe on this nomination, at the end of three years (according to the Cuſtom of that Colledge) he was made one of the Fellows, taking his *Academical* Degrees according to that cuſtom alſo; by which cuſtom thoſe of that Society are kept longer from taking their degrees in the Arts, but are permitted to take their Degrees in Divinity much ſooner than in other Houſes; ſo that although he proceeded not Maſter of Arts till the Month of *July* 1599. yet at the end of five years only he took the Degree of *Batchelour* in *Divinity*, without longer ſtay; during which interval he was firſt made *Deacon*, and afterwards was put into the Order of *Prieſthood* by Dr. *Young* then Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the See of *Oxon.* being vacant, in which vacancy it had continued for the ſpace of 11. years, that is to ſay, from the death of Biſhop *Underhill*, *An.* 1592. till the Conſecration of Dr. *Bridges* on the twelfth of *February*, *An.* 1603. The Patrimony of that Church being in the mean time much dilapidated and made a prey (for the moſt part) to the Earl of *Eſſex*,

1590.

1593.

1599.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1600.

to whom it proved as miſerably fatal, as the Gold of *Tholouſe* did of old to the Soldiers of *Cæpio*.

And now being fallen upon his Studies in Divinity, in the exerciſe whereof he met with ſome affronts and oppoſitions, it will be neceſſary to take a ſhort view of the then preſent Eſtate of that Univerſity, that ſo we may the better diſcern the Reaſons of thoſe affronts and oppoſitions under which he ſuffered. Know then, that Mr. *Lawrence Humphrey*, one of the Fellows of *Magdalen* Colledge, being deprived of his Fellowſhip there in Queen *Maries* time, betook himſelf to the City of *Zurich*, a City of chiefeſt note amongſt the *Switzers*, remarkable for the Preachings and Death of *Zuinglius*; from whence, and from the Correſpondence which he had at *Geneva*, he brought back with him at his returning into *England* on Queen *Maries* death, ſo much of the *Calvinian*, both in Doctrine and in Diſcipline, that the beſt that could be ſaid of him, by (*f*) one who commonly ſpeaks favourably of all that Party, is, that he was *a moderate and conſcientious Non-conformiſt*. Immediately on his return he was by Queen *Elizabeth* made *Preſident* of *Magdalen* Colledge, and found to be the fitteſt man (as certainly he was a man of very good parts, and the Maſter of a pure Latin Style) for governing the *Divinity Chair*, as her Majeſties *Profeſſor* in that *Faculty*; in which he continued till the year 1596. and for a great part of that time was *Vice-chancellor* alſo. By which advantages he did not only ſtock his Colledge with ſuch a generation of *Non-conformiſts* as could not be wormed out in many years after his deceaſe; but ſowed in the Divinity Schools ſuch ſeeds of *Calviniſm*, and laboured to create in the younger Students ſuch a ſtrong hate againſt the Papiſts, as if nothing but Divine Truths were to be found in the one, and nothing but Abominations to be ſeen in the other. And though Doctor *John Holland* Rector of *Exceter* Colledge, who ſucceeded *Humphries* in the *Chair*, came to it better principled than his Predeceſſor, yet did he ſuffer himſelf to be borne away by the violent current of the times, contrary in ſome caſes to his own opinion.

(f) *Full. Hiſt. lib. 9. p. 234.*

And yet as zealous as Doctor *Humphries* ſhewed himſelf againſt the *Papiſts* (inſomuch as he got the title of a *Papiſto Maſtyx*) he was not thought, though ſeconded by the Lady *Margarets* Profeſſor for that Univerſity, to make the diſtance wide enough betwixt the Churches. A new Lecture therefore muſt be founded by Sir *Francis Walſingham* Principal Secretary of Eſtate, a man of Great Abilities in the Schools of *Policy*, an extreme hater of the *Popes* and Church of *Rome*, and no leſs favourable unto thoſe of the *Puritan* Faction. The deſigne was to make the Religion of the Church of *Rome* more odious, and the differences betwixt them and the *Proteſtants* to appear more irreconcileable than before they did. And that he might not fail of his purpoſe in it, the Reading of this Lecture was committed to Doctor *John Reynolds* Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge, a man of infinite Reading, and as vaſt a Memory; who having lived

ſome-

ſometimes in one of our *Engliſh* Seminaries beyond the Seas, declared himſelf as profeſt a *Papiſt*, and as eager in the purſuit of that way, as any other whatſoever: But being regained unto this Church by his Brother *William*, who loſt himſelf in the encounter, he thought he could not ſufficiently expreſs his deteſtation of the errors and corruptions in the Church of *Rome*, but by running to the other extream, and making himſelf conſiderable amongſt the *Puritans*. On which account, as he became very gracious to Sir *Francis Walſingham*, ſo was he quickly made the Spiritual Head of the *Puritan* Faction; in which capacity he managed their buſineſs for them in the Conference at *Hampton Court*, *Anno* 1603. where he appeared the principal if not only Speaker, the other three (that is to ſay, *Spark*, *Chadderton*, and *Knewſtubs*) ſerving no otherwiſe than as Mutes and Cyphers to make up the meſs. LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1600.

By the power and practices of theſe men, the diſpoſition of thoſe times, and the long continuance of the Earl of *Leiceſter* (the principal Patron of that Faction) in the place of *Chancellor*, the face of that Univerſity was ſo much altered, that there was little to be ſeen in it of the Church of *England*, according to the Principles and Poſitions upon which it was at firſt Reformed. All the *Calvinian* Rigors in matters of *Predeſtination*, and the Points depending thereupon, received as the Eſtabliſhed Doctrines of the Church of *England*; the neceſſity of the one Sacrament, the eminent dignity of the other, and the powerful efficacy of both unto mans ſalvation, not only diſputed, but denyed; the Article of Chriſts *local deſcent into hell*, ſo poſitively aſſerted in two Convocations, *Anno* 1552. and 1562. at firſt corrupted with falſe Gloſſes, afterwards openly contradicted, and at laſt totally diſclaimed, becauſe repugnant to the Fancies of ſome Forreign Divines, though they at odds amongſt themſelves in the meaning of it; *Epiſcopacy* maintained by halves, not as a diſtinct *Order* from that of the *Presbyters*, but only a *degree* above them, or perhaps not that, for fear of giving ſcandal to the Churches of *Calvins Platform*; the Church of *Rome* inveighed againſt as the *Whore of Babylon*, or the *Mother of Abominations*; the *Pope* as publickly maintained to be *Antichriſt*, or the Man of Sin, and that as poſitively and magiſterially as if it had been one of the chief Articles of the Chriſtian Faith; and then for fear of having any good thoughts for either, the viſibility of the Church muſt be no otherwiſe maintained, than by looking for it in the ſcattered *Conventicles* of the *Berengarians* in *Italy*, the *Albigenſes* in *France*, the *Huſſites* in *Bohemia*, and the *Wickliffiſts* among our ſelves. Nor was there any greater care taken for the *Forms* and *Orders* of this Church, than there had been for points of Doctrine, the Surplice ſo diſuſed in officiating the Divine Service of the Church, and the Divine Service of the Church ſo ſlubbered over in moſt of the Colledges, that the *Prelates* and *Clergy* aſſembled in *Convocation*, *Anno* 1603. were neceſſitated to frame two *Canons*, that is to ſay, *Can.* 16, 17. to bring them

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1600.

them back again to the ancient practiſe; particularly, the bowing at the Name of JESUS, commanded by the Injunctions of Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1559. and uſed in moſt Churches of the Kingdom, ſo much neglected and decryed, that *Airy* (g) *Provoſt* of *Queens Colledge* writ a Tract againſt it; the Habits of the Prieſts, by which they were to be diſtinguiſhed from other men, (not only by the Queens Injunctions, but alſo by ſome following Canons made in *Convocation*) ſo much deſpiſed, and laid aſide, that Doctor *Reynolds* had the confidence to appear in the *Conference* at *Hampton Court* in his *Turky* Gown, and therefore may be thought to have worn no other in the Univerſity: And in a word, (*h*) the Books of *Calvin* made the Rule by which all men were to ſquare their Writings, his only word (like the *ipſe dixit* of *Pythagoras*) admitted for the ſole Canon to which they were to frame and conform their Judgments, and in compariſon of whom the Ancient Fathers of the Church (men of Renown, and the Glories of their ſeveral Times) muſt be held contemptible; and to offend againſt this *Canon*, or to break this Rule, eſteemed a more unpardonable Crime, than to violate the Apoſtles *Canons*, or diſpute the Doctrines and Determinations of any of the four firſt general Councels; ſo as it might have proved more ſafe for any man, in ſuch a general deviation from the Rules and Dictates of this Church, to have been look'd upon as an *Heathen* or *Publican*, than an *Anti-Calviniſt*.

(g) *Cant. Dome.* p. 469.

(h) *Hooker Preface.*

But *Laud* was of a ſtronger Metal than to give up himſelf ſo tamely, and being forged and hammered on a better Anvil, would not be wrought on by the times, or captivate his Underſtanding to the Names of Men, how great ſoever they appeared in the eyes of others. Nor would he run precipitately into common Opinions (for common Opinions many times are but common Errors) as *Calderinus* is reported to have gone to (*i*) *Maſs* becauſe he would not break company with the reſt of his friends. His Studies in Divinity he had founded on the Holy Scriptures, according to the Gloſſes and Interpretations of the ancient Fathers; for doing which he had the countenance and direction of a *Canon* made in *Convocation*, *Anno* 1571. by which it was appointed, That in interpreting the Scriptures, they were to raiſe no other Doctrines from them than what had been collected thence from the ancient Fathers, and other godly Biſhops of the Primitive times. (*k*) And laying to this Line the eſtabliſh'd Doctrines and Determinations of the Church of *England*, it was no hard matter to him to diſcern how much the Church had deviated from her ſelf, or moſt men rather from the Church, in thoſe latter times; how palpably the Articles had been wreſted from the *Literal* and *Gramatical* ſence, to fit them to the ſence of particular perſons; how a different conſtruction had been put upon them, from that which was the true and *genuine* meaning of the men that framed them, and the Authority which confirmed them; and finally, that it would be a work of much glory, but of much more merit,

(i) *Eamus ergo, quia ſic placet, in communes errores.* Ludo. Vives in Aug. de Civit. Dei. *Niſi quod ex illa ipſa doctrina, catholici Patres & veteres Epiſcopi collegerunt.*

(k) *Lib. Can. cap. De conſtitut.* p. 19.

rit, to bring her back again to her native Principles. But then withal, it was as eaſie to diſcern how deſperate an attempt it muſt needs appear for a ſingle man, unſeconded, and not well befriended, to oppoſe himſelf againſt an Army; how vain a thing to ſtrive againſt ſo ſtrong a ſtream, and croſs the current of the times; that the diſeaſe by long neglect was grown ſo natural and habitual, that more miſchief might be feared from the Medicine, than from the Malady; that he muſt needs expoſe himſelf to many Cenſures and Reproaches, and poſſibly to ſome danger alſo by the undertaking. But theſe laſt conſiderations being weighed in the Scale of the *Sanctuary*, appeared ſo light, that he was reſolved to try his fortune in the work, and to leave the iſſue thereof unto God, by whom *Paul's planting* and *Apollo's watering do receive increaſe*? LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1600.

For being thus reſolved upon the point, it was not long before he had an opportunity to ſet it forwards. He had before attained unto an high eſteem for Arts and Oratory, and was conceived to have made ſo good a proficiency in the Studies of Divinity alſo, that in the year 1602. he was admitted to read the Lecture of Mrs. *May's* Foundation, with the general liking of that Colledge. With the like general conſent and approbation he was choſen out of all the reſt of that Society to be a *Candidate* for the *Proctorſhip* in the Univerſity, into which Office he was choſen on the fourth of *May*, 1603. which was as ſoon as he was capable of it by the Univerſity Statutes; which Office he diſcharged with great applauſe as to himſelf, and general ſatisfaction unto others. Doctor *George Abbot* Maſter of *Univerſity* Colledge (who afterwards attained to the See of *Canterbury*) was at that time *Vice-chancellor* of the Univerſity, whom with the reſt of the Doctors and *Heads* of Houſes he accompanied to *Woodſtock* Manor, to preſent themſelves and tender their moſt humble ſervice to the moſt Mighty Prince King *James*, ſucceeding on the 24th. of *March* before to the Crown of *England*: And in this year it was (but whether in reading of the Lecture of Mrs. *May's* Foundation, or ſome other *Chappel Exerciſe*, I am not able to ſay) he maintained the conſtant and perpetual *viſibility* of the Church of Chriſt, derived from the Apoſtles to the Church of *Rome*, continued in that Church (as in others of the *Eaſt* and *South*) till the *Reformation*. Dr. *Abbot* Maſter of *Univerſity* Colledg, and *Vice-chancellor*, was of a different opinion, and could not finde any ſuch viſibility of the Chriſtian Church, but by tracing it as well as he could from the *Berengarians* to the *Albigenſes*, from the *Albigenſes* to the *Wickliffiſts*, from the *Wickliffiſts* unto the *Huſſites*, and from the *Huſſites* unto *Luther* and *Calvin*; for proof whereof, we may conſult a Book of his, entituled, *The Viſibility of the Church*, publiſhed in thoſe buſie Times when this impertinent Queſtion, *viz. Where was your Church before Luther*? was as impertinently inſiſted on by the Prieſts and Jeſuites. This being his opinion alſo when he lived in *Oxon*, he thought it a great derogation to his Parts and Credit, that any man ſhould dare 1602. 1603.

to

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1603. 1604.

to maintain the contrary, and thereupon conceived a ſtrong grudge againſt him, which no tract of time could either aboliſh or diminiſh.

In the next year, *viz.* 1604. he performed his Exerciſe for *Batchelor of Divinity*, in which he maintained theſe two Points: Firſt, *The* neceſſity *of Baptiſm:* Secondly, *That there could be no true Church without* Dioceſan *Biſhops:* For which laſt he was ſhrewdly ratled by Doctor *Holland* above-mentioned, as one that did endeavour to caſt a bone of Diſcord betwixt the Church of *England*, and the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas; and for the firſt it was objected, That he had taken the greateſt part of his *Suppoſition* out of *Bellarmines* Works, as if the Doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son of God, or any neceſſary Truths, were to be renounced becauſe they are defended by that Learned Cardinal. But misfortunes ſeldom come alone, if at the leaſt it may be counted a misfortune to be reproach'd for ſtanding up in defence of truth: For not long after, *viz.* *Anno* 1606. he was queſtioned by Dr. *Airy*, being *Vice-chancellor* for that year, for a Sermon preached in St. *Maries* Church on the 26th. of *October*, as containing in it ſundry ſcandalous and *Popiſh* paſſages; the good man taking all things to be matter of *Popery*, which were not held forth unto him in *Calvins Inſtitutes*; conceiving that there was as much Idolatry in *bowing at the Name of* JESUS, as in worſhipping the *braſen Serpent*, and as undoubtedly believing that *Antichriſt* was begotten on the Whore of *Babylon*, as that *Pharez* and *Zara* were begotten on the body of *Tamar*. Which advantage being taken by Doctor *Abbot*, he ſo violently perſecuted the poor man, and ſo openly branded him for a *Papiſt*, or at leaſt very *Popiſhly* enclined, that it was almoſt made an *Hereſie* (as I have heard from his own mouth) for any one to be ſeen in his company, and a *miſpriſion* of *Hereſie* to give him a civil Salutation as he walked the Streets. But there will one day come a time, when Doctor *Abbot* may be made more ſenſible of theſe Oppreſſions, when he ſhall ſee this poor deſpiſed man ſtanding upon the higher ground, and more above him in reſpect of Power, than beneath in Place: So unſafe a thing it is for them that be in Authority to abuſe their Power, and carry matters on to the laſt extremities, as if they had *Fortune* in a ſtring, and could be ſure to lead her with them whitherſoever they went.

This ſcandal being raiſed at *Oxon*, it was not long before it flew to *Cambridge* alſo, at what time Mr. *Joſeph Hall* (who died Biſhop of *Norwich* about the year 1657.) was exerciſing his Pen in the way of Epiſtles, in one of which inſcribed to Mr. *W. L.* (the two firſt Letters of his Name) it was generally ſuppoſed that he aimed at him, and was this that followeth. "I would (*ſaith he*) I knew "where to finde you; then I could tell how to take direct aims; "whereas now I muſt pore and conjecture. To day you are in the "Tents of the *Romaniſts*, to morrow in ours; the next day between "both, againſt both. Our Adverſaries think you ours, we theirs; "your Conſcience findes you with both, and neither. I flatter you "not:

*L. Decad.* 3. *Epiſt.*

" not: This of yours is the worſt of all tempers: Heat and Cold
" have their uſes; Lukewarmneſs is good for nothing, but to trou-
" ble the ſtomack. Thoſe that are ſpiritually hot, find acceptation;
" thoſe that are ſtark cold, have a leſſer reckoning; the mean between
" both is ſo much worſe, as it comes neerer to good, and attains it
" not. How long will you halt in this indifferency? Reſolve one way,
" and know at laſt what you do hold, what you ſhould. Caſt off
" either your wings or your teeth, and loathing this Bat-like Nature,
" be either a Bird or a Beaſt. To die wavering and uncertain, your
" ſelf will grant fearful. If you muſt ſettle, when begin you? If
" you muſt begin, why not now? It is dangerous deferring that
" whoſe want is deadly, and whoſe opportunity is doubtful. God
" cryeth with *Jehu*, *who is on my ſide, who*? Look at laſt out of
" your window to him, and in a reſolute courage caſt down the *Je-*
" *zebel* that hath bewitched you. Is there any impediment which
" delay will abate? Is there any which a juſt anſwer cannot remove?
" If you had rather waver, who can ſettle you? But if you love not
" inconſtancy, tell us why you ſtagger? Be plain, or elſe you will
" never be firm, *&c.*

But notwithſtanding theſe falſe bruits, and this ſmart Epiſtle, Doctor *Buckridge* who had been his *Tutor*, and from whom he received his Principles, had better aſſurance of his unfeigned ſincerity in the true Proteſtant Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed, than to be ſo perſwaded of him; he had not elſe preferred him to the ſervice of Biſhop *Neile*, or recommended him to the Colledge, as the fitteſt man to ſucceed him in the *Preſidents* place, when he himſelf was at the point of his preferment to the See of *Rocheſter*. So alſo had the whole Body of the Univerſity, when they conferred upon him his Degrees in Divinity, which certainly they had never done, if either they had believed him to have been a *Papiſt*, or at the leaſt ſo *Popiſhly* affected as the Faction made him. Neither could he have taken thoſe Degrees (had it been ſo with him) without a moſt perfidious diſſimulation before God and Man; becauſe in taking thoſe Degrees, he muſt both take the Oath of *Supremacy*, and ſubſcribe to the three Articles contained in the 36 *Canon* of the year 1603. In the firſt of which he was to have abjured the Popes Authority, and in the next to have declared his approbation of the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worſhip eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*: Which may ſufficiently ſerve to over-balance the Depoſitions of Sir *Nath. Brent* and Doctor *Featly*, the firſt of which depoſed at his Tryal, *That whilſt the Archbiſhop remained in* Oxon, *he was generally reputed to be Popiſhly affected*; the other, *Not only that the Archbiſhop was generally reported to be Popiſh when he lived in* Oxon, *but that both he and others conceived ſo of him.* But both theſe men were *Abbot*'s Creatures, and had received their Offices and Preferments from him; I need ſay no more, For had he either been a *Papiſt*, or ſo ſtrongly biaſſed on that ſide, what ſhould have hindred him from making an open

*Cant. Dome.* p. 409.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1605.

open *Declaration* of it, or ſtop him from a reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*? His Fellowſhip was not ſo conſiderable, but that he might preſume of a larger Maintenance beyond the Seas: Nor was he of ſuch common parts, but that he might have looked for a better welcom, and far more civil uſage there than he found at home. Preferments in the Church he had none at the preſent, nor any ſtrong preſumptions of it for the time to come, which might be a temptation to him to continue here againſt the clear light of his Underſtanding. And this may be a further Argument, not only of his unfeigned ſincerity, but of his conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſs in the Religion here eſtabliſhed, that he kept his ſtation; that notwithſtanding all thoſe clamours under which he ſuffered, he was reſolved to ride out the ſtorm, and neither to deſert the Barque in which he ſailed, nor run her upon any of the *Roman Shores*. In this of a far better Temper than *Tertullian* was, though as much provok'd, of whom it is reported by *Beatus Rhenamus*, That at firſt he only ſeemed to favour *Montanus*, or at the leaſt not to be diſpleaſed with his proceedings: But afterwards being continually tormented by the tongues and pens of the *Roman* Clergy, (*m*) he fell off from the obedience of the Church, and became at laſt a downright *Montaniſt*. All which together make it plain, that it was not his deſign to deſert the Church, but to preſerve her rather from being deſerted, to vindicate her by degrees from thoſe *Innovations* which by long tract of time, and the cunning practiſes of ſome men, had been thruſt upon her. And being once reſolved on this, the bluſtring winds which ſo raged againſt him, did rather fix him at the root, than either ſhake his reſolution, or force him to deſiſt from his purpoſe in it: And therefore it was well reſolved by Sir *Edw. Dering*, (*n*) though his greateſt enemy, *That he was always one and the ſame man; that beginning with him at* Oxon. *and ſo going on to* Canterbury, *he was unmoved and unchanged; that he never complied with the times, but kept his own ſtand until the times came up to him*, as they after did. Such was the man, and ſuch the purpoſe of the man, whom his good friends in *Oxon.* (out of pure zeal *no doubt* we muſt take it ſo) had declared a *Papiſt*.

During theſe Agitations and Concuſſions in the *Univerſity*, there hapned an accident at *Wanſteed* in the County of *Eſſex*, which made as great a noiſe as his being a *Papiſt*; but ſuch a noiſe as might have freed him from that Accuſation, if conſidered rightly. In the year 1605. he had been made Chaplain to *Charles* Lord *Mountjoy* Earl of *Devonſhire*, a man in great favour with King *James* for his fortunate Victory at *Kinſale* in *Ireland*, by which he reduced that Realm to the obedience of this Crown, broke the whole Forces of the Rebells, and brought the Earl of *Tir-owen* a Priſoner into *England* with him. For which great Services he was by King *James* made Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, and one of the Lords of his Privy Council, created Earl of *Devonſhire*, and one of the Knights of the moſt Noble

(m) *Injuria & contumelici*, R. E. *Clericorum exagitatus in* Montani *partes tranſit.* B Rhen. in Tertull.

(n) *Collect. of Speeches, p.* 5

ble Order of the *Garter*. This Gentleman being a younger Brother of *William* Lord *Mountjoy*, and known only by the name of Sir *Charles Blunt*, while his Brother lived, had bore a ſtrong and dear affection to the Lady *Penelope* Daughter of *Walter* Earl of *Eſſex*, a Lady in whom lodged all attractive Graces of Beauty, Wit, and ſweetneſs of Behaviour, which might render her the abſolute Miſtreſs of all Eyes and Hearts. And ſhe ſo far reciprocated with him in the like affection (being a compleat and gallant man) that ſome aſſurances paſt between them of a future Marriage. But her friends looking on him as a younger Brother, conſiderable only in his depending at the Court, choſe rather to diſpoſe her in Marriage to *Robert* Lord *Rich*, a man of an independent Fortune, and a known Eſtate, but otherwiſe of an uncourtly diſpoſition, unſociable, auſtere, and of no very agreeable converſation to her. Againſt this *Blunt* had nothing to plead in Bar, the promiſes which paſſed between them being made in private, no Witneſſes to atteſt unto it, and therefore not amounting to a pre-Contract in due form of Law. LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1605.

But long ſhe had not lived in the Bed of *Rich*, when the old flames of her affection unto *Blunt* began again to kindle in her, and if the Sonet in the *Arcadia*, (*A Neighbour mine not long ago there was, &c.*) be not too generally miſconſtrued, ſhe made her Husband the ſole inſtrument to acquaint him with it: But whether it were ſo or not, certain it is, that having firſt had their private meetings, they afterwards converſt more openly and familiarly with one another, than might ſtand with honour unto either; eſpecially when by the death of his elder Brother, the Title of Lord *Mountjoy*, and the Eſtate remaining to it, had accrued unto him: As if the alteration of his Fortune could either leſſen the offence, or ſuppreſs the *fame*. Finding her, at his coming back from the Wars of *Ireland*, to be free from *Rich*, legally freed by a Divorce, and not a voluntary ſeparation only, *a toro & menſa*, as they call it; he thought himſelf obliged to make her ſome Reparation in point of Honour, by taking her into his Boſom as a Lawful Wife. Beſides, he had ſome Children by her, before ſhe was actually ſeparated from the Bed of *Rich* (ſome of which afterwards attained to Titles of Honour) whom he conceived he might have put into a capability of a Legitimation, by this ſubſequent Marriage, according to the Rule and Practice of the Civil Laws, in which it paſſeth for a Maxime, That *ſubſequens Matrimonium legitimat prolem*. And to that end he dealt ſo powerfully with his Chaplain, that he diſpoſed him to perform the Rites of that Solemnization, which was accordingly done at *Wanſteed*, *Decemb.* 26. being the Feſtival of St. *Steven*, *Anno* 1605.

Nor did he want ſome Reaſons to induce him to it (beſides the perſwaſion of his Friends) which might have gained upon a man not ſo much concerned in it as he was, and may be uſed for his excuſe, if not for his juſtification alſo. He found by the averment of the Parties, that ſome aſſurances of Marriage had paſſed between them,

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1605. before ſhe was eſpouſed to *Rich*; which though they could not amount to a pre-Contract *in Foro Judicii*, in a Court of Judicature; yet he might ſatisfie himſelf in the truth thereof *in Foro Conſcientiæ*, in the Court of his own private Conſcience: And thereupon he might conclude, That being ſatisfied in the reality and truth of thoſe Aſſurances, and finding that *Rich* had quitted his pretenſions to her by a formal Sentence of Divorce, he might conceive it lawful for him to perform that Service which was required at his hands. He had found alſo three Opinions touching the lawfulneſs or unlawfulneſs of ſuch Marriages, which are made after a Divorce: The firſt, *That ſuch Marriages are lawful unto neither Party, as long as either of them liveth*; which is the Doctrine of the *Papiſts*, determined poſitively in the Councel of *Trent*: The ſecond, *That ſuch Marriages are lawful to the Party wronged, but not unto the Guilty alſo*; which Opinion is maintained by ſome of the *Calviniſts*, and divers of the Ancient Writers: The third, *That both the innocent and the guilty Party may lawfully marry if they pleaſe*; which *Maldonate* (*o*) makes to be the general Opinions of the *Lutheran* and *Calvinian* Miniſters, as alſo of ſome *Catholick Doctors*. And then why might he not conceive that courſe moſt fit to be followed, in which all Parties did agree, than either of the other two, which was commended to him but by one Party only. And though he followed in this caſe the worſt way of the three, yet may it ſerve for a ſufficient Argument that he was no *Papiſt*, nor *cordially* affected unto that Religion, becauſe he acted ſo directly againſt the Doctrines and Determinations of the Church of *Rome*. If any other conſiderations of Profit, Preferment, or Compliance, did prevail upon him (as perhaps they might) they may with Charity be looked on as the common incidencies of Humane frailty, from which the holieſt and moſt learned men cannot plead Exemption.

(*o*) *Maldon. in Mat.* 19. 9

But whatſoever motives either of them had to put a fair colour upon the buſineſs, certain it is, that it ſucceeded well with neither: The Earl found preſently ſuch an alteration in the Kings countenance towards him, and ſuch a leſſening of the value which formerly had been ſet upon him, that he was put to a neceſſity of writing an Apology to defend his action: But finding how little it edified both in Court and Country, it wrought ſuch a ſad impreſſion on him, that he did not much ſurvive the miſchief, ending his life before the end of the year next following. Nor did the Chaplain brook it long without ſuch a check of Conſcience, as made him turn the Annual Feſtival of St. *Steven* into an Anniverſary Faſt, humbling himſelf from year to year upon that day before the Father of Mercies, and craving pardon for that Error which by the perſwaſions of ſome Friends, and other the temptations of fleſh and blood, he had fallen into. And for this purpoſe he compoſed this enſuing Prayer.

*Conf. Dom.* 29. *BEhold thy Servant, O my God, and in the bowels of thy mercy have compaſſion on me. Behold I am become a Reproach to thy holy*

*holy Name, by ſerving my Ambition and the ſins of others; which though I did by the perſwaſion of other men, yet my own Conſcience did check and upbraid me in it. Lord I beſeech thee for the mercies of Jeſus Chriſt, enter not into Judgement with me thy Servant; but hear his blood imploring thy mercies for me: Neither let this* Marriage *prove a* Divorcing *of my Soul from thy grace and favour; for much more happy had I been, if being mindful of this day, I had ſuffered* Martyrdom, *as did St.* Steven *the firſt of* Martyrs, *denying that which either my leſs faithful friends or leſs godly friends had preſſed upon me. I promiſed to my ſelf that the darkneſs would hide me, but that hope ſoon vaniſhed away: Nor doth the light appear more plainly, than I that have committed that foul offence: Even ſo, O Lord, it pleaſed thee of thy infinite mercy to deject me with this heavy Ignominy, that I might learn to ſeek thy Name. O Lord how grievous is the remembrance of my ſin to this very day, after ſo many and ſuch reiterated Prayers poured forth unto thee from a ſorrowful and afflicted Spirit. Be merciful, O Lord, unto me; hearken to the Prayers of thy humble and dejected Servant, and raiſe me up again, O Lord, that I may not die in this my ſin, but that I may live in thee hereafter, and living evermore rejoyce in thee, through the merits and the mercies of Jeſus Chriſt my Lord and Saviour.* Amen. LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1605.

A brave example of a penitent and afflicted Soul, which many of us may admire, but few will imitate. And though I doubt not but that the Lord in mercy did remit this fault, yet was he not ſo mercifully dealt with at the hands of men, by whom it was ſo frequently and reproachfully caſt in the way of his Preferment, that he was fain to make the *Duke* of *Buckingham* acquainted with the ſtory of it, and by his means to poſſeſs King *Charles* his *gracious Maſter* with the truth thereof: So long it was before his Enemies had deſiſted from preſſing this unhappy Error to his diſadvantage. *9 Bre. p. 4. & p. 6.*

The *Earl* of *Devonſhire* being dead, he was by Doctor *Buckridge* his moſt conſtant friend (*Anno* 1608.) commended to the Service of Doctor *Richard Neile*, then Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, a man who very well underſtood the Conſtitution of the Church of *England*, though otherwiſe not ſo eminent in all parts of Learning, as ſome other Biſhops of his time: But what he wanted in himſelf, he made good in the choice of his Servants, having more able men about him from time to time than any other of that age: Amongſt which (not to reckon *Laud*, of whom now I ſpeak) were Doctor *Auguſtine Linſell* Biſhop of *Hereford*, Doctor *Thomas Jackſon* Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Oxon.* and Dean of *Peterburrough*, Doctor *John Coſen* Prebend of *Durham*, and Dean of *Peterburrough* after *Jackſon*, Doctor *Benjamin Lany* Maſter of *Queens* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and Dean of *Rocheſter*, Doctor *Robert Newell* his half Brother, Prebend of *Weſtminſter* and *Durham*, and Archdeacon of *Buckingham*, Doctor *Gabriel Clarke* Prebend and Archdeacon of *Durham*, Doctor *Eliazer* 1608.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1608.

*Duncum* one of the Prebends of *Durham* alſo, Mr. *Barlow* a right ſolid man, but not poſſeſſed of any Dignity in the Church to my beſt remembrance; and ſome others of good note, whoſe Names and Titles I cannot preſently call to minde. In the beginning of the Reign of King *James* (by the power and mediation of Archbiſhop *Bancroft*) he was made Clerk of the Cloſet to that King, that ſtanding continually at his Elbow, he might be ready to perform good offices to the Church and Churchmen: Aud he diſcharged his truſt ſo well, that though he loſt the love of ſome of the Courtiers, who were too viſibly enclined to the *Puritan* Faction, yet he gained the favour of his Maſter, by whom he was preferred to the *Deanry* of *Weſtminſter*, and afterwards ſucceſſively to the Biſhopricks of *Rocheſter*, *Litchfield*, *Lincoln*, and *Durham*, one of the richeſt in the Kingdom; which ſhews that there was in him ſomething more than ordinary, which made that King ſo bountiful and gracious to him. Nor ſtaid he there, but by the Power and Favour of this his Chaplain, he was promoted in the Reign of King *Charles* to the See of *Winton*, and finally exalted to the *Metropolitan* See of *York*, where at laſt he died about the latter end of *October* 1640. None of his Chaplains received ſo much into his Counſels as Doctor *Laud* (to which degree he was admitted in the year 1608.) whom he found both an active and a truſty Servant, as afterwards a moſt conſtant and faithful friend upon all occaſions.

The firſt Eccleſiaſtical Preferment which fell unto him was the Vicaridge of *Stamford* in *Northamptonſhire*: But having put himſelf into the Service of Biſhop *Neile*, he was by him preferred into the
1610. Rectory of *Cuckſtone* in *Kent*, toward the latter end of *May* 1610. On the acceptance thereof he gave over his Fellowſhip in *October* following, that ſo he might more fully apply himſelf to the ſervice of his Lord and Patron. But *Cuckſtone* proving an unhealthy place, he exchanged it for another called *Norton*; a Benefice of leſs value, but ſcituate in a better and more healthy Air: His Patron in the mean time being tranſlated to the See of *Litchfield* on the end of *September*, whoſe Fortunes he was reſolved to follow, till God ſhould pleaſe to provide otherwiſe for him: For firſt the Biſhop, before his going off from the Deanry of *Weſtminſter*, which he held *in commendam* with his Biſhoprick of *Rocheſter*, obtained for him of King *James*, (to whom not otherwiſe known but by his Recommendation) the Reverſion of a *Prebend* in that Church; which though it fell not to him until ten years after, yet it fell at laſt, and thereby neighbour'd him to the Court. And on the other ſide, his good Friend and Tutor Doctor *Buckridge* being nominated Succeſſor unto *Neile* in the See of *Rocheſter*, laid a good ground for his Succeſſion in the *Preſidentſhip* of St. *John*'s Colledge, thereby to render him conſiderable in the Univerſity. But this was both ſuſpected and feared by *Abbot*, who being conſecrated Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* on the third of *December* 1609. and from thence removed to *London* in the end of

*January*

*January* next enſuing, reſolved to hinder the deſign with all care and diligence: So natural a thing it is to hate the man whom we have wronged; to keep him down, whom we have any cauſe to fear, when we have him under. To which end he made great Complaints againſt him to *Thomas* Lord *Elſmer*, Lord Chancellor of *England* many years before, and newly then made Chancellor of that Univerſity, on the death of the Lord Archbiſhop *Bancroft*, inſinuating to him, *That he was at the leaſt a* Papiſt *in heart, and cordially addicted unto* Popery; *That he kept company with none but profeſt and ſuſpected* Papiſts; and, *That if he were ſuffered to have any place of Government in the Univerſity, it would undoubtedly turn to the great Detriment of Religion, and Diſhonour of his Lordſhip.* The Chancellor hereupon makes his Addreſs unto the King, informing him of all which had been told him concerning *Laud*, which was like to have deſtroy'd his hopes as to that deſign (notwithſtanding his petition to the King to believe otherwiſe of him) if Biſhop *Neile* his conſtant and unmovable Friend, had not acquainted his Majeſty with the Abilities of the man, and the old grudge which *Abbot* had conceived againſt him. LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1610.

This Bar being thus removed, the deſign for the Preſidentſhip went on; in the obtaining whereof; he found a greater difficulty than he had expected: *Rawlinſon*, once a Fellow of the ſame Houſe, and afterwards Principal of St. *Edmonds Hall*, appearing a Competitor for it. Each of them having prepared his Party, the Fellows proceeded to an *Election May* 10. *Anno* 1611. The *Scrutiny* being made, and the *Election* at the point to be declared, one of the Fellows of *Rawlinſon*'s Party, ſeeing which way the buſineſs was like to go, ſnatch'd up the Paper, and tore it ſuddenly in pieces. The Nomination being thus unhappily fruſtrated, an Appeal was made unto King *James*, who ſpent three hours in giving Audience to both parties; and upon full conſideration of the Proofs and Allegations on either ſide (notwithſtanding all the former practices and prejudices to encline him otherwiſe) he gave Sentence in behalf of *Laud*; which hapning on the 29th. of *Auguſt*, being the day of the beheading of St. *John Baptiſt*, by whoſe Name that Colledge was entituled by the Founder of it, hath given an occaſion unto ſome to look upon it as an *Omen* or *Prognoſtication*, that this new Head ſhould ſuffer death by being beheaded, as the other did. The King having thus paſſed Judgment for him, he was thereupon ſworn, and admitted *Preſident*; and being ſo ſworn and admitted, he could not for example ſake but inflict ſome puniſhment on the party who had torn the *Scrutiny*: But knowing him for a man of hopeful Parts, induſtrious in his Studies, and of a Courage not to be diſliked, he not only releaſed him from the Cenſure under which he lay, but took him into ſpecial Favour, truſted him in all his weighty buſineſſes, made him his Chaplain, and preferred him from one good Benefice to another, married him to his Brothers Daughter, and finally promoted him to the very 1611.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1611.

very *Preſidentſhip* (which had been the firſt cauſe of that breach) and one of the beſt *Deanries* of the Kingdom. To ſuch others of the Fellows as had oppoſed him in his Election to that place, he always ſhewed a fair and equal countenance, hoping to gain them by degrees: But if he found any of them to be untractable, not eaſily to be gained by favours, he would finde ſome handſom way or other to remove them out of the Colledge, that others not engaged upon either ſide might ſucceed in their places. But notwithſtanding all this care, the Faction ſtill held up againſt him, the younger fry inclining to the ſame ſide which had been taken by their Tutors.

But whiles theſe things were in agitation, there hapned a great alteration in the Church of *England*, by the death of the moſt Reverend Archbiſhop *Bancroft*, who died on the ſecond of *November* 1610. and with whom died the *Uniformity* of the Church of *England*. A man he was of eminent parts, and of a moſt undaunted ſpirit; one who well knew his work, and did it. When Chaplain only to the Lord *Chancellor Hatton*, he piec'd himſelf with Doctor *Whitgift*, not long after his firſt coming to the See of *Canterbury*, to whom he proved a great ſupport in gaining the Lord *Chancellor* for him, by whoſe aſſiſtance he was enabled to hold out againſt the over-ruling Power of the *Earl* of *Leiceſter*, the Patron-General of the Faction. In the year 1588. he Preached a Sermon at St. *Paul*'s Croſs, and therein made an open Declaration of thoſe manifold Dangers which the prevalency of that Faction would bring upon the Church and State, if they might be ſuffered; which blow he followed in a Book entituled, *Dangerous Poſitions and Proceedings publiſhed and practiſed within this Iſland of* Britain, *under pretence of Reformation, and for the* Presbyterial *Diſcipline*: And in that Book he made ſuch a perfect diſcovery of their Plots and Practiſes, and ſo anatomized them in every part, that he made them odious unto thoſe who before had been their greateſt Patrons. In the year 1593. he publiſhed another Treatiſe, entituled, *A Survey of the Pretended holy Diſcipline*, in which he ſo diſſected the whole Body of *Calvin*'s *Presbyterial Platform*, ſhewing the incoherencies of it in it ſelf, and the inconſiſtencies thereof with *Monarchical* Government, that he took off the edge of many (and thoſe Great ones too) who had not only ſeemed to like it, but had longed for it: The Plot was ſo laid down by *Whitgift*, that at the ſame time there ſhould come out two other Books, the one written by Doctor *Thomas Bilſon*, Warden of the Colledge neer *Winton*, for proof of the Antiquity and perpetual Government of the Church by Biſhops; the other by Doctor *Richard Coſens* a right Learned Civilian, in juſtification of the Proceedings in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. By which four Books the *Puritan* Faction was ſo *muzled*, that they were not able to *bark* in a long time after: Nor do they want their ſeveral and juſt Rewards for ſuch good performances, *Bilſon* being firſt made Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and not long after Biſhop of *Winton*, *Bancroft* advanced to the See of *London*, and

Doctor

Doctor *Coſens* Vicar-general and Dean of the Arches, within few years after being conſecrated Biſhop of *London*, on the eighth of *May* 1597. he kept ſuch a watchful eye over it, and held ſo ſtrict a hand upon it, that from a receptacle and retreat of the *Grandees* of the *Puritan* party, it became almoſt as free from Faction as any other in the Kingdom: And knowing how much the Peace of this Church did depend upon it, he managed a ſecret Coreſpondency with King *James* in *Scotland*, inſinuating unto him the neceſſity of conforming the Churches of both Kingdoms in Government and Forms of Worſhip, and laying down a plot for reſtoring *Epiſcopacy* to that Kirk, without noiſe or trouble: Which counſel being adviſedly followed by King *James* before his coming into *England*, was afterwards ſo well purſued (though not without ſome violent ſtrugling of the *Presbyterians* of that Kingdom) that on the 21. day of *October* in the year 1609. the deſigned Biſhops of *Glaſcow*, *Brechen*, and *Galloway* received Epiſcopal Conſecration in the Chappel of *London*-houſe, by the hands of Doctor *George Abbot* then Biſhop of *London*, Doctor *Lancelot Andrews* Biſhop of *Ely*, Doctor *James Montague* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and Doctor *Richard Neile* then Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; *Bancroft* himſelf forbearing to lay hands upon them, for the avoiding of all ſcruples amongſt the *Scots*, as if he pretended any Juriſdiction or Authority over them.

LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1610.

In the mean time, *Anno* 1603. he carried a chief hand in the *Conference* at *Hampton Court*, and had the ſole management of the *Convocation* of the ſame year alſo, in which he paſſed that excellent body of *Canons* and *Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſtical*, to ſerve for a perpetual ſtanding Rule to the Church of *England*. Succeeding *Whitgift* in the See of *Canterbury*, *Anno* 1604. he reſolved to put the *Canons* into execution, and preſs'd it with ſo ſtout a courage, that few had confidence enough to ſtand out againſt him: Some of them did, and thoſe he either depriv'd or ſilenc'd, and thereby terrified the reſt to an open Conformity. They ſaw too plainly that they muſt not dally with his patience, as they did with *whitgifts*; and that he was reſolved to *break* them, if they would not *bow*: And they did wiſely in ſo *bowing*; for who could ſtand againſt a man of ſuch a ſpirit, armed with Authority, having the Law on his ſide, and the King to friend, who had declared publickly in the (*p*) *Conference* at *Hampton Court*, That if they would not conform, he would either hurry them out of the Kingdom, or elſe do worſe? In the year 1608. he was choſen *Chancellor* at *Oxon.* and queſtionleſs would have ſet all things right in that Univerſity, if Sickneſs and the ſtroke of Death had not prevented his intendments. But die he muſt; and being dead, there was a Conſultation amongſt ſome of the Biſhops and other Great men of the Court, whom to commend unto King *James* for his Succeſſor in that *See*. They knew that *Mountague* and *Abbot* would be venturing at it, but they had not confidence enough in either of them, both of them being extremely popular, and ſuch as would ingratiate themſelves

(p) *Conf. at Hamp. p.* 85.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1610.

themſelves with the *Puritan* Faction, how dearly ſoever the Church paid for it: And thereupon it was reſolved to fix on *Andrews* for the man; a man, as one ſays very well of him, of Primitive Antiquity, in whom was to be found whatever is deſirable in a Biſhop, even to admiration; to whom they found the King to be well affected, for taking up the Bucklers for him againſt Cardinal *Bellarmine*. The Motion was no ſooner made, but it was embraced, and they departed from the King with as good aſſurance as if the buſineſs had been done, and *Andrews* fully ſetled in the Throne of *Canterbury*. In confidence whereof, ſome of them retired to their Country Houſes, and others leſſened their accuſtomed diligence about the King, and thereby gave an opportunity to the Earl of *Dunbar* (a powerful Miniſter of State) to put in for *Abbot*, who had attended him in ſome Negotiations which he had with the *Scots*; and he put in ſo powerfully in his behalf, that at laſt he carried it, and had the Kings Hand to the paſſing of the publick Inſtruments, before the other Biſhops ever heard of the Plot: But when they heard of it, there was no *Remedy* but Patience; but it was *Patience perforce*, as the Proverb hath it: For much they feared that *Abbot* would unravel all the Web which *Bancroft* with ſuch pains had weaved, and *that he was* (as the ſame Author well obſerves) *better qualified with Merit for the Dignity, than with a ſpirit anſwering the Function.* Follow his Character to the end, and you ſhall be told, "That in the exer-"ciſing of his Function he was conceived too facil and yielding: His "extraordinary Remiſneſs in not exacting ſtrict Conformity to the "preſcribed Orders of the Church in point of Ceremonie, ſeemed "to reſolve thoſe Legal Determinations to their firſt Principle of "Indifferency, and led in ſuch an habit of Inconformity, as the fu-"ture Reduction of thoſe tender Conſcienced men, to long diſcon-"tinued Obedience, was at the laſt interpreted an Innovation. If *Andrews* had ſucceeded *Bancroft*, and *Laud* followed *Andrews*, the Church would have been ſetled ſo ſure on a Foundation, that it could not eaſily have been ſhaken; to the preventing of thoſe deplorable Miſeries, which the Remiſs Government of that Popular Prelate did ſo unfortunately bring both on the Church and State.

*Hiſt. of K. Charles by H. L. p 31.*

1611. But to go forward where we left, *Laud* was no ſooner ſetled in the Preſidentſhip of his Colledge, but he conceived himſelf advanced, one ſtep at the leaſt, towards a Precedency in the Church, and therefore thought it was high time to caſt an eye upon the Court. His good Friend and Patron Biſhop *Neile*, then being of *Rocheſter*, had procured him a Turn before the King at *Theobalds* on the 17th. of *September* 1609. and by the power and favour of the ſame man, being then tranſlated unto *Litchfield*, he was ſworn one of his Majeſties Chaplains in Ordinary on the third of *November*, *Anno* 1611. yet ſo that he continued his dependencies on his former Lord, to whom he was as dear and neceſſary as before he was; injoying freely all the accomodations of his Houſe, whenſoever his occaſions brought

brought him to *London*. Having thus ſet foot within the Court, he promiſed himſelf great hopes of ſome preſent preferment; but thoſe hopes deceived him. Nothing is more uncertain than Court Preferments: Some have them ſuddenly at the firſt, and then continue at a ſtand without farther Additions, as in the caſe of Doctor *Young* Dean of *Wincheſter*: Some attend long, and get nothing, as in the caſe of Mr. *Arthur Terringham*, and many others; and ſome are in the ſame caſe with the Apoſtles in St. *John* (z) when they went a fiſhing, of whom it is ſaid, *That having caught nothing all the night, they caſt their net the next morning on the right ſide of the Ship, and then they were not able to draw it for the multitude of Fiſhes.* And ſo it was with this new Chaplain; many Preferments fell, but none fell to him; For whenſoever any opportunity was offered for his Advancement, Archbiſhop *Abbot* (who had before defamed him to the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, and by his mouth unto the King) would be ſure to caſt ſomewhat in his diſh; ſometimes inculcating to him all his actings at *Oxon.* and ſometimes rubbing up the old ſore of his unfortunate buſineſs with the *Earl* of *Devonſhire*. Theſe Artifices ſo eſtranged the Kings Countenance from him, that having waited four years, and ſeeing his hopes more deſperate than at the firſt, he was upon the point of leaving the Court, and retiring wholly into his Colledge: But firſt he thought it not amiſs to acquaint his dear Friend and Patron Biſhop *Neile*, both with his reſolution and the reaſons of it. But *Neile* was not to be told what he knew before; and therefore anſwered, That he was very ſenſible of thoſe many neglects which were put upon him, and ſaw too clearly that he had been too long under a cloud; but howſoever adviſed him to ſtay one year longer, and that if he had no better encouragement within that year, he would conſent to his retirement. In the mean time, to keep him up in heart and ſpirit, as he had given him the *Prebendary* of *Bugden* belonging to the Church of *Lincoln* (to which See he had been tranſlated *Anno* 1613.) but the year before; ſo in the year of his complaint, which was 1615. he conferred upon him alſo the *Archdeaconry* of *Huntington*. It had pleaſed God ſo to diſpoſe of his Affairs, that before the year of expectation was fully ended, his Majeſty began to take him into his better thoughts, and for a teſtimony thereof beſtowed upon him the *Deanry* of *Gloceſter*, void by the death of the Reverend Right Learned Doctor *Feild*, whoſe excellent Works will keep his Name alive to ſucceeding Ages: A *Deanry* of no very great value, but ſuch as kept him up in reputation, and made men ſee he was not ſo contemptible in the eyes of the King as it was generally imagined.

LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1611.

(z) *John* 21. v. 3, 6.

1614.

But before we follow him to *Gloceſter*, we muſt take *Oxon.* in our way, in which had hapned no ſmall alteration ſince we left it laſt: Doctor *Henry Holland* Rector of *Exceter* Colledge, and his Majeſties Profeſſor for Divinity, having left this Life in the end of the year 1611. it ſeemed good to Archbiſhop *Abbot* to make uſe of his Power

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1614.

and Favour with King *James*, for preferring to that place his elder Brother Doctor *Robert Abbot*, being then Master of *Baliol* Colledge, and Rector of *Bingham* in the County of *Nottingham*: He had before been Fellow of it, and Doctor *Lilly* dying so opportunely for the furtherance of his Preferment in the University, he succeeded Master in his place *March* 9. 1609. being the next Month after his Brother had been advanced to the See of *London*: A man he was of eminent Learning, as his Works declare, and a more moderate *Calvinian* than either of his Predecessors, which he expressed by countenancing the *Sublapsarian* way of *Predestination*; by means whereof he incurred the high displeasure of the *Supralapsarians*, who until then had carried all before them, without gaining any thing on those who liked well of neither: But depending altogether on the will of his Brother, he thought he could not gratifie and oblige him more, than in pursuing his old quarrels against *Laud* and others, whom he knew to be distrellished by him, which he thus pursued. It hapned that *Laud* preaching on *Shrove-Sunday*, *Anno* 1614. insisted on some points which might indifferently be imputed either to *Popery* or *Arminianism*, (as about that time they began to call it) though in themselves they were no other than the true and genuine Doctrines of the Church of *England*: And having occasion in that Sermon to touch upon the *Presbyterians* and their Proceedings, he used some words to this effect, *viz.* *That the* Presbyterians *were as bad as the* Papists: Which being so directly contrary to the Judgment and Opinion of this Doctor *Abbot*, and knowing how much *Laud* had been distasted by his Brother when he lived in *Oxon.* conceived he could not better satisfie himself, and oblige his Brother the Archbishop, than by exposing him (on the next occasion) both to shame and censure, which he did accordingly: For being *Vice-chancellor* for the year, and preaching at St. *Peters* upon *Easter-day* in the afternoon. he pointed at him so directly, that none of the Auditors were so ignorant, as not to know at whom he aimed. *Laud* not being present at the first preaching of the Sermon, was by his friends perswaded to shew himself at St. *Maries* on the *Sunday* after, when it should come to be repeated (according to the ancient Custom of that University) to whose perswasions giving an unwilling consent, he heard himself sufficiently abused for almost an hour together, and that so palpably and grosly, that he was pointed too as he sate: Some of the passages of which Sermon I shall here subjoyn, because howsoever they might bring to him some present and personal disgrace, yet they redowned at the last to the great Good and Benefit of the Vniversity.

*Some* (said the Doctor in his Sermon) *are partly* Romish, *partly* English, *as occasion served them, that a man might say unto them*, Nostr es, an Adversariorum? *who under pretence of Truth, and preaching against the* Puritan, *strike at the heart and root of the Faith and Religion now established amongst us*, &c. *That they cannot plead*

*plead they are accounted* Papiſts, *becauſe they ſpeak againſt the* Puritan, *but becauſe, being indeed* Papiſts, *they ſpeak nothing againſt them; If they do at any time ſpeak againſt the* Papiſts, *they do but beat a little about the buſh, and that but ſoftly too, for fear of waking and diſquieting the birds that are in it; they ſpeak nothing but that wherein one* Papiſt *will ſpeak againſt another; as againſt Equivocation, and the Popes Temporal Authority, and the like; and perhaps ſome of their blaſphemous ſpeeches: But in the Points of Free Will, Juſtification, Concupiſcence being a ſin after Baptiſm, Inherent Righteouſneſs, and certainty of Salvation; The* Papiſts *beyond the Seas can ſay they are wholly theirs; and the* Recuſants *at home make their brags of them. And in all things they keep themſelves ſo near the brink, that upon any occaſion they may ſtep over to them. Now for this ſpeech, that the* Presbyterians *are as bad as the* Papiſts, *there is a ſting in the ſpeech, which I wiſh had been left out, for there are many Churches beyond the Seas which contend for the Religion eſtabliſhed amongſt us, and yet have approved and admitted the* Presbytery, *&c.*

LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1615.

After which, having ſpoken ſomewhat in juſtification of *Presbyteries*, he proceeded thus:

*Might not Chriſt ſay* (ſaith he) *what art thou,* ROMISH *or* ENGLISH? PAPIST *or* PROTESTANT? *Or what art thou? A Mungrel or compound of both: A* Proteſtant *by* Ordination, *a* Papiſt *in point of Free Will, Inherent Righteouſneſs, and the like. A* Proteſtant *in receiving the Sacrament, a* Papiſt *in the Doctrine of the Sacrament? What, do you think there are two Heavens? If there be, get you to the other, and place your ſelves there, for into this where I am ye ſhall not come.*

It is not to be doubted but that he was much troubled at this harſh uſage, and might have been more troubled at it had he ſtood alone; had not ſome others of eminent note, been handled in as ill a manner not long before. *Howſon*, and *Corbet*, both of *Chriſt-Church*, had been Præcurſors in this caſe, to the Preſident of St. *John Baptiſt*, the *Præcurſor of Chriſt:* Of theſe, the firſt, being a grave and Reverend perſon, an ancient Doctor in Divinity, and one of the *Canons* of the Church, had been Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity, when *Laud* had but newly taken on him the Order of Prieſthood; but none of theſe could priviledge him from feeling the dint of that mans ſpirit: For preaching at St. *Maries* in the year 1612. he took occaſion to ſpeak of the *Geneva* Notes on the Bible, accuſing them as guilty of miſinterpretation touching the Divinity of Chriſt and his Meſſiahſhip, (as my Author (*f*) hath it) as if ſymbolizing with *Arrians* and *Jews* againſt them both. Whereupon he was ſuſpended by this Dr. *Abbot*, *Propter conciones publicas minus Orthodoxas,*

(*f*) Church Hiſt. *l.* 10. *p.* 59.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1615.

*doxas, & offensionis plenas*; that is to say, for some publick Sermons being less Orthodox, and fuller of offence than they ought to have been. The other, being a man of great wit and able parts, had been Proctor of the University, in the same year in which *Howson* did incur this Censure: And preaching the *Passion* Sermon at *Christ Church*, *Anno* 1613. insisted on the Article of Christs descending into Hell, and therein grated upon *Calvins* manifest perverting of the true sense and meaning of it: For which he was so ratled up by the Repetitioner, not without *Abbots* setting on (as it was generally conceived) that if he had not been a man of a very great courage it might have made him ashamed of staying in the University; so dangerous a thing it was to touch at any thing in which *Geneva* was concerned. But the best was, that none of them sunk under the burden of these oppressions, it (like the *Camomile*) they did not rise the higher by it. For *Howson* on the ninth of *May*, 1619. succeeded Dr. *John Bridges* in the See of *Oxon*. from thence translated unto *Durham*, *Anno* 1627. and left behind him this commendation, (*t*) that he was a very learned man, and plentifully endowed with all those vertues which were most proper for a Bishop, as *Godwin* tells us of him in his *Continuation*. *Corbet*, being made *Dean* of *Christ Church* in the year 1620. succeeded Bishop *Howson* in the See of *Oxon*. and died Bishop of *Norwich*, *Anno* 1635. And how it did succeed with *Laud*, the course of this ensuing History will at large inform us.

(*t*) *Vir eruditus & viris utilis Episcopalibus insignibus*, Godw. in Continuat.

For he being very sensible of so great an injury, thought it fit to prevent the same by giving an account of It to the Bishop of *Lincoln*; which he did on the Morrow after the Repetition, being the eighteenth day of *April*, desiring his advice, whether he should sit down by the wrong, or make *Abbot* as sensible of it as he was himself. What direction he received in it I am not able to say, but as it seems he was advised to sit down with patience, not to exasperate either of the *Abbots*, and thereby to provoke more enemies against him than he had already. And I conceive that this Advice was given unto him, because I cannot find that he stirred any further in it; the rather in regard that *Abbot* was nominated not long after to the Bishoprick of *Salisbury* in the place of Dr. *Henry Cotton*, who died on the seventh of *May* next following. And yet this Bishoprick was not carried so clearly for him, notwithstanding his Brothers great power and credit in the Court: but that a very strong oppolition was made against him; which being overcome at last, he received Episcopal Consecration on the third of *December*, leaving the choice to Dr. *John Prideaux*, Rector of *Exeter* Colledge, who proved a vehement assertor of all the *Calvinian* Rigours in the matter of Predestination, and the Points depending thereupon; as appears by his first Lecture, *De Absoluto Decreto*, and the rest which followed.

Dr. *Abbot* being thus removed to an higher spheare, it seemed

not

not good to *Land* to purſue the quarrel, but patiently to attend the year of his expectation; before the expiring whereof the King beſtowed upon him the Deanry of *Gloceſter*, as before was ſaid. At the beſtowing of which Deanry his Majeſty told him, that he had been informed that there was ſcarce ever a Church in *England* ſo ill governed, and ſo much out of order as that was, requiring him in the general to reform and ſet in order what he found amiſs. Being thus forewarned, and withall forearmed, he makes haſt to *Gloceſter*, where he found the Church in great decay, many things out of order in it, the Communion Table ſtanding almoſt in the middeſt of the Quire, contrary to the poſture of it in his Majeſties Chappel, and of all the Cathedral Churches which he had ſeen. Which being obſerved, he called a *Chapter* of the Prebends, and having acquainted them with his Majeſties Inſtructions, eaſily obtained their conſent to two *Chapter* Acts: The one, for the ſpeedy Repairing of the Church where it was moſt neceſſary: The other, for tranſpoſing the Communion Table to the Eaſt end of the Quire, and placing it all along the Wall, according to the ſcituation of it in other Cathedral or Mother Churches, which Tranſpoſition being made, he recommended to the Prebendaries, the Quire men, Choreſters, and the under-Officers of the Church the making of their humble reverence to Almighty God, not only at their firſt entrance into the Quire, but at their approaches toward the holy Table; according to the laudible cuſtom of the Primitive times, retained ſtill in the ſollemnities of the Knights of the Garter at the Act in *Oxon.* in the Chappels of his Majeſty, and divers great perſons in the Realm. His Majeſties inſtructions, the Contents of the two Chapter Acts, and how he had proceeded on them, I find certified under his hand in two Letters; The one, to his good Friend the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, bearing date *March* 3. 1616. The other, unto the Biſhop of *Gloceſter* (who had ſhewed himſelf offended at his proceedings) bearing date on the twenty ſeventh of *February* then next foregoing.

The Biſhop of *Gloceſter* at that time was Dr. *Miles Smith*, once of *Brazen-Noſe* Colledge, a great Hebrician, and one that took as much pains as any in the laſt Tranſlation of the Bible, as a reward for which he received this Biſhoprick. But then withall he was a man that ſpared not to ſhew himſelf upon all occaſions in favour of the *Calvinian* party; and more particularly in countenancing the Lecturers within his Dioceſs againſt the lawful Miniſter of the Pariſh when ever any complaint of their proceedings was made unto him. No ſooner had he heard what the new *Dean* had done about the Communion Table but he expreſſed his diſlike of it, and oppoſed it with all the power he had; But finding that he could not prevaile according unto his deſires, he is ſaid to have proteſted unto the *Dean*, and ſome of the Prebends, that if the Communion Table were removed, or any ſuch Innovations brought into that Cathedral,

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1616.

Cathedral, he would never come more within thoſe Walls; which Promiſe or Proteſtation he is ſaid by ſome to have made good, and not to have come within that Church to his dying day: Which if he did forbear upon that occaſion, he muſt needs ſhew himſelf a man of great pertinacity, and one that feared not to give a publick ſcandall to the Church, and the Court to boot; This tranſpoſition being made in the declining of the year 1616. his Pallace ſtanding near the walls of that Cathedral, and he not dying till the year 1624. which was eight years after. Seeing how little he prevailed, one *White* his Chaplain takes upon him in a Letter written to the *Chancellor* of that *Dioceſs*, to acquaint him with the ſtrange Reports which were come unto them touching the ſcituation of the Communion Table in the place where the High Altar ſtood before, and that low obeyſance were made to it, aſſuring him how much the ſecret Papiſts would rejoyce, in hope that that which they long looked for was now near at hand; In which Letter he alſo challenged and upbraided the Prebends, and other Preachers of that City, that they did not offer either by word or deed to reſiſt the *Dean* in thoſe proceedings; admiring that no man ſhould have any ſpark of *Eliæs* Spirit to ſpeak a word in Gods behalf, that the Preachers ſhould ſwallow down ſuch things in ſilence, and that the Prebends ſhould be ſo faint hearted as to ſhrink in the firſt wetting, eſpecially having the Law on their ſide againſt it.

It was not long before this Letter was made a Libell: Either the Letter it ſelf, or a Copy of it, being caſt into the Pulpit at St. *Michaels* Church, where *Prior* the *Sub-Dean* uſed to preach; to the end that he and others of the *Prebendaries* might take notice of it. Found by the Pariſh Clerk, and by him put into the hands of the Curate, by them communicated unto others, who took Copies of it, and in ſhort time divulged over all the City. The City at that time much peſtered with the Puritan Faction, which was grown multitudinous and ſtrong by reaſon of the ſmall abode which the Dean and Prebendaries made amongſt them, the dull connivance of their Biſhop, and the remiſs Government of their *Metropolitan*, ſo that it ſeemed both ſafe and eaſie to ſome of the Rabble to make an outcry in all places that *Popery* was coming in; that the tranſlating of the Communion Table into *an Altar*, with the worſhip and obeyſance which were done to it, were Popiſh ſuperſtitions, and the like. *Jones*, one of the Aldermen of the City, and a Juſtice of the Peace withall, cauſed ſome of the principal diſperſers of this Libellous Letter to be brought before him, committed ſome of them to priſon, and threatned to bind the reſt to their good behaviour. But fearing leſt his own power might not be ſufficient to cruſh that Faction which had begun to gather ſtrength by long connivance, he adviſed that the buſineſs might be referred to the *High Commiſſioners*, as men more able to deal with them. Notice hereof being given to the new *Dean* by ſome Letters thence, bearing date *Feb.* 21.

he

he addreſſed this Letter above mentioned to the Biſhop of *Gloceſter*: In which he deſired ſuch Favour and Equity at his hands, as that his Lordſhip would joyn to reform ſuch Tongues and Pens as knew not how to ſubmit to any Law but their own; that of neceſſity he was to acquaint his Gracious Majeſty, not only with the thing it ſelf, but with the entertainment which it found among Turbulent Spirits; and that he doubted not but that his Majeſty would be well pleaſed to hear how careful his Lordſhip ſhewed himſelf in preſerving the Order and Peace of the Church. But fearing that the Biſhop, whoſe Chaplain was the ſole cauſe of the miſchief, would not be very forward to redreſs it, he diſpatched the other Letter, above mentioned, to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and in that Letter he deſired his Lordſhip (having firſt moved that the High Commiſſion would be pleaſed to take ſome ſpeedy order in it) to let him have his lawful aſſiſtance to the end, that ſo long as he did nothing but what was eſtabliſhed and practiſed in the Church of *England*, he might not be brought into contempt by turbulent Spirits, at his firſt entrance on that place, and ſo be diſinabled to do that good ſervice which he owed to the Church of Chriſt; withall propounding to his Lordſhip, that if it ſtood with his good liking, his Majeſty might be made acquainted with the firſt ſucceſs of his endeavors for reforming ſuch things as he found moſt amiſs in that Church, *&c.*

LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1616.

Whilſt theſe things were thus agitated in the Reformation of the Church of *Gloceſter*, there were other Actings in the Court, touching the Reformation of ſome things in the *Univerſity* of *Oxon*. *Laud* had before informed the Biſhop of *Lincoln* concerning the courſe uſage which he had from Dr. *Abbot*, as before was ſaid. Which being repreſented to his Majeſty, it was withall inſinuated to him what dangers would proceed by the training up of young Students in the Grounds of *Calviniſm*, if ſome directions were not iſſued from his Majeſty for the courſe of their ſtudies; that there was no readier way to advance the *Presbyterial* Government in this Kingdom than by ſuffering young Scholars to be ſeaſoned with *Calvinian* Doctrines; that it was very hard to ſay, whether of the two, either the Puritan, or the Papiſt were more deſtructive of *Monarchical* Government; and finally, that for want of ſubſcription to the three Articles contained in the 36. *Canon*, not only *Lecturers*, but divers other Preachers, in and about the Univerſity, poſitively maintained ſuch points of Doctrine as were not maintained or allowed by the Church of *England*. Which matter his Majeſty having taken into conſideration, by the advice of ſuch Biſhops and others of the Clergy, as were then about him, upon the eighteenth of *January* he diſpatcht theſe Directions following to the Vice-Chancellor, the Heads of Colledges and Halls, the two Profeſſors, and the two Proctors of the Univerſity, to be carefully and ſpeedily put in execution.

JAMES

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1616.

# JAMES REX.

1. *That it was his Majeſties pleaſure that he would have all that take any degree in Schools, to ſubſcribe to the three Articles in the* 36th Canon.
2. *That no Preacher be allowed to preach in the Town, but ſuch as are every way conformable both by ſubſcription and every other way.*
3. *That all Students do reſort to the Sermons in St.* Maries, *and be reſtrained from going to any other Church in the time of St.* Maries *Sermons; and that proviſion be made that the Sermons in St.* Maries *be diligently made and performed, both before-noon and after-noon.*
4. *That the ordinary* Divinity Act *be conſtantly kept with three* Replicants.
5. *That there be a greater Reſtraint of Schollars haunting Town-houſes, eſpecially in the night.*
6. *That all Scholars, both at the Chappels, and at the Schools, keep their* Scholaſtical Habits.
7. *That young Students in Divinity be directed to ſtudy ſuch books as be moſt agreeable in Doctrine and Diſcipline to the Church of* England, *and encited to beſtow their times in the Fathers, and Councils, School-men, Hiſtories, and Controverſies, and not to inſiſt too long upon Compendiums and Abreviatures, making them the Grounds of their ſtudy in* Divinity.
8. *That no man, either in Pulpit or Schools, be ſuffered to maintain Dogmatically any point of Doctrine that is not allowed by the Church of* England.
9. *That Mr. Vice-Chancellor, and the two Profeſſors, or two of the Heads of Houſes, do at ſuch time as his Majeſty reſorts into thoſe parts wait upon his Majeſty, and give his Majeſty a juſt account how theſe his Majeſties Inſtructions are obſerved.*
10. *Let no man preſume, of what condition or degree ſoever, not to yield his obedience to theſe his Majeſty Directions, leſt he incur ſuch cenſures as the Statutes of this Univerſity may juſtly inflict upon ſuch tranſgreſſors.*

This was the firſt ſtep toward the ſuppreſſing of that Reputation which *Calvin* and his Writings had attained unto in that Univerſity; and a good ſtep it might have been, if Dr *Goodwin*, *Dean* of *Chriſt Church*, who was then Vice-Chancellor, had not been Father-in-law to *Prideaux*, or rather if *Prideaux* himſelf had approved the Articles, or that Dr. *Benfield* of *Corpus Chriſti*, the other Profeſſor for Divinity, a grave but ſedentary man, had been active in it. But howſoever being publiſhed, though it went no farther, it gave ſuch a general Alarm to the *Puritan Faction*, that the terrour of it could not

not be forgotten in 20. years after: Certain I am, that in the year 1636. it was charged by *H. Burton* of *Fryday-ſtreet* for an Innovation, one of the many *Innovations* introduced by *Laud*, and others of the *Prelatical* party, to ſubvert *Religion*. But leaving them to the folly of their own affrightments, let us look back unto the King, who being confident that he had left the Univerſity in a ready way for coming to an *Unity* in matters of Doctrine, prepared for his Journey into *Scotland*, with a like confidence of effecting an *Uniformity* in Forms of Worſhip: A matter of conſequence and weight, and therefore to be managed by able Miniſters, ſuch as knew how to winde and turn the *Presbyterians* of that Kingdom, if matters ſhould proceed to a Diſputation. The known Abilities of *Laud* mark'd him out for one; which though it were like to bring a great Charge upon him, yet he preferred the Reputation before the Charge, and chearfully embrac'd the Service. Nor was it more welcom unto him, than grateful to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, aſſured thereby not only of a truſty Friend, but of a ſociable Companion, for that tedious Journey. His Majeſty having filled up the Liſt of his Attendants, on the 14th. day of *March* began his Journey, accompanied by the Queen and Prince as far as *Theobalds*, and from thence went forward with his Train before appointed. By the way he called in at the City of *Lincoln*, where it is not to be doubted but that the Biſhop gave him as magnificent an Entertainment as the Place and Country would afford: And from this place it was that he dated his Inſtructions of the 14th. of *April*, to the Lord *John Digby*, then going Embaſſador into *Spain*, to Treat upon and Conclude a Marriage between Prince *Charles*, and the *Infanta Maria* the Second Daughter of that King; one of which Articles was to this effect, *That the Eſpouſals being made in* Spain *according to the Order of the Councel of* Trent, *the Marriage ſhould be ſolemnized in* England, *where there ſhould be ſuch a Solemnization as by the Laws of this Realm ſhould make the Marriage valid, and take away all ſcruple touching the Legitimation of the Iſſue.* Which temperament ſeems to me to have very much in it of *Laud*'s hand and ſpirit. LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1616.

In the beginning of *May* 1617. his Majeſty was come as far as *Barwick*, and from thence viſiting the Weſt parts of *Scotland*, came at laſt to *Edenburgh*, where he ſoon found that he might have ſaved himſelf a great part of his care, and taken ſuch of his Chaplains with him as came next to hand; the *Presbyterian Scots* not being to be gained by Reaſon, as he had ſuppoſed: For he was ſcarce ſetled in that City, when the *Presbyters* conceiving that his coming was upon deſign to work an Uniformity between the Churches of both Kingdoms, ſet up one *Struthers* to preach againſt it, who laid ſo luſtily about him in the chief Church of *Edenburgh*, that he not only condemned the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* of the Church of *England*, but prayed God to ſave *Scotland* from the ſame. *Laud*, and the reſt of the Chaplains who had heard the Sermon, acquainted his Majeſty 1617.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1617. with thoſe paſſages; but there was no remedy: The *Scots* were *Scots*, and reſolved to go their own way whatſoever came of it. For though the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* had forewarned them, that they ſhould not irritate his Majeſty, whom they ſhould finde a gracious Prince, and one that would hear Reaſon, and give way unto it; yet this prevailed nothing with them; they were reſolved neither to give Reaſon to him, nor take any from him, but only to gain time by delays and artifices: For they knew well, that his Majeſty had no reſolution to ſtay long amongſt them, and that when he was gone they might do what they liſted: And therefore when his Majeſty, in a Speech made to them at St. *Andrews*, had told them, *That it was a Power belonging to all Chriſtian Princes to order matters in the Church; and that he would never regard what they approved or diſapproved, except they brought him a Reaſon which he could not anſwer*; all that they did was to require a little time of Conſultation, which being granted, they returned with this Reſolution, *That if his Majeſty would grant them a free Aſſembly, they would therein ſatisfie his Majeſty in all the Points he had propounded.* *Patrick Galloway*, one of the chiefeſt amongſt them, paſſing his word for the performance. But when the King was gone, and the day of the Aſſembly come, thoſe promiſes vaniſhed in the ſmoak; ſo that the King gained nothing by that chargeable Journey, but the neglect of his Commands, and a contempt of his Authority. His Majeſty therefore took a better courſe, than to put the point to Argument and Diſputation; which was to beat them by the Belly, and to withdraw thoſe Augmentations which he had formerly allowed them out of his Exchequer: Which Pill ſo wrought upon this indigent and obſtinate People, that the next year, in an Aſſembly held at *Perth*, they paſs'd an Act for admitting the five *Articles* for which his Majeſty had been courting them for two years together.

*Hiſt. Scotl. l. 7. p. 531.*

*Idem. p. 534.*

But whatſoever the King loſt by the Journey, I am ſure the Biſhop of *Lincoln* got well by it: For *James* the Biſhop of *Durham* dying during the Kings abode in *Scotland*, his Majeſty beſtowed upon him that wealthy Biſhoprick; one of the wealthieſt in Revenues, but Abſolutely the greateſt in Power and Priviledges. Into this Biſhoprick being canonically confirmed on the ninth of *October*, he preſently ſet himſelf on work to repair the Palaces and Houſes belonging to it, which he had found in great decay; but he ſo adorned and beautified them in a very ſhort ſpace, that they that ſaw them could not think that they were the ſame. Three thouſand pounds he is affirmed by Biſhop *Godwin* to have diſburſed only upon this account, having laid out before no leſs than a thouſand Marks on the Epiſcopal Houſes of the See of *Lincoln*, beſides a good round Sum on the Houſe of *Bromley*, the Habitation and Retreat of the Biſhops of *Rocheſter*. But that which gave him moſt content was his Palace of *Durham-houſe* in the *Strand*, not only becauſe it afforded him convenient Room for his own Retinue, but becauſe it was large enough

*Godwin. Cat. l. Epiſc.*

to

to allow ſufficient Quarters for *Buckridge* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Laud* Dean of *Gloceſter*, which he enjoyed when he was Biſhop of St. *Davids* alſo; ſome other Quarters were reſerved for his old ſervant Doctor *Linſell*, and others for ſuch Learned men of his Acquaintance as came from time to time to attend upon him; inſomuch as it paſſed commonly by the name of *Durham Colledge*. A man of ſuch a ſtrange compoſition, that whether he were of a larger and more publick Soul, or of a more uncourtly Converſation, it were hard to ſay. LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1617.

But to return again to *Laud*: Finding his Majeſty reſolved to paſs thorow *Lancaſhire*; and other Counties of the North-weſt of *England*, in his way to *London*, he obtained leave to go directly unto *Oxon.* and on the ſecond of *Auguſt* was inducted into the Rectory of *Ibſtock* in the County of *Leiceſter*; a Rectory belonging to the Patronage of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, of whom he had it in exchange for his *Kentiſh* Benefices. At his return unto the Colledge, he was joyfully welcomed by his Friends, and chearfully received after ſo long an abſence by the greateſt part of that Society: But that which ſeemed moſt agreeable to him at his coming home, was the good News he heard from *Gloceſter*, how all things had been quieted there, and that there was no fear or danger of any further oppoſition to be made againſt him; for the Rabble being terrified by the ſevere proceedings of Alderman *Jones*, and more affrighted at the noiſe of being brought into the Court of *High-Commiſſion*, began to grow more ſenſible of the error which they had committed, the fury of their firſt heats being abated, and Reaſon beginning by degrees (as it is ordinary in ſuch caſes) to take place of Paſſion. Nothing elſe memorable in this year, as in relation to his Story, but ſome misfortunes which befel the Archbiſhop, his perpetual enemy; the greateſt whereof (though perhaps not took moſt to heart) was the death of his Brother the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, which produced great ſorrow to his Friends, the rather in regard of the manner and occaſion of it: For after his advancement to the See of *Sarum*, being then neer ſixty years of Age, he married the Widdow of one Doctor *Cheynell* a Phyſician, who had been one of his Contemporaries in *Baliol* Colledge; the news whereof being preſented (with ſome circumſtances to his diſadvantage) to his Brother the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he received from him ſuch a ſharp and bitter Letter, ſo full of Reproaches and Revilings, that not being able to bear the burthen of ſo great an inſolency, he preſently took thought upon it, and as preſently died, leaving this life on the ſecond of *March*, the year almoſt expiring with him.

The Archbiſhop had been off the hooks ever ſince the affront (as he conceived) was put upon him in burning his Chaplain Doctor *Mockett*'s Book, entituled, *De Politia Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*, which had given no ſmall Reputation to the Church of *England* beyond the Seas; for which ſeverity though many juſt Reaſons were alledged,

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1617.

yet it was generally conceived, that as the Book fared the worſe for the Authors ſake, ſo the Author did not ſpeed the better for his Patron the Archbiſhops ſake, betwixt whom, and Doctor *James Montague* then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, there had been ſome differences, which the reſt of the Court Biſhops were apt enough to make ſome uſe of to his diſadvantage.

But having thus fallen upon the burning of this Book, I ſhall ſpeak ſomething of it here, becauſe of ſome particulars in it which may conduce unto our Story in the times ſucceeding. This Doctor *Mocket* being Chaplain to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and Warden of *All Souls* Colledge in *Oxon.* had publiſh'd in the *Latin* tongue the Liturgie of the Church of *England*, the Publick Catechiſms, the 39. Articles, the Book of Ordination of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, and many Doctrinal Points extracted out of the Book of Homilies; together with Biſhop *Jewel*'s *Apology*, Mr. *Noel*'s Charechiſm, and his own Book *De Politia, &c.* A Collection which the good man publiſhed in a pious zeal, for gaining Honour to this Church amongſt Forrein Nations: But then this Zeal of his was accompanied with ſo little Knowledge in the Conſtitution of this Church, or ſo much biaſſed toward thoſe of *Calvin*'s Plat-form, that it was thought fit not only to call it in, but to expiate the Errors of it in a publick Flame: For firſt, his Extracts out of the Book of Homilies were conceived to be rather framed according to his own Judgment, which enclin'd him toward the *Calvinian* Doctrines, as his Patron did; than ſquared according to the Rules and Dictates of the Church of *England*: And poſſible enough it is, that ſome juſt offence might be taken at him, for making the Faſting-days appointed in the *Liturgie* of the Church of *England*, to be commanded and obſerved *ob Politicas ſolum Rationes*, for politick Conſiderations only, as inſinuated *p.*308. whereas thoſe Faſting-days were appointed in the firſt *Liturgy* of King *Edward* vj. *Anno* 1549. (with reference only to the Primitive Inſtitution of thoſe ſeveral Faſts) when no ſuch *Politick* Conſiderations were ſo much as thought on. But that which I conceive to have been the true cauſe why the Book was burned, was, that in publiſhing the 20th. Article, concerning the Authority of the Church, he totally left out the firſt Clauſe of it, *viz. Habet Eccleſia Ritus ſive Ceremonias, ſtatuendi jus; & in Controverſiis Fidei Authoritatem*: By means whereof, the Article was apparently falſified, the Churches Authority diſavowed, and conſequently a wide gap opened to diſpute her Power in all her Canons and Determinations of what ſort ſoever. I note this here, becauſe of the Relation which it hath to ſome following paſſages in the year 1637. when we ſhall finde *Laud* charged by thoſe of the *Puritan Faction*, for adding this omitted Clauſe to the reſt of that Article.

1618. In the next year (1618.) we finde not a little done at home, but much more abroad; the *Puritan* Faction being diſcountenanced here, and the *Calviniſts* encouraged there. The *Sabbatarian* Doctrines

ctrines by the diligence of Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, and the ſeverity of Juſtice *Popham*, had been cruſh'd at their firſt ſtarting out; and afterwards not daring to implore the Countenance of Authority, they got footing again in divers places by the cunning of the *Puritan* Faction, the ignorant confidence of ſome of their Lecturers, and the miſguided zeal of ſome publick Miniſters of Juſtice: And they prevailed ſo far at laſt, that the Annual Feſtivals being turned into days of Labour, and the Lords day wholly taken up in Religious Duties, there was no time left for *lawful Recreations* amongſt the People: Which being made known unto King *James* as he paſſed thorow *Lancaſhire* the laſt Summer, he gave ſome preſent Order in it, for the eaſe and comfort of his good Subjects in that County; and that it might not ſerve only for the preſent, but the times to come, he publiſhed his Royal Declaration to the ſame effect, bearing date at *Greenwich May* 24. of this preſent year: In which Declaration there are three things to be obſerved; *viz.* the *Motives*, the *Liberties*, and the *Reſtrictions*. Firſt, for the *Motives* which induced that King to this Declaration, they were chiefly four. 1. The general Complaints of all ſorts of People, as he paſſed thorow *Lancaſhire*, of the Reſtraint of thoſe innocent and lawful Paſtimes on that day, which by the Rigors of ſome Preachers and Miniſters of Juſtice, had been laid upon them. 2. The hindrance of the Converſion of many *Papiſts*, who by this means were made to think, that the *Proteſtant* Religion was inconſiſtent with all harmleſs and modeſt *Recreations*. 3. That by debarring them from all man-like Exerciſes on thoſe days, on which only they were freed from their daily Labours, they were made unactive, unable, and unfit for Warriors, if either himſelf or any of his Succeſſors ſhould have ſuch occaſion to employ them. 4. That men being hindred from theſe open Paſtimes, betook themſelves to Tipling-houſes, and there abuſed themſelves with Drunkenneſs, and cenſured in their Cups his Majeſties Proceedings both in Church and State. Next for the *Liberties* which were indulged upon that day, his Majeſty declares his Pleaſure, That after Divine Service being ended, his good People ſhould not be diſcouraged or letted from any *lawful Recreations*, ſuch as Dancing either Men or Women, Archery for Men, Leaping, Vaulting, or any other ſuch harmleſs Recreations, nor from having of *May-games*, *Whitſun-Ales*, and *Morris-dances*, and the ſetting up of *May-poles*, and other ſports therewith uſed; and that Women ſhall have leave to carry Ruſhes to the Church, for the decoring of it, according to their old Cuſtom, with this *Proviſo* notwithſtanding, That under the general term of *Lawful Recreations*, he intended neither Bear-baiting nor Bull-baiting, Interludes, nor (at all times in the meaner ſort of People prohibited) Bowling. And laſt of all, for the *Reſtrictions*, they were theſe that follow: 1. That theſe Paſtimes ſhould be no impediment or let to the publick Duties of that day. 2. That no Recuſant ſhould be capable of the benefit of them. 3. Nor ſuch

as

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1617.

as were not diligently preſent at the time of all Divine Offices, which the day required. And, 4. That the benefit thereof ſhould redound to none but ſuch as kept themſelves in their own Pariſhes. Such was the ſubſtance of his Majeſties Declaration about *Lawful Sports*, which raiſed great clamour at the preſent, but greater when revived in the Reign of King *Charles* (at what time we ſhall finde *Laud* charged for the Re-publiſhing of it) ſo much the greater, by how much the more the *Sabbatarian Doctrines* had prevailed amongſt us,

This being done for the diſcountenancing of the *Calvinian* Faction here at home, we muſt next ſee what was done abroad on the ſame account; that which was done abroad in relation to it, being of great concernment to this Church, and therefore neceſſary to be known in reference to the perſon of whom I write. The Biſhops and conformable Clergy of *Scotland* had paſs'd two Acts in the *Aſſembly* held at *Aberdeen*, *Anno* 1616. the one, for making one Uniform Order or Form of Worſhip, to be prepared by ſome Biſhops, and other Learned men amongſt them, by them to be preſented to the King, and being by the King approved, to be by him commended to the uſe of that Kirk: The other for conſulting the Regiſtry of their former *Aſſemblys*, and extracting out of them ſuch Canons, as being ratified by the ſtamp of Royal Authority, might paſs for currant in the ſame. To ſpeed this buſineſs, and ſtrike the Iron whilſt it was hot, his Majeſty made that chargeable Journey into *Scotland*, which before we ſpake of, with an intent to preſs them perſonally to the receiving of ſome few of the *Engliſh* Ceremonies, which had been offered to the conſideration of the late Aſſembly, the better to advance his hopes of introducing by degrees the Liturgy of the Church of *England*: Which Ceremonies being reduced to five Articles, and propounded to them at his being there, found ſuch ſucceſs, and put the King upon ſuch Councels as have been formerly declared. But what he could not compaſs in the year foregoing, he obtained in this; thoſe Articles being paſſed in an Aſſembly held at *Perth* in the Month of *Auguſt*, and are theſe that follow.

*Hiſt. of Scot. fol.* 530.

1. *That for the more reverend Receiving of the Holy Communion, the ſame ſhould be celebrated to the People thereafter kneeling, and not ſitting, as had been the Cuſtom ſince the Reformation of Religion.*
2. *If any good Chriſtian viſited with ſickneſs which was taken to be deadly, ſhould deſire to receive the Communion at home in his houſe, the ſame ſhould not be denied to him, lawful warning being given to the Miniſter the night before, and three or four of good Religion and Converſation being preſent to Communicate with him.*
3. *That in caſe of neceſſity tried and known to the Miniſter, it ſhould be lawful to Adminiſter Baptiſm in private Houſes, the ſame being always Miniſtred after the form in which it ſhould have been in*

*the*

*the Congregation: A publick Declaration of it to be made the next* Sunday *after.*

4. *That the days of the Birth, Paſſion, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion of our Saviour Chriſt, and of the coming down of the Holy Ghoſt, in regard of thoſe ineſtimable Benefits which the Church of God had received on them, ſhould be publickly Solemnized in the Congregation, the Miniſters making choice of fit Texts of Scripture agreeable to the Occaſions. for their ſeveral Sermons.*

5. *That the Miniſter in every Pariſh, having Catechized all Children above eight years of age, according to the ſhort Catechiſm uſed in the Church, and taught them to repeat by heart the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, ſhould preſent them to their Biſhops in their Viſitations, by them to be bleſſed with Prayers for the increaſe of Grace, and continuance of Gods heavenly Gifts upon them.*

And this indeed was a great ſtep to the work of Uniformity ſo much deſired; which had it been purſued as vigorouſly by the Biſhops of *Scotland*, as by the King it had been piouſly begun, the Service which was ſent into that Kirk almoſt twenty years after, had been better welcom'd by the *Scots*, and drawn leſs danger upon *Laud*, (who was then Archbiſhop) for his pious Actings in the ſame.

But on the other ſide, the condemning of the five *Arminian* Articles (as they commonly called them) at the *Synod* of *Dort*, was altogether as much unpleaſing as the others had been grateful to him; for well he ſaw the great dangers which might thence enſue to the Church of *England*, whoſe Doctrines were openly confronted, and her Diſcipline ſecretly undermined, by the Deciſions and Determinations of that *Synodical* Aſſembly: In which regard, it will not be unneceſſary to make a brief Relation of thoſe ſtirs and differences which hapned in the *Belgick* Churches, from the time that Doctor *Jacob van Harmine* was made one of the Divinity Profeſſors in the Univerſity of *Leyden*, Concerning which we are firſt to know, That at the Alteration of Religion in thoſe Provinces, the *French* (who were moſt active in it) brought with them *Calvin*'s Platform, both for Doctrine and Diſcipline (as commonly the one makes way to bring in the other) according unto which the *Belgick Confeſſion* was drawn up in the year 1567. Which notwithſtanding, ſuch of their Miniſters as better liked the *Melanchthonian* Doctrines in the points of Predeſtination, Grace, Free-will, *&c.* than they did the other, ſpared not to publiſh their Opinions as they ſaw occaſion, as well before as after the eſtabliſhing of the ſaid Confeſſion, and did it without check or cenſure: Amongſt which we may firſt reckon *Anaſtaſius Veluanus*, in a Book of his entituled, *Odegus Laicorum*, or the Lay-mans Guide, publiſhed in the year 1554. and much commended by *Henricus Antonides* the Divinity Reader in the Univerſity of *Franeker*; after whom followed, in the ſame Opinions, *Johannes Isbrandi*, who openly profeſs'd

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1617.

profeſs'd himſelf an *Anti-Calvinian*; *Clemens Martini*, who took his Principles from *Hardinbergius*, one of the firſt Reformers of the Church of *Embden*; *Gellius Sueranus* in *Weſt-Frieſland*, who looked upon thoſe of the other Perſwaſion as Innovators in that Church; *Holmanus* the Divinity Reader in *Leyden*; *Cornelius Menardi*, a man of good eſteem amongſt them; and generally all the Miniſters ſucceſsively in the Province of *Utrecht*, ſome of which had maintained theſe Doctrines before the birth of *Jacob van Harmine* (better known in theſe later times by the name of *Arminius*) and all of them before ſuch time as any publick notice had been taken of him; by which it ſeems, that theſe Doctrines were of a long ſtanding, and had took deep rooting in theſe Churches, though they had not gained ſuch a large and general ſpreading over them as they after did.

For in the year 1603. the Learned *Junius*, one of the Profeſſors for Divinity in the Univerſity of *Leyden*, being then deceaſed, the *Curators* or Overſeers of that Univerſity made choice of this *Van Harmine*, the Paſtor (as they phraſe it) of the Church of *Amſterdam*, to ſucceed in his place: But the Inhabitants of that Town, amongſt whom he had ſerved in the Miniſtry for the ſpace of 15. years and more, were ſo affected to the man, that they would by no means yield unto his departure, till over-ruled by the intreaties of ſome, and the power of others: A matter very unpleaſing to the Rigid *Calvinians* informing againſt him to the State for ſeveral *Heterodoxies* repugnant to the received Doctrine of thoſe Churches. *Arminius* for ſix years before, had by exchange of Letters betwixt him and *Junius*, maintained the *Melanchthonian* Doctrines in thoſe points of Controverſie before remembred; which Papers being diſperſed abroad in ſeveral Copies (but not publiſhed till after his death, and then publiſhed by the name of *Amica Collatio, &c.*) gave the *Calvinians* ſome fair Colour for their information: But the buſineſs being heard at the *Hague*, he was acquitted by his Judges, diſpatch'd for *Leyden*, and there confirmed in his place; towards which, the Teſtimonial Letters, ſent from the Church of *Amſterdam*, did not help a little; in which Letters he ſtands commended for a man of unblamable life, (*b*) ſound Doctrine, and fair behaviour, as may be ſeen at large in the Oration which was made at his Funeral, in the Divinity Schools of *Leyden*, on the 22. of *October*, *Anno* 1609. During his ſitting in that Chair, he drew unto him a great part of that Univerſity, who by the Piety of the man, his powerful Arguments, his extreme diligence in the place, and the clear light of Reaſon, which appeared in all his Diſcourſes, were ſo wedded unto his Opinions, that no time nor trouble could divorce them: For *Arminius* dying in the year 1609. as before was ſaid, the heats betwixt his Scholars, and thoſe of the contrary perſwaſion, were rather increaſed than abated; the more increaſed, for want of ſuch a prudent *Moderator* as had before ſaved and preſerved theſe Churches from a publick Rupture.

(*b*) *de vitæ integritate, ſanæ doctrinæ, & morum ſummam integritatem.*

The

LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1618.

The Breach between them growing wider, each ſide thought fit to ſeek the Countenance of the State, and they did accordingly; For in the year 1610. the Followers of *Arminius* addreſs their *Remonſtrance* (containing the Antiquity of their Doctrines, and the ſubſtance of them) to the States of *Holland*, which was encountred preſently by a *Contra-Remonſtrance*, exhibited by thoſe of *Calvins* Party. From hence the names of *Remonſtrants*, and *Contra-Remonſtrants*, ſo frequent in their Books and Writings; till the *Remonſtrants* were condemned in the *Synod* of *Dort*, and either forced to yield the cauſe or quit their Country; each Party in the mean time had the opportunity to diſperſe their Doctrines, in which the *Remonſtrants* gained exceedingly upon their Adverſaries. For the whole Controverſie being reduced to theſe five Points, *viz.* the Method of *Predeſtination*, the *Efficacie* of Chriſts Death, the operations of *Grace*, both before and after mans Converſion, and *perſeverance* in the ſame; the Parties were admitted to a publick Conference at the *Hague* in the year 1611. in which the *Remonſtrants* were conceived to have had much the better of the day. But theſe Tongue-Combates did produce a further miſchief than was ſuſpected at the firſt; For the *Calvinians* hoping to regain by Power what they loſt by Argument, put themſelves under the Protection of *Maurice van Naſſaw*, *Prince* of *Orange*, Commander General of the Forces of the United Provinces, both by Sea and Land. The *Remonſtrants* on the other ſide applied themſelves unto *John Olden Barnevelt*, a principal Counſellor of State, and of great Authority in his Country: Who fearing the Greatneſs of the Prince, and having (or thinking that he had) ſome cauſe to doubt that he aimed at an abſolute Soverainty over thoſe Eſtates, did chearfully entertain the offer, in hope to form ſuch a Party by them, as, with the help of ſome other good Patriots, might make a ſufficient Counter-ballance againſt that deſign. But *Barnevelts* projects being diſcovered, he was firſt ſeized on by the Prince, together with *Grotius*, *Liedenburgius*, and others of his chief Adherents; and that being done, he ſhewed himſelf with his Forces before ſuch Towns and Cities as had declared in favour of them; Reducing them under his Command, changing their Magiſtrates, and putting new Garriſons into them. Next followed the Arraignment and death of *Barnevelt*, contrary to the Fundamentall Laws both of his native Country, and the common Union; whoſe death occaſioned a general dejection (as well it might) amongſt thoſe of the *Remonſtrant* Party; and their dejection animated the *Calvinians* to refer their differences to a National Council, which thereupon was intimated to be held at *Dort*, one of the principle Towns of *Holland*.

This Council being thus reſolved on, their next care was to invite to their aſſiſtance ſome Divines out of all the Churches of *Calvins* Platform, and none elſe; which did ſufficiently declare, that they intended to be both Parties and Judges, as in fine it proved:

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1619.

For unto this Convention assembled the most *Rigid Calvinists*, not only of the United Provinces, but also of all the Churches of *High Germany*, and amongst the *Switz*, and from the City of *Geneva* whom it most concerned. From *France* came none, because the King, upon good Reason of State, had commanded the contrary; and the *Scots* much complained that they were not suffered by King *James* to send their Commissioners thither with the rest of the Churches: For though King *James* had nominated *Balcanquel* to that imployment in the name of the *Kirk*, yet that could give them no contentment. From *England*, the King sent Dr. *George Carleton* Bishop of *Landaff*, Dr. *Jos. Hall* Dean of *Worcester*, Dr. *John Davenant* Master of *Queens Colledge* and Lady *Margarets Professor* in *Cambridge*, and Dr. *Sam. Ward* Master of *Sydney* Colledge in the same University. And this he did, that by the Countenance of his power, and by the Presence of his Divines, he might support the Party of the Prince of *Orange*, and suppress his Adversaries. On the third of *November* they began the Synod: But things were carried there with such inequality, that such of the *Remonstrants* as were like to be elected, by their several Classes, were cited, and commanded to appear as *Criminals* only, and being come, could not be suffered to proceed to a Disputation, unless they would subscribe to such conditions as they conceived to be destructive to their Cause, and their Conscience too: Which being refused, they were expelled the House by *Bogerman* (who sate President there) in a most fierce and bitter Oration, condemned without answering for themselves; and finally, for not subscribing to their own condemnation, compelled to forsake their native Country, with their Wives and Children, and to beg their bread even in desolate places. What influence those quarrells had amongst our selves, and what effects that *Synod* did produce in the Church of *England* we shall see hereafter, when the same Points come to be agitated and debated on this side of the Seas.

His Majesty, having thus made himself the Master of his Designs, both at home and abroad, and being recovered from a dangerous sickness which had fallen upon him at *New-Market*, in the year 1619. resolved on such a work of Magnificent Piety, as might preserve his name and memory to succeeding Ages: To which end upon *Midlent* Sunday, *Anno* 1620. accompanied by the Prince, attended by the *Marquiss* of *Buckingham*, the Bishops, Lords, and most of the principal Gentlemen about the Court, he intended to visit St. *Pauls*. From *Temple-bar* he was conducted in most solomn manner by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*; and at his entrance into the Church, received under a *Canopy* by the *Dean* and *Canons*, attired in rich *Copes*, and other Ecclesiastical Habits; Being by them brought into the Quire, he heard with very great Reverence and Devotion the Divine Service of the day most solemnly performed with *Organs*, *Cornets*, and *Sagbuts*, accompanied and intermingled

intermingled with ſuch excellent voices that ſeemed rather to enchant than chant. The Divine Service being done, he went unto a place prepared, where he heard the Sermon at the *Croſs*, preached by the eloquent and religious Prelate, Dr. *John King*, Lord Biſhop of *London*. The *Sermon* being ended, the *Collation* began; His Majeſty attended with all the Lords, and the reſt of his Train, being entertained by the ſaid Lord Biſhop at a ſumptuous Banquet, with no leſs honour to himſelf than content to his Majeſty. But there was more intended by this Viſit than Pomp and Oſtentation only. For his Majeſty having taken a view of the Ruinous Eſtate in which he beheld that goodly Fabrick, iſſued not long after a *Commiſſion* for repair thereof; and ſomewhat was done in it both by Biſhop *King* and Biſhop *Mountain*: But the carrying one of this work was reſerved to another man; For a breach following not long after between *Spain* and *England*, and wars ſoon following on that breach, a ſtop was made to all proceedings in that work till the year 1631. At what time *Laud*, being Biſhop of *London*, obtained a like Commiſſion from the hands of King *CHARLES*, and ſet his heart ſo much upon it, that in few years he had made a mighty Progreſs in it, of which more hereafter. LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1619.

And here it was once feared, that this preſent Hiſtory might have ended without going further; for on the ſecond of *April*, as he paſt from *London* towards *Oxon*, he took up his Inn at *Wickam* upon the Rode; where he fell ſuddenly dead, and was not without much difficulty, and Gods ſpecial favour, reſtored unto his former being. But God reſerved him to a life more eminent, and a death more glorious; not ſuffering him to dye obſcurely, like a traveller, in a Private Inn, but more conſpicuouſly, like a Martyr, on the Publick *Theatre*; for on the 22. of *January* he was inſtalled Prebend in the Church of *Weſtminſter*, after no leſs than ten years expectation of it; And on the laſt of the ſame Month he ſate as Dean of *Gloceſter* in the *Convocation*. The Prince *Elector Palatine*, who married the Kings only Daughter in the year 1612. had the laſt year moſt inconſiderately took upon him the Crown of *Bohemiah*; not taking with him the Kings Counſel in it as he might have done, but giving him an account of it on the Poſt-Fact only. The Emperour exaſperated with this Uſurpation (as by him reputed) gave up his Country for a prey, aſſigning the Electoral Dignity with the Upper *Palatinate* to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Lower to the King of *Spain*, who had poſſeſt themſelves of divers good Towns and pieces in it. 1620.

For the recovery whereof, and the Preſervation of the reſt, in which his Daughter and her Children were ſo much concerned; it pleaſed his Majeſty to call a Parliament, to begin on the thirtieth day of *January*, accompanied with a Convocation (as the cuſtom is) on the morrow after. The buſineſs of their Conveening being ſignified unto them by the King, the Parliament at their firſt ſitting, which ended *March* 27. beſtowed upon his Majeſty two Subſidies,

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1620.

but they gave no more; which rather ſerved to ſtay his ſtomach than allay his hunger. They had ſome turns to ſerve upon him before they would part with any more money, if they did it then. But the Clergy dealt more freely with him in their Convocation, becauſe they had no other ends in it than the expreſſing of their duty and good affections. In teſtimony whereof they gave him three entire Subſidies of four ſhillings in the pound at their firſt ſitting; and would not have been wanting to his Majeſty in a further addition, in the ſecond or third, if his Majeſty had required it of them. Incouraged with which ſupplies, and the hopes of greater, he ſent ſome Regiments of old *Engliſh* Souldiers for the defence and preſervation of the *Lower Palatinate*, under the Command of that Noble Souldier, Sir *Horatio Vere*.

When the Commons beſtowed upon him the ſaid two *Subſidies*, he took them only as a bit to ſtay his ſtomach, as before was ſaid, giving himſelf ſome hopes that at the next Seſſion they would entertain him with a better, and more coſtly dinner; but then they meant that he ſhould pay the reckoning for it. For at their reaſſembling on the ſeventeenth of *April*, inſtead of granting him the ſupplies he looked for, they fell to pick quarrels with his Servants, and one of his chief Miniſters of State, not only queſtioning Sir *Giles Mompeſſon*, and Sir *Francis Michael*, but even the Lord *Chancellor Bacon* alſo. Theſe men (ſuppoſing them to have been as criminal as their enemies made them) were notwithſtanding ſuch as acted under his Commiſſions, and therefore not to have been puniſhed by his own Authority only. The giving of them over to the Power of the Parliament not only weakened his own Prerogative, but put the Houſe of Commons upon ſuch a Pin, that they would let no Parliament paſs (for the times to come) without ſome ſuch Sacrifice. And ſo fell *Bacon*, Lord *Chancellor* of *England*, Lord *Verulan*, and Viſcount of St. *Albans*; a man of good and bad qualities, equally compounded, one of a moſt ſtrong brain, and a Chimical head; deſigning his endeavors to the perfecting of the Works of Nature, or rather improving Nature to the beſt advantages of life, and the common benefit of mankind. Pity it was he was not entertained with ſome liberal Salary, abſtracted from all affairs both of Court and Judicature, and furniſhed with ſufficiency both of means, and helps for the going on in his deſign, which had it been, he might have given us ſuch a body of Natural Philoſophy, and made it ſo ſubſervient to the publick good, that neither *Ariſtotle* nor *Theophraſtus* amongſt the Ancients, nor *Paracelſus*, or the reſt of our later Chimiſts would have been conſiderable. In theſe Agitations held the Parliament till the fourth of *June*, without doing any thing in order to his Majeſties Service, who thereupon adjourned them till the fourteenth of *November* following, before which time we find *Laud* mounted one ſtep higher, and ready to take place amongſt the Biſhops in the Houſe of *Peers*: And therefore here we will conclude the firſt Part of our preſent Hiſtory.

THE

# THE LIFE OF The most Reverend FATHER in GOD WILLIAM Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

## LIB. II.

*Extending from his being made Biſhop of* St. Davids *till his coming to the See of* Bath *and* Wells.

IT is an obſervation no leſs old than true, that *Patience and Perſeverance overcome all difficulties:* And ſo it hapned unto *Laud.* He had with moſt incredible patience endured the baffles and affronts which were put upon him by the power and practiſes of his enemies. Nor did he ſhew leſs patience in his ſo long and chargeable attendance at the Court, for which he had ſo ſmall regard, that he was rather looked upon as the Biſhop of *Durhams* Servant than the Kings. But notwithſtanding theſe croſs winds he was reſolved to ride it out, neither to ſhift his ſails, nor to tack about, but ſtill to keep his way, and to ſtem the current till he had gained the Port he aimed at. His Majeſty had been made acquainted by long experience with his great abilities, his conſtancy, courage, and dexterity, for managing affairs of moment. And thereupon entring into ſpeech with him, in the beginning of *June* he was pleaſed to take notice of the long and unrewarded ſervice which he had done him, telling him, that he looked on the *Deanry* of *Gloceſter* but as a *Anno Dom.* 1621.

Shell

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1621.

Shell without a Kernel. This gave him the first hopes of his growing Fortunes. On Sunday the nineteenth of that Month he preached before the King at *Wansteed*, that being the first of those Sermons, which are now in Print. And on St. *Peters* day next following, there was a general expectation about the Court that he should have been made *Dean* of *Westminster*, in the place of *Williams*; who having been sworn Privy-Counsellor on the tenth of that Month, and nominated to the See of *Lincoln*, was on the tenth of *July*, honoured with the Custody of the great Seal of *England* upon the Deprivation of the Lord Chancellor St. *Albans*, which before we spake of: but *Williams* so prevailed at Court, that when he was made Bishop of *Lincoln*, he retained this Deanry in *Commendam*, together with such other Preferments as he held at that time; That is to say, A *Prebend* and Residentiary place in the Cathedral Church at *Lincoln*, and the Rectory of *Walgrave* in *Northampton-shire*, so that he was a perfect Diocess within himself, as being *Bishop*, *Dean*, *Prebend*, *Residentiary*, and *Parson*; and all these at once. But though *Laud* could not get the Deanry, yet he lost nothing by the example; which he made use of in retaining not only his *Prebends* place in the same Church of *Westminster*, and his Benefices in the Country (that being an ordinary indulgence to such as were preferred to the smaller Bishopricks) but also the Presidentship of his Colledge in *Oxon*, which he valued more than all the Rest. For that his own expectation might not be made as frustrate, as was that of the Court, his Majesty nominated him the same day to the See of St. *Davids*, in former times the Metropolitan City of the *Welsh* or *Brittish*. But though he was nominated then, he could not receive the Episcopal Character till five Months after; the stay was long, but the necessity unavoydable, by reason of a deplorable misfortune which had befallen Archbishop *Abbot*, and was briefly this:

The Archbishop had long held a dear and entire Friendship with *Edward* Lord *Zouch*, a person of an eminent and known Nobility; On whom he pleased to bestow a visit in his house at *Bramshall*, invited to see a Deer hunted, that he might take the fresh air, and revive his Spirits; a Cross-bow was put into his hand to shoot one of the Deer: but his hand most unhappily swerving, or the Keeper as unfortunately coming in his way, it so pleased God (the Disposer of Humane Affairs) that he missed the Beast, and shot the Man. On which sad accident, being utterly uncapable of consolation, he retired himself to *Guilford*, the place of his birth; there to expect the Issue of his wofull Fortunes in an Hospital of his own Foundation. The news of this wretched misadventure (as ill news flies far) came the same day to the Lord Keeper *Williams*; and he as hastily dispatches this Advertisement of it to the Marquess of *Buckingham*.

My

*My moſt Noble Lord,*

*AN unfortunate occaſion of my Lords Grace, his killing of a man caſually (as it is here conſtantly reported) is the cauſe of my ſeconding of my yeſterdays Letter unto your Lordſhip. His Grace upon this Accident is by the Common Law of* England *to forfeit all his Eſtate unto his Majeſty, and by the Canon Law (which is in force with us) irregular* ipſo facto, *and ſo ſuſpended from all Eccleſiaſtical Function, until he be again reſtored by his Superiour, which (I take it) is the Kings Majeſty in this Rank and Order of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. If you ſend for Doctor* Lamb, *he will acquaint your Lordſhip with the diſtinct Penalties in this kind. I wiſh withal my heart his Majeſty would be as merciful as ever he was in all his life; but yet I held it my duty to let his Majeſty know by your Lordſhip, that his Majeſty is fallen upon a matter of great Advice and Deliberation. To add affliction unto the afflicted (as no doubt he is in mind) is againſt the Kings Nature: To leave* virum ſanguinum, *or a man of blood, Primate and Patriarch of all his Churches, is a thing that ſounds very harſh in the old Councils and Canons of the Church. The* Papiſts *will not ſpare to deſcant upon one and the other. I leave the knot to his Majeſties deep Wiſdom to adviſe and reſolve upon. A rheum fallen into mine eye,* &c.

Which Letter bearing date *July* 27. 1621. points us directly to the time of this woful Accident.

Being thus pre-judged and pre-condemned, the miſerable man muſt needs have had a hard bout of it, if his cauſe had been referred to an hearing in *Chancery*: But King *James* was as compaſſionate as juſt, and as regardful of the Church as he was compaſſionate to the man. Adviſing therefore with his Council, and ſome chief Clergymen about him, though more with his own gracious diſpoſition, he after iſſued a Commiſſion to the Lord Keeper *Williams*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, St. *Davids*, and *Exon*, as alſo unto *Hubbert* and *Dodderidge*, two of the Juſtices of the Courts at *Weſtminſter-hall*, *Martin* and *Steward*, Doctors of the Civil Laws, men of great Eminence and Abilities in their ſeveral Studies, to make Inquiry into the Fact: And having made Inquiry into the Fact, they were to give their Reſolution unto His Majeſty, whether the Archbiſhop had been made *irregular* by that ſad accident, as it was commonly reported. In the managing of which great Cauſe, there was much variety of Opinions amongſt the Delegates; ſome making him obnoxious to *Irregularity*, and others as much labouring to acquit him of it: Amongſt theſe laſt were Doctor *Andrews* then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Sir *Henry Martin* then Dean of the *Arches*, and not long after Judge of the *Prerogative Court*, to whoſe Authority and Judgment the reſt of the Commiſſioners did in time conform. *Martin* for his part had received his Offices and Preferments from him, and

therefore

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1621.

therefore in an honeſt Gratitude thought himſelf obliged to bend the Law (as much as poſſibly he could) to his beſt Advantage: But *Andrews* had no ſuch impulſives, there being between them ſome diſguſt, which might have rather prevailed with him to have been his Enemy: Firſt therefore he was willing not to ſtand too rigidly upon the ſtrictneſs of the *Canons*, for fear leſt others of the Biſhops, and himſelf amongſt them, either through ignorance or incogitancy, might commit ſome acts, which without a fair and mild conſtruction, might render them as uncanonical as that poor man was: And then he ſaw, that if the Archbiſhop at that time had been pronounced *irregular*, and the See made void, *Williams* being then Lord Keeper, and in great favour with his Majeſty and the Marquis too, would have ſtep'd into it; of whom he knew too much, to venture that great charge and truſt of the Church of *England* to his Care and Government; the dangerous Conſequences whereof he was able to foretell, without the Spirit of Prophecy. Nor was this conjecture of his without very good grounds, *Williams* declaring in his ſaid Letter to the Marquis, That his Majeſty had promiſed him upon the relinquiſhing of the Seal, one of the beſt places in this Church. And what place could be more agreable to his affection than the Chair of *Canterbury*? Nor was this unfortunate Prelate leſs befriended in this deſperate plunge by Sir *Edward Coke*, a man of moſt profound Learning in the Laws of this Land, who being ask'd the Queſtion, Whether a Biſhop might lawfully hunt in his own or in any other Park? (in which point lay the greateſt pinch of the preſent difficulty) returned this Anſwer thereunto; *viz. That by the Law a Biſhop at his death was to leave his Pack of Dogs* (by the *French* called *Marte de Chiens*, in ſome old Records) *to be diſpoſed of by the King at his Will and Pleaſure.* And if the King was to have the Dogs when the Biſhop died, there is no queſtion to be made, but that the Biſhop might make uſe of them when he was alive.

By reaſon of this intercurrence, the new Elected Biſhops could not receive the Epiſcopal Character till *November* following; on the eleventh day of which Month, the Lord Keeper *Williams* was Conſecrated Biſhop of *Lincoln*, in the Chappel of King *Henry*, by vertue of a Commiſſion under the Broad Seal, directed to certain other Biſhops, according to the Statute of King *Henry* viij. And on the *Sunday* following, by vertue of a like Commiſſion directed to the Biſhops of *London*, *Worceſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Ely*, *Landaff*, and *Oxon.* Doctor *Laud* Lord *Elect* of St. *Davids*, Doctor *Davenant* Lord *Elect* of *Salisbury*, and Doctor *Cary* Lord *Elect* of *Exceter*, received Epiſcopal Conſecration in the Chappel of *London-Houſe.* The next day after he took his place amongſt the Biſhops in the Houſe of *Peers*, the Parliament having been re-aſſembled ſome few days before: But there was little for them to do as the caſe then ſtood; The Commons were ſo far from gratifying the King with freſh Supplies, who before had gratified them in the deſtruction of ſuch Miniſters as were

neer

neer unto him, that they entertained him with Petitions and Remonſtrances touching the danger, threatned to our Religion, by the growth of *Popery*; in which they were ſo far tranſported beyond their bounds, as to propoſe unto the King, *the taking of the Sword into his Hands againſt the* Spaniard, *and the Marrying of his dear Son the Prince to a Lady of the Reformed Religion:* Of this the King had ſpeedy notice; and in a Letter ſent to Sir *Thomas Richardſon*, then Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, he lets them know how ſenſible he was of their incroachments, how bold they had made themſelves with the King of *Spain*; forbidding them to deal hereafter in Affairs of State, or meddle with the Marriage of his Son the Prince; concluding, That if any ſuch Petition or Remonſtrance ſhould be brought unto him, he would neither vouchſafe the Anſwering or the Reading of it. The Commons ſtartled with this Letter, and thinking to have made a benefit of the Kings Neceſſities, cry out againſt it as a violation of their Ancient Priviledges; and on the nineteenth day of *December* then next enſuing, drew up the following *Proteſtation*, and cauſed it to be entred on Record in their Journal Books, *viz.*

## The *PROTESTATION* of the *COMMONS.*

THE Commons *now Aſſembled, being juſtly occaſioned thereunto, concerning ſundry Liberties, Franchiſes, and Priviledges of Parliament, amongſt others here mentioned, do make this Proteſtation here following: That the Liberties, Franchiſes, Priviledges, and Juriſdictions of Parliaments, are the ancient and undoubted Birthright and Inheritance of the Subjects of* England; *and the maintenance and making of Laws, and redreſſes of Miſchiefs and Grievances, which daily happen within this* Realm, *are proper Subjects and matter of Debate in Parliament; and that in the handling or proceeding of thoſe buſineſſes. every Member of the Houſe of Parliament hath and of right ought to have freedom of Speech, to Propound, Treat, Reaſon, and bring to concluſion the ſame; and that the Commons in Parliament have like freedom and liberty to Treat of thoſe Matters in ſuch Order as to their Judgments ſhall ſeem fitteſt: and that every Member of the ſaid Houſe hath like freedom from all Impeachments, Impriſonment, and Moleſtation (other than by Cenſure of the Houſe it ſelf) for or concerning any Speaking, Reaſoning, or Declaring of any Matter or Matters touching the Parliament, or Parliament buſineſs; and that if any of the ſaid Members be complained of, or queſtioned for any thing done or ſaid in Parliament, the ſame is to be ſhewed to the King by the Advice and Aſſent of all the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, before the King give credence to any private Information.*

More was the King ſtartled at the news of this *Proteſtation* (whereof he had Intelligence before it came unto the Vote) than the Commons were upon the Reading of his Majeſties Letters. He ſaw his

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1621.

Prerogative invaded, his Paternal Right diſputed, a popular State growing up in the midſt of a Monarchy, and at the preſent a great Faction formed againſt him, which if not ſpeedily ſuppreſſed might prove unreſiſtable. Way he found none to extricate himſelf out of theſe troubles, but to proceed vigorouſly in the Treaty for the Match with *Spain*, which he conceived to be the only expedient to compoſe all Differences, and recover the Patrimony of his Children. For ſhould he break off with that King, and declare for a preſent War againſt him, as had been deſired, he was to caſt himſelf entirely on the Love of his People, of whoſe Affections and Deſigns their preſent Actions gave juſt cauſe to be diſtruſtful. He therefore firſt gives Order on the nineteenth of *December* (being the very day on which the Proteſtation was Voted at *Weſtminſter*) to Adjourn the Parliament to the 8th. of *February*, under pretence that the Members might retire into the Country, for keeping Hoſpitality, and entertaining their Neighbours in the *Chriſtmas* Holydays, according to the laudable Cuſtom of the *Engliſh Nation*: But having thus diſmiſſed them to their ſeveral Countries, without noiſe or trouble, it was not his intent or purpoſe that they ſhould come together again at the time appointed; according to which Reſolution he Diſſolves the Parliament, and by his Proclamation bearing date the ninth of *January*, diſcharges the Members of both Houſes from any further attendance.

The Diſſolving of this Parliament, and the Tranſactions in the ſame, adminiſtred much variety of Diſcourſe in all parts of the Kingdom. It was obſerved by ſome, That his Majeſty had broken one of the ſtrongeſt Ligaments of the Regal Power, by delivering up his Servants and Miniſters into the hands of his People in Parliament, which was a thing not uſed by any of his Predeceſſors; That neither *Wolſey*'s exorbitant Power, or *Cromwel*'s contempt of the Nobility, under *Henry* viii. or *Leiceſters* Tyranny and Oppreſſions under Queen *Elizabeth*, were ever ſuffered to be canvaſed or condemned in Parliament; That the King got nothing by that unhappy condeſcenſion, but the laying himſelf open to all diſadvantages which a Prince abandoning his Miniſters, or abandoned by them, might have juſt reaſon to expect; That when Princes begin to fall ſo much beneath themſelves, as to manage Pen-Combate with their Subjects, they put themſelves as it were upon equal ground, and ſtand on the ſame Level with their Vaſſals, and by the loſs of their Authority, get nothing but the Reputation of an able Writer. And then the Reaſon of theſe his yieldings being brought in Queſtion, they were by ſome imputed to a natural timidity or want of Courage, which rendred him unable to hold out long, when he encountred thoſe who would put him to it: Others aſcribed it to his wants, and his wants unto his prodigality, which made his Exchequer always empty; and Money muſt be had, whatever it coſt him. But thoſe who thought they came moſt neer unto the mark, diſcourſed of him as a man

man that loved not buſineſs, and loved no buſineſs leſs than that of Parliaments; That it was uſual with him, when he called a Parliament, and had given them their Errand, as he thought, to retire to *Theobalds*, *Hampton-Court*, or *Windſor*, and ſometimes further off, to *Royſton*, or *New-Market*, as his pleaſure carried him; That by this means the Commons, not having opportunity of Acceſs to his Perſon, were forced upon a plauſible neceſſity of making their Addreſſes to him by Meſſages, Remonſtrances, and Petitions; That thoſe Remonſtrances and Petitions did beget their Anſwers, and their Anſwers did beget Replies which ended commonly in Exaſperations on either ſide. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1621.

But nothing was ſo much admired at, as the encreaſing of the Priviledges of the Houſe of Commons, as well in nature as in number. And thereupon it was obſerved, that the Commons had miſtook themſelves in the very ground on which they built their Proteſtation; That the known Priviledges of the Commons were only liberty of ſpeech in Debate and Conference; Freedom from all Arreſts for themſelves and their Servants, and opportunity of acceſs to his Majeſties Perſon, as their occaſions did require; That even thoſe Priviledges could not be called the undoubted Birth-Right and Inheritance of the Subjects of *England*, becauſe they were no otherwiſe exerciſed and enjoyed than from one Parliament to another, by the grace and goodneſs of their Kings; That were it otherwiſe, it muſt needs be a great impertinency in their *Speaker* (at the firſt opening of every Parliament) to put himſelf upon his knees, and humbly to beſeech his Majeſty, in behalf of the Houſe of Commons, to indulge them the continuance of thoſe Priviledges which were of right their own before; That they had been as much miſtaken in making the Houſe of Commons (by involving both Houſes in the name of Parliament) to be of equall Power and Priviledge with the Houſe of *Peers*, the contrary whereof being ſo well known; That the *Peers* and People being ſummoned to Parliament by ſeveral Writs, the *Peers* were called only *ad conſulendum*, to counſell and adviſe the King, in matters of moſt concernment to the Church and State; And that the People were called only *ad conſentiendum & faciendum*, to give conſent, and yield obedience to ſuch things as were ordained in the Great Council of the *Peers*; That even the *Peers* themſelves had no general warrant to meddle in all Affairs of State, but in ſuch only as his Majeſty commend and propound to them; And therefore that theſe words in the Writ, *Super arduis regni negotiis*, are not left at large, but limited and reſtrained by the word *quibuſdam*, to ſuch particulars, and ſuch only, in which the King required their Counſels.

But nothing ſeemed ſo new or ſtrange, as that no Member of the ſaid Houſe *ſhould be impeached, impriſoned, and moleſted, other than by Cenſure of the Houſe it ſelf, for or concerning any ſpeaking, reaſoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the Parliament, or*

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1621.

*Parliament buſineſs.* A Priviledge not heard of in Queen *Elizabeths* time, when in the 35. of her Reign She impriſoned no leſs than five of the Members at a clap, not only without their leave, but againſt their liking; And held them in ſo ſtrict a durance, that the Commons did not think it ſafe to move her Majeſty to reſtore them to their former liberty. And therefore that they were to ſhew under what ruſt and rubbiſh of Antiquity this Priviledge had ſo long been hidden, and how it came to be found out at laſt, when no body heard of it, or looked after it. The like diſcourſed alſo of the following Priviledge, which had been long buried in the ſame grave, and never came till now to a reſurrection, *viz.* That the King is to take no private information of any complaint, concerning matters ſaid or done in that Houſe, till it be ſhewn unto him by the Houſe it ſelf; of which it was affirmed, that it was as contrary to the Preſidents and Practiſe of former times as the other was: That when the Queen had laid an Impoſition upon Currans, and that this Impoſition had been complained of by ſome Merchants to the Houſe of Commons, ſhe had preſent notice given her of it by ſome of her Servants in that Houſe, that ſhewing her diſlike thereof to Sir *Robert Cecill*, principal *Secretary* of State, he ſignified the ſame unto the Houſe, telling them it was a *Noli me tangere*, a point not fit for them to touch at; and that if they deſiſted not from entertaining that complaint, he muſt acquaint her Majeſty with it, as in duty bound. Nor was there any better ground for that other branch, touching their Liberty and Freedom in breaking of all matters which came under their Cognizance in ſuch method and order as to them ſeemed fitteſt; but that they did intend to lay it as a foundation for preferring their own buſineſs before the Kings in all times to come.

I had not dwelt ſo long upon theſe Diſcourſes, nor on the former paſſages between his Majeſty and the Houſe of Commons, as being Exotical to my buſineſs: but that they were the chief occurrences of this firſt Parliament, of which our new Biſhop was a Member. And though the ſitting was but ſhort, not above a Month; yet it afforded him a liberal proſpect into the Humours and Affections, the Counſels and Deſigns of the Houſe of Commons, of which he was not to be taught how to make ſuch uſe, as ſhould prove moſt to the advantage of the Church and State. But that which chiefly did concern him to take notice of, was the interpoſing and embracements of that Houſe in the cauſe of Religion; which if it were ſo much in danger by the extraordinary encreaſe of *Popery*, as they gave it out, it muſt be much to the Reproach both of himſelf and the reſt of the Biſhops, that none of them had neither perſpicuity enough to ſee it, or Zeal enough to give warning of it. And therefore he muſt needs conceive, that Religion was made uſe of only for a blind or Curtain to ſcreen ſome dark deſign from the publick view, which had not yet attained to ſo ripe a confidence as to ſhew it ſelf abroad in the open light.

light. The *Myſtery of iniquity* had long been working in this Church, not ſo much in the *Popiſh* as the *Puritan* Faction. Who ſeeing they had no more prevailed againſt it by their open batteries than the *Roman* Emperours had done on the Primitive Church by their perſecutions, reſolved upon more ſecret (and conſequently more dangerous) practiſes to attain their ends. In order whereunto they had perpetually alarm'd this King (from his firſt coming to the Crown) with continual dangers from the Papiſts; for which the Gun-powder-treaſon gave them too much ground. Nor would they ſuffer any Seſſion of Parliament paſs from that time forward, in which the dangerous practiſes of *Prieſts*, *Jeſuits*, &c. did not ſound in his ears. And this they did, not ſo much becauſe they ſaw any ſuch viſible increaſe of *Popery*, as was by them pretended from time to time: but that they thought it the beſt way to carry on their other projects, which they were in hand with. For well they knew, that when the thoughts both of King and People were totally taken up with the apprehenſion of the dangers which were feared from the *Papiſts*, the *Puritan* Party in the mean time might gather ſtrength without being noted or obſerved. But becauſe theſe interpoſings of the Commons in the cauſe of Religion, became to be more eagerly purſued in ſome following Parliaments, we ſhall refer the further conſideration of them to another time. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1621.

The Parliament being ended, we muſt follow our new Biſhop to his Dioceſs, whom we will wait upon to St. *Davids* (a poor City God wot) ſcituate on the Promontory in *Pembroke-ſhire*, by the Ancients called *Ortopitæ*, in a ſafe place, and far enough from the *Saxons*, whom the *Welſh* moſt feared: but incommodious enough for all the reſt of the Clergy to repair unto. Nor did it prove ſo ſafe for the Biſhop, and other Inhabitants of it, as had been preſumed, in reſpect of ſundry other Nations who have often ſpoyled and defaced it. For ſtanding near the Sea it had been frequently viſited and ſpoyled by the *Danes*, *Norwegians*, and other *Pyrates*; inſomuch that the Biſhops were inforced to remove their dwelling to *Caermarthen*, a fair Market Town, and beautified with a goodly Collegiate Church, not far from which, in a Village called *Aberguilly*, the Biſhop hath his ordinary place of Reſidence. This brought the City of St. *Davids*, ſmall enough before, to the condition of a Village, there being nothing almoſt remaining of it but the Church, the ruines of the Biſhops Palace, and ſome Houſes appertaining to the Canons of it. The Church, as now it ſtands, (if any of it be now left ſtanding) was the work of Biſhop *Peter* the forty eighth Biſhop of this Dioceſs, and by him dedicated by the name of St. *Andrew* and St. *David*; though now St. *Andrew* be left out, and St *David* bears the name, (as before it did) in reference to St. *David*, who firſt removed the Archiepiſcopal See from *Caer-leon* thither. The place at that time by the *Welſh* called *Menew*, whence the Latines borrow their *Menevenſes*, by which name theſe Biſhops are entituled. 1622.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1622.

entituled. From this removal of the *See*, which hapned in 519. the Biſhops hereof were for ſome time the Metropolitans, and for a long time the ſupreme Ordinaries of the *Welſh* or *Brittiſh*. For although Archbiſhop *Samſon*, the twenty ſixth from St. *David*, in the year 910. or thereabouts, had carried the *Archiepiſcopal Pall* (and therewithall the Archiepiſcopal dignity) to *Dole* in *Bretagne*, by reaſon of an extreme Peſtilence, then raging amongſt the *Welſh*; yet his Succeſſors, though they loſt the name, reſerved the power of an Archbiſhop. Nor did the reſidue of the *Welſh* Biſhops receive their Conſecration from any other hand than his till the Reign of *Hen.* I. At what time *Bernard*, the forty ſixth Biſhop of this See, was forced to ſubmit himſelf to the Church of *Canterbury*.

But our Biſhops Journey into *Wales* was not ſo much to viſit S. *Davids*, (in which Church he had been before inſtalled by Proxie) as to beſtow a viſitation upon his Dioceſs, and therein to take order for the rectifying of ſuch things as he found amiſs. A Dioceſs containing the whole Counties of *Pembroke*, *Cardigan*, *Caermarthen*, *Radnor*, and *Brecknock*, with ſome ſmall parts of *Monmouth*, *Hereford*, *Montgomery*, and *Glamorgan* Shires. For managing whereof the Biſhop hath under him four Archdeacons, that is to ſay, of *Cardigan*, *Caermarthen*, *Brecknock*, and St. *Davids*; diſtributing amongſt them all the Pariſhes which belong to this Dioceſs, amounting to no more (in ſo great a quantity of ground) than 308. of which 120. are accounted for Impropriations. But then we are to underſtand this number, of Parochial Churches, not taking into the Account ſuch ſubordinate Chappels as had been built in ſeveral Pariſhes for the eaſe of the People, which might very much increaſe the reckoning. And yet he added one more to them of his own foundation; and ſuch a one as for the elegancy of the building, and richneſs of the Furniture, exceeded all the reſt together. Chappels he found none at his Epiſcopal houſe of *Aberguilly*, and one he was reſolved to beſtow upon it, proportionably to ſuch a Family as was fit for a Biſhop of St. *Davids* to have about him; which being finiſhed, he provided it of Rich Furniture, and Coſtly Utenſils, and whatſoever elſe was neceſſary or convenient for the Service of God; the very Plate deſigned for the celebrating of the holy Supper amounting to one hundred fifty five pounds eighteen ſhillings four pence. Inſomuch that if *Felix* the *Proconſul* had been ſtill alive, he might have cried out now, as he did in the time of *Julian* the *Apoſtate*, viz. (g) *Behold in what rich Veſſels they adminiſter to the Son of Mary.* But this unhapy Age hath given us *Felix's* enough to reckon this amongſt his crimes, and ſo they do his ſolemn Conſecration of it, performed by himſelf in perſon, according to an order firmly drawn up by the moſt learned Biſhop *Andrews*, then whom there could not be a greater enemy to the Errours, Superſtitions, and Corruptions of the See of *Rome*. I know it was objected, (*h*) that neither *Gratian*, nor the *Roman Pontificall*, conceive ſuch Conſecrations neceſſayr

(g) *Vide quàm pretioſis vaſis adminiſtrant Mariæ Filio.* Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 3.

(h) *Cant. Dens* p. 504

neceſſary to a Private Chappel; but then they are to be underſtood of ſuch Chappels only as are meant for prayers, and in propriety of ſpeech are no more than *Oratories*; and not of ſuch as are intended for Preaching, Miniſtring the Sacraments, and other acts of Divine Worſhip as this Chappel was. And this appears ſo plainly by the Authentick Inſtrument of the Dedication, that no man who hath ſeen the ſame can make queſtion of it.

LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1622.

*Et tam ad Sacramenta quam Sacramentalia, tum Cœnæ Dominicæ, tum etiam Baptiſmatis Sacri in eandem miniſtrantur, &c.*

I have laid all theſe things together, from his Conſecration in *November* 1621. till his return toward *London* on the fifteenth of *Auguſt* 1622. though the building and conſecrating of this Chappel was the work of ſome following years, and that there interveened a buſineſs of another nature betwixt the end of the Parliament and the beginning of his Journey. The Treaty for a Match with *Spain* was conceived to be very forwards, and the Parliament had ended in diſguſt for declaring againſt it, which much encreaſed the Audaciouſneſs of the *Papiſts*, and the diſcontents of the *Puritan* Faction. And though the Projects of theſe laſt were not yet ripe enough for a preſent diſcovery, yet ſo it hapned, that one *Knight*, a young Divine of *Broadgates* in *Oxon.* (now better known by the name of *Pembroke Colledge*) broke out a little before his time into ſuch expreſſions as plain enough declared the purpoſe of all the reſt. For preaching at St. *Peters* on *Palm Sunday* in the Afternoon (being the fourteenth day of *April*) on thoſe words of the Apoſtle, *viz. Let every ſoul be ſubject*, &c. *Rom.* 13.1. he broacht this dangerous Doctrine: viz. *That the Inferiour Magiſtrate had a lawful power to order and correct the King if he did amiſs.* For illuſtration of which Doctrine he uſed that ſpeech of *Trajans* unto the Captain of his Guard: *Accipe hunc gladium, quem pro me ſi bene imperavero diſtringes; ſin minus contra me*; That is to ſay, Receive this Sword, which I would have thee uſe for my defence if I govern well; but if I rule the Empire ill, to be turned againſt me. For this being called in queſtion by Dr. *Pierce*, one of the Canons of *Chriſt Church*, being then Vice-Chancellor, he was commanded to deliver a Copy of his Sermon, which he did accordingly; and Letters preſently were diſpatcht to the Biſhop of St. *Davids*, as the only *Oxford* Biſhop then about the King, to make his Majeſty acquainted with it. It was his Majeſties pleaſure, that both the Preacher and the Sermon ſhould be ſent to the Court. Where being come, he was very ſtrictly examined about the Doctrine he had Preached, and how he came to fall upon it: He laid the fault of all upon ſome late Divines of forrain Churches, by whom he had been ſo miſguided; Eſpecially on *Pareus* a Divine of *Heidelberg*, who in his Commentary on the Epiſtle to the *Romans* had poſitively delivered, all which he had vented in his Sermon, even to that very ſaying of the Emperour *Trajan*. On this acknowledgment, it pleaſed the King of his ſpecial goodneſs to remit the errour of the Preacher, conſidering him as a young man, and eaſily ſeduced by ſo grave an Author; but then withall he

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1622.

he gave ſuch order in the Point, That the ſaid Book of *Pareus* ſhould be publickly burnt, not only in both the Univerſities, but alſo after the end of the Sermon at St. *Paul*'s Croſs *London*, on ſome *Sunday* following; which Sentence was accordingly executed at *Oxon.* in St. *Maries* Church-yard, on the ſixth of *June*, in a frequent Aſſembly of the Vice-chancellor, Doctors, Procters, Heads of Houſes, Regents, Non-Regents, and many others, whom curioſity or deſire of ſatisfaction did allure unto it. The like done at St. *Pauls* Croſs alſo on *Sunday* the 23d. of *June* next following; *Mountain* then Biſhop of *London*, Preaching there upon that occaſion. The like was done at *Cambridge* alſo, but the time I know not.

But yet the buſineſs ſtaid not here: The Univerſity of *Oxon.* thought themſelves concerned to acquit the whole Body from that Cenſure, which the Error of one Member might have drawn upon it; and thereupon it was thought fit, that the moſt ſeditious Maxims and Poſitions, which in that point had been delivered by *Pareus*, ſhould be extracted out of that Book; and being ſo extracted, ſhould be preſented to the Vice-chancellor, and by him referred unto the Judgment of the Univerſity: Which being done, a Convocation was aſſembled on the 25th. day of *June*, in which the ſaid Maxims and Poſitions were by an unanimous conſent condemned as falſe, ſeditious, impious, and deſtructive of all Civil Government. Nor did the Univerſity think they had done enough in looking back on Times paſt only, if they provided not alſo for the preventing of the like miſchiefs for the time to come; and thereupon it was declared by the ſaid Univerſity; Firſt, That according to the *Canon* of Holy Scripture it was not lawful for the Subject to reſiſt his Sovereign by force of Arms, or to make War againſt him, either *Offenſive* or *Defenſive*, whether it were for the cauſe of Religion, or upon any other Pretence whatſoever. Secondly, That all Doctors, Maſters of Arts, Batchelors of *Law*, and Batchelors of *Phyſick*, living within the verge of the Univerſity, ſhould ſubſcribe to thoſe Cenſures and Decrees: and, Thirdly, That whoſoever did hereafter take any Degree in any Faculty whatſoever, ſhould firſt acknowledge the truth and juſtice of thoſe Cenſures, by his Subſcription to the ſame; and ſhould withal take his Corporal Oath (the form of which Oath was then preſcribed) That he did not only from his heart condemn the ſaid Doctrines of *Pareus*; but that he would neither preach, teach, or maintain the ſame, or any of them for the future. And for the better avoiding of the like inconveniencies which *Knight* had run himſelf upon, by that prepoſterous courſe of Study which was then generally uſed in that Univerſity, Order was given that his Majeſties Inſtructions of the 18th of *June* 1616. ſhould be publiſhed in all the Chappels of Colledges, and ſome publick place in every Hall, that all young Students in Divinity might take notice of them: And this produced by little and little ſuch an alteration, that the name of *Calvin* (which before had carried all before it) began to leſſen by degrees;

grees; his Reaſons more looked upon than his Affirmations, and the Doctrines of the Church of *England* more cloſely followed than they had been formerly. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1622.

Nor did his Majeſty ſo much neglect his own ſafety, or the peace and happineſs of his People, as not to take ſuch order in it as might prevent the like falſe, factious, and ſeditious Preachings for the time to come. He found by this example, that divers young Students, by reading of late Writers and ungrounded Divines, might and did broach unprofitable, unſound, ſeditious and dangerous Doctrines, to the ſcandal of this Church, and diſquieting of the State and preſent Government; That the falling off of ſome to *Popery*, and of others to *Anabaptiſtry*, or to ſome other kind of ſeparation from the Church, could not ſo rationally be imputed to any other thing than to the lightneſs, affectedneſs, and unprofitableneſs of that kind of Preaching, which had been of late years too much taken up in Court, Univerſity, City, and Country; That too many Preachers were noted to be ſoaring up in points of Divinity too deep for the capacities of the people; That others ignorantly meddled in Civil matters, as well in the private meetings of ſeveral Pariſhes and Corporations, as in the Publick of the Kingdom, for the venting of their own diſtaſte, or ſmoothing up of thoſe idle fancies, which in this bleſſed time of ſo long a Peace, doth boil in the brains of an unadviſed People; That many of their Sermons were full of rude and undecent railings, not only againſt the Doctrines, but even againſt the perſons of *Papiſts* and *Puritans*: And finally, that the People never being inſtructed in the Catechiſm, and fundamental Grounds of Religion; for all theſe aiery novelliſms which they received from ſuch Preachers, were but like new Table-books, ready to be filled up, either with the Manuals and Catechiſms of the *Popiſh* Prieſts, or the Papers and Pamphlets of *Anabaptiſts*, *Browniſts*, and other *Puritans*. His Majeſty thereupon taking the Premiſes into his Princely Conſideration, which had been repreſented to him by ſundry grave and reverend Prelates of this Church, thought it expedient to cauſe ſome certain Limitations and Cautions, concerning Preachers and Preaching, to be carefully digeſted and drawn up in Writing: Which done (ſo done as *Laud* appears to have a hand in the doing of it) and being very well approved by the King, he cauſed them to be directed to the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, by them to be communicated to the Biſhops of their ſeveral Provinces, and by thoſe Biſhops to be put in execution in their ſeveral Dioceſſes. Which Directions bearing date of the fourth of *Auguſt*, 1622. being the 20th. year of his Majeſties Reign, I have thought convenient to ſubjoin, and are theſe that follow, *viz.*

I. *That no Preacher under the Degree and Calling of a Biſhop, or Dean of a Cathedral or Collegiate Church (and they upon the Kings days only, and ſet Feſtivals) do take occaſion by the Expounding of any*

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1622.

*Text of Scripture whatſoever, to fall into any ſet courſe or common place, otherwiſe than by opening the coherence and diviſion of his Text, which ſhall not be comprehended and warranted in eſſence, ſubſtance, effect, or natural inference, within ſome one of the Articles of Religion ſet forth* 1562. *or in ſome one of the Homilies ſet forth by Authority in the Church of* England, *not only for a help of non-preaching, but withal as a pattern, as it were, for the Preaching Miniſters; and for their further inſtruction for the performance thereof, that they forthwith read over and peruſe diligently the ſaid Book of Articles, and the two Books of Homilies.*

II. *That no Parſon, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer, ſhall Preach any Sermon or Collation hereafter, upon* Sundays *and* Holy-days *in the Afternoons, in any Cathedral or Pariſh Church throughout this Kingdom, but upon ſome part of the* Catechiſm, *or ſome Text taken out of the* Creed, *or* Commandments, *or the* Lords Prayer, (*Funeral Sermons only excepted*) *and that thoſe Preachers be moſt encouraged and approved of, who ſpend their Afternoons Exerciſe in the Examination of Children in their* Catechiſms, *which is the moſt ancient and laudable Cuſtom of Teaching in the Church of* England.

III. *That no Preacher of what Title ſoever, under the degree of a Biſhop or Dean at the leaſt, do from henceforth preſume to Preach in any popular Auditory, the deep Points of* Predeſtination, Election, Reprobation, *or of the* univerſality, efficacity, reſiſtibility, *or* irreſiſtibility *of* Gods Grace; *but rather leave thoſe Themes to be handled by Learned Men, and that modeſtly and moderately, by Uſe and Application, rather than by way of poſitive Doctrine, as being fitter for Schools and Univerſities, than for ſimple Auditories.*

IV. *That no Preacher, of what Title or Denomination ſoever, ſhall preſume from henceforth in any Auditory within this Kingdom, to declare, limit, or bound out by way of poſitive Doctrine, in any Lecture or Sermon, the Power, Prerogative, Juriſdiction, Authority, or Duty of Sovereign Princes, or therein meddle with matters of State, and reference between Princes and People, than as they are inſtructed in the Homily of* Obedience, *and in the reſt of the Homilies and Articles of Religion, ſet forth (as before is mentioned) by Publick Authority: but rather confine themſelves wholly to theſe two Heads of* Faith *and* Good Life, *which are all the ſubject of the ancient Sermons and Homilies.*

V. *That no Preacher, of what Title or Denomination ſoever, ſhall cauſeleſly, and without any invitation from the Text, fall into any bitter Invectives, and undecent railing Speeches againſt the* Papiſts *or* Puritans: *but wiſely and gravely, when they are occaſioned thereunto by the Text of Scripture, free both the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of* England *from the aſperſions of either*

*either adverſary, eſpecially when the Auditory is ſuſpected to be tainted with the one or the other infection.*

VI. *Laſtly, That the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of the Kingdom (whom his Majeſty hath good cauſe to blame for their former remiſſeneſs) be more wary and choice in Licencing of Preachers, and Verbal Grants made to any Chancellor, Officiall, or Commiſſary to paſs Licence in this Kingdom: And that all the Lecturers throughout the Kingdom (a new body ſevered from the ancient Clergy of* England, *as being neither Parſon, Vicar, or Curate) be licenſed henceforward in the Court of Faculties, only upon recommendation of the party from the Biſhop of the Dioceſs under his hand and ſeal, with a* Fiat *from the Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and a confirmation under the Great Seal of* England; *and that ſuch as tranſgreſs any of his directions be ſuſpended by the Biſhop of the* Dioceſs, *or in his default by the Lord Archbiſhop of that Province.* Ab officio & beneficio, *for a year and a day, untill his Majeſty by the advice of the next Convocation preſcribe for ſome further puniſhment.*

No ſooner were theſe *Inſtructions* publiſhed, but ſtrange it was to hear the ſeveral deſcants and diſcourſes which were made upon them; How much they were miſreported amongſt the People, and miſinterpreted in themſelves; thoſe very men who ſaw no juſt reaſon to condemn the Action being howſoever ſure to miſconſtrue the end. For though they were ſo diſcreetly ordered, that no good and godly man could otherwiſe than acknowledge that they tended very much to Edification; Yet ſuch Interpretations were put upon them, as neither could conſiſt with his Majeſties meaning, nor the true ſenſe of the Expreſſions therein uſed. By ſome it was given out, that thoſe Inſtructions did tend to the reſtraint of Preaching, at the leſt as to ſome neceſſary and material points; by others, that they did abate the number of Sermons, by which the People were to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith; by all the Preachers of that Party, that they did but open a gap for Ignorance and Superſtition to break in by degrees upon the People. Which coming to his Majeſties Ears, it brought him under the neceſſity of making an Apology for himſelf, and his actions in it. And to this end having ſummed up the reaſons which induced him to it, he required the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to communicate them to his Brother of *York*; by both to be imparted to their ſeveral Suffragans, the inferiour Clergy, and to all others whoſoever, whom it might concern: which notwithſtanding, it lay ſo heavy on the ſtomach of *H. Burton* (at that time a Waiter in the Court, and afterwards beneficed in *Friday*-ſtreet) that it would not down with him for many years. Inſomuch that in his ſeditious Sermon, Entituled, *For God and King, Anno* 1636. he chargeth it for an *Innovation* in Religion, that the Biſhops then about King *James*, (of which *Laud* was one) procu-

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1622.

red an order from him to inhibit yong Miniſters from preaching thoſe Doctrines ( thoſe ſaving Doctrines as he calls them ) of Election and Predeſtination, and that none but Biſhops and Deans ſhould handle thoſe Points; which he is confident to have been done by them for no other reaſon, *But thereby the more eaſily to make way for the accompliſhing of their plot*, for the introducing of *Popery*, ſo long in hammering. So impoſſible was it for that King, ( and as impoſſible for his Son and Succeſſor ) aſſiſted by the graveſt and moſt moderate Counſellors, to fix on any thing conducible to the peace and happineſs of the Church, but what muſt be traduced, and made odious in the ſight of the People by the reports and artifices of thoſe troubleſome Spirits.

Now as his Majeſty and the Church were exerciſed on the one ſide by the *Puritan* Faction, ſo were they no leſs troubled and diſquieted by the *Popiſh* Party on the other. The Prieſts and Jeſuites, upon the breaking up of the Parliament, and the proceedings of the Treaty, grew to ſuch an height of confidence that they openly began to practice on ſome perſons of Honour for ſeducing them and their dependants to the See of *Rome*. Amongſt whom there was none more aimed at than the Counteſs of *Buckingham*, whom if they could gain unto their Party, they doubted not but by her means to win the *Marquiſs*, and by his power to obtain a tolleration at the leaſt of their Superſtition. The Lady beginning to ſtagger in her reſolutions, and *Fiſher* the Jeſuite ( who had undertaken the task ) continually preſſing her by freſh arguments to declare her ſelf, it came at laſt to the Kings knowledge, who was not wanting to diſcourſe with her for her ſatisfaction. At that time Dr. *Francis White*, Rector of St. *Peter* in *Cornhill*, was reader of the Divinity Lecture in the Church of St. *Paul*, by which he had gained an high eſteem amongſt his Auditors, not only for his honeſt Zeal againſt the Papiſts, in thoſe ( as they were then thought ) Pendulous times: but for a notable dexterity in the managing of all points of Controverſie. No man thought fitter than this Doctor to encounter *Fiſher*. And to that end, in the beginning of this year, he was deſired by the Marquiſs to hold a Conference with the Jeſuite, at which his Mother being preſent, might hear what anſwers would be given to ſuch Objections as had been made againſt this Church, and the Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed. One Conference not being enough to conclude the buſineſs, another followed not long after, to which the King himſelf did vouchſafe his preſence; ſo great was his deſire to free this Honourable Lady from the *Fiſhers* net. But in that ſecond Conference ( conſiſting altogether of particular points ) there had been nothing ſaid touching an infallible, viſible Church, which was the chief and only point in which the Party doubting required ſatisfaction. And that ſhe might have ſatisfaction in that matter alſo, it pleaſed his Majeſty to add a third Conference to the former on the twenty fourth of *May* next following, not to be managed by the

the ſame parties, but by our Biſhop on the one ſide, and the ſaid *Fiſher* on the other; the Lord Keeper *Williams* (who put in a word or two ſometimes) and divers other perſons of Honour being alſo preſent. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1622.

How well he ſped in that encounter, the Printed Conference, which came out about two years after, and the juſtification of it publiſhed in the year 1637. do moſt clearly evidence, or ſhall be ſhewn hereafter in due time and place. Certain I am, that he gained ſo much by that days work on the *Marquiſs* of *Buckingham*, that from that time forwards he was taken into his eſpeciall favour; For he himſelf telleth us in his *Breviate* on *Whitſunday*, *June* the eighth, That the *Marquiſs was pleaſed to enter into a nearer reſpect to him, the particulars whereof were not for paper*; That on the fifteenth of that Month he had the honour to be made the *Marquiſs's Confeſſor* (which was to give him in effect) the Key of his heart; that on the Morrow after, being *Trinity* Sunday, the *Marquiſs* having thus prepared himſelf, received the Sacrament at *Greenwich*. Which if he had not forborn for a long time before, this *Memorandum* in the *Breviate* muſt have been impertinent; and finally, that on the eleventh of *January*, the Marquiſs and he were at ſome private Conſultation, in the inner Chamber at *York*-Houſe, on which he prays God to beſtow his bleſſing. Nor was the King leſs pleaſed with his performance at that time, than the Marquiſs was. On the Report whereof, he gave him order to digeſt the ſubſtance of it into Form and Method, to make it ready for his hearing in convenient time; and was content to give him acceſs no leſs than thrice in the *Chriſtmas* holydays, that he might hearken to it with the more attention. That King had never the command of ſo ſtrong a patience as to hold out againſt a ſecond or third reading, if he had not found ſome high contentment in the firſt. In which Conjuncture, it was no hard matter for him to obtain the renewing and enlarging of his *Commendam* by the addition of the Parſonage of *Creek* in *Northamptonſhire*, into which he was inſtituted and inducted, in the end of *January*.

We are now drawing unto a new and ſtrange adventure, greater than which was never undertaken and performed by a Prince of *England*. The Treaty for the Match with *Spain*, beginning in the year 1617. was afterwards more vigorouſly proſecuted by King *James*, upon a hope of bringing back the *Palatinate* with it; But while he fed himſelf with hopes, the *Spaniards* and *Bavarians*, had devoured the Country, leaving but three Towns (*Heidelberge*, *Frankendale*, and *Manheime*) to keep poſſeſſion for the *Prince Elector*, in the name of the reſt. Which the King finding at the laſt, and ſeeing that one delay begat another, without promiſing any end to his Expectations; it was by him reſolved, without the privity and conſent of his Council, that the Prince himſelf ſhould go in Perſon into *Spain*, that he might either ſpeed the buſineſs, or break

off

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1622.

( ) *Hidden works of dark.* p. 47.

*Id.* p. 25.

of the Treaty: Nor wanted the Prince ſtrong impulſives to induce him to it. He was now paſt the two and twentieth year of his Age, and was ſo bent upon the Match, that he began to grow impatient with his Fathers Miniſters for not ripening it unto an iſſue; For it is evident by *Digbys* Letter unto *Calvert* (1,) dated *Octob.* 28. 1623. (this laſt then Secretary of State) not only that King *James* did infinitely deſire the Match, but that the Prince deſired it as much as he and by *Calverts* Letter unto *Digby*, on the fifth of this preſent *January*, *That he could have no reſt for his young Maſter, for being called on early and late to haſten the diſpatch of all.* Some Meſſages and diſpatches had been brought by *Porter* out of *Spain* about three daies before, which winged his feet, and added Spurs to the deſign. The Journey being thus agreed on, was in the very nature of it, to be made a ſecret; and therefore not communicable to the Lords of the Council for fear of ſtaying him at home, or rendring him obnoxious to the danger of an interception as he paſt through *France*; which miſchief if it had befaln him, he muſt either have ſubmitted unto ſuch conditions, or ſuffered under ſuch reſtraints as might ſeem intollerable in themſelves, but abſolutely deſtructive of his preſent purpoſe; which may the rather be believed by reaſon of the like proceedings of that King with the preſent Prince Elector *Palatine*; who poſting diſguiſed through *France*, in hope to get the Command of Duke *Bernards* Army, was ſtayed in the middle of his Journey by that Kings command, and kept ſo long under Reſtraint that he loſt the opportunity of effecting that which he deſired.

It is not to be thought but that much danger did appear in the undertaking, but Love, which facilitates impoſſibilities, overcomes all dangers. On the eighteenth day of *February*, accompanied by the Duke of *Buckingham*, Mr. *Endimion Porter*, and Mr. *Francis Cottington*, he took Ship at *Dover*, and landed ſafe at *Boloigne* a Port of *Picardy*. Advanced on his way as far as *Paris*, his Curioſity carried him to the Court, to ſee a Maſque, at which he had a view of that incomparable Princeſs, whom he after married. But he was like to have paid dear for this curioſity; For no ſooner had he left the City, but the *French* King upon Advertiſement of his being there, diſpatcht away many of his Servants in purſuance of him, commanding them not only to ſtay his Journey, but to bring him back unto the Court. But he rides faſt who rides upon the wings of Love and Fear, ſo that the Prince had paſt *Bayonne* (the laſt Town of *France*) without being overtaken by them; and poſting ſpeedily to *Madrid* he entred the Lord Ambaſſadors Lodging without being known to any but his Confidents only. That Danger being thus eſcaped, he caſt himſelf upon another; For having put himſelf into the Power of the King of *Spain*, it was at the curteſie of that King whither he ſhould ever return or not; it being a Maxime among Princes, that if any one of them without leave ſets foot on the ground of another, he makes himſelf *ipſo facto* to become his Priſoner.

*Richard*

*Richard* the Firſt of *England* paſſing in diſguiſe through ſome part of the dominions of the Arch-Duke of *Auſtria* was by him took priſoner, and put unto ſo high a Ranſome, that the Arch-Duke is ſaid to have bought the Earldom of *Styria*, or *Styrmark*, with ſome part of the money, and to have walled *Vienna* with the reſt. Nor wanted the *Spaniards* ſome Examples of a latter date, which might have juſtified his detention there, had they been ſo minded, and thoſe too borrowed from our ſelves. *Philip* the firſt of *Spain* (one of the Predeceſſors of the King then Reigning) being caſt by tempeſt on the Coaſt of *England*, was here detained by King *Henry* the Seventh till he had delivered up the Earl of *Suffolk*, who had put himſelf under his protection. In like manner *Mary* Queen of *Scots* being forced by her Rebellious Subjects to flee into this Realm, was preſently ſeized on as a Priſoner, and ſo continued till her lamentable and calamitous death. And what could more agree with the rules of Juſtice, and the old known practiſe of *Retaliation*, then that the *Engliſh* ſhould be puniſhed by the rigour of their own ſeverities. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1622.

Such were the Dangers which the Princes perſon was expoſed to by this unparalell'd adventure, not otherwiſe to be commended (in moſt mens opinions) but by the happy ſucceſs of his Return. And yet there were ſome fears of a greater danger than any could befall his Perſon by Sea or Land; that is to ſay, the danger of his being wrought on to alter his Religion, and to make ſhipwrack of his Faith; and this by ſome uncharitable perſons is made the ground of the deſign, to the indelible reproach of thoſe who were ſuppoſed to have had a hand in the contrivement of the Plot. Amongſt thoſe the *Marquiſs* ſtands accuſed by the Earl of *Briſtol*, as appears by the firſt Article of the Charge which was exhibited againſt him in the Parliament of the year 1626. And our new Biſhop ſtands reproached for another of them by the Author of the book entituled, *Hidden works of darkneſs*, &c. (m) But then it cannot be denied, but that his Majeſty and the Prince muſt be the Principals in this Fact, this *Hidden work of darkneſs*, as that Author calls it; *Buckingham* and St. *Davids* being only acceſſaries, and ſubſervient inſtruments. But who can think they durſt have undertaken ſo foul a buſineſs, which could not be waſht off but by their bloud, had not the King commanded, and the Prince conſented? Now for the King, there is not any thing more certain than the great care he took that no danger ſhould accrue to the Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed by the Match with *Spain*. And this appears ſo clearly by the Inſtructions which he gave to *Digby* at the firſt opening of this Treaty, as if it had been written with a beam of the Sun: "The matter of Religion "(ſaith he) is to us of moſt principal conſideration; for nothing "can be to us dearer than the honour and ſafety of the Religion we "profeſs: And therefore ſeeing that this Marriage and Alliance (if "it ſhall take place) is to be with a Lady of a different Religion "from us; it becometh us to be tender, as on the one part, to give "them

(m) *Hidden works*, p. 34.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1622.

"them all ſatisfaction convenient; ſo on the other, to admit no-
"thing that may blemiſh our Conſcience, or detract from the Reli-
"gion here eſtabliſhed. And to this point he ſtood to the very laſt, not giving way to any alteration in this, or tolleration of that Religion; though he was pleaſed to grant ſome perſonal graces to the Recuſants of this Kingdom, and to abate ſomewhat of the Rigour of thoſe *Capitall* Laws which had been formerly enacted againſt Prieſts and Jeſuites.

Next for the Prince, he had been brought up, for ſome years then laſt paſt, *at the feet* of this moſt learned and wiſe *Gamaliel*; by whom he was ſo fortified in the true Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed by the Laws of this Realm, that he feared not the encounter of the ſtrongeſt Adverſary; and of this the King was grown ſo confident, that when *Maw* and *Wren*, the Princes Chaplains, were to receive his Majeſties Commands at their going to *Spain*, there to attend upon their Maſter, he adviſed them not to put themſelves upon any unneceſſary Diſputations, but to be only on the defenſive part, if they ſhould be challenged. And when it was anſwered, That there could be no reaſon to engage in ſuch Diſputations where no Moderator could be had; The King replied, That *Charles* ſhould moderate between them and the oppoſite party. At which when one of them ſeemed to ſmile upon the other, the King proceeded, and aſſured them, that *Charles* ſhould manage a point in Controverſie with the beſt ſtudied Divine of them all; and that he had trained up *George* ſo far as to hold the Concluſion, though he had not yet made him able to prove the Premiſes. By which it ſeems that his Majeſty conceived no ſuch fear on the Princes part, as that he could be practiſed or diſputed out of his Religion; and that he had no ſuch fear of *Buckingham* neither, but that he would be able to ſtand his ground, notwithſtanding any Arguments which were brought to move him. And he that is ſo far confirmed as to ſtand his ground, will never yield himſelf though he may be vanquiſhed. It was not then to be believed, that men ſo principled and inſtructed, as not to be forced out of their Religion, ſhould take ſuch pains to be perverted, or ſeduced upon worldly policies, as well againſt their Science, as againſt their Conſcience. Had they gone thither on that Errand, what could have hindred them from putting the deſign in execution; having in *Spain* fit opportunity to effect it, at home the Kings Authority to confirm and Countenance it, and the whole power of his Catholick Majeſty (which was offered more than once or twice) to juſtifie and defend the miſrule againſt all the world. That they brought back the ſame Religion which they carried with them, is a ſtrong Argument to any man of Senſe and Reaſon that they went not into *Spain* of purpoſe to betray it there.

Let us next look upon the proofs which are offered to us; for *Laud* being privy to this journey, whereof his being of Council to pervert the Prince, and draw him to the Church of *Rome*, there is

no

no proof offered: For firſt I find it charged, that he wrote a Letter unto *Buckingham* on the fifth day after his departure, and maintained a conſtant Correſpondence with him when he was in *Spain*: And ſecondly, That he was privy to ſome Speeches which his Majeſty had uſed to the Prince at his going hence. His Majeſty in ſome of his printed Books had maintained that the *Pope* was *Antichriſt*; and now he feared that this might be alledged againſt him in the Court of *Rome*, to hinder the *Popes* Diſpenſation, and obſtruct the Marriage: For the removal of which bar, he commands the Prince to ſignifie (if occaſion were) to all whom it might concern, *That his Majeſty had writ nothing in that Point* concludingly, *but by way of Argument.* That *Laud* was preſent at this Conference betwixt his Majeſty and the Prince, hath no proof at all: He might be made acquainted with it on the *poſt-fact*, when the Prince returned; and yet becauſe he was made acquainted with this paſſage, though upon the *poſt-fact*, it muſt be hence concluded as a matter *certain, That he was one of the Cabinet Council, and privy to the Princes going into* Spain: and ſecondly, as a matter *probable, That he ſuggeſted this diſtinction unto King* James, *to pleaſe the* Pope, *and promote the Match.* As little ſtrength there is in the ſecond proof, touching his Writing to the Marquis on the fifth day after his departure: But then it was not till the fifth, before which time the Princes Journey into *Spain* was made the general Diſcourſe of all Companies, the ordinary Subject of all Tongues and Pens; communicated by word of mouth, by Letters, and by what means not? Nor can thoſe following Letters, which he received from *Buckingham* when he was in *Spain*, convince him of being privy to that Journey, when it was in project and deſign; there being many others alſo, who both received and diſpatched Letters frequently from that very ſame perſon, ſo far from being of the Council as to that particular, that they were not of the Court at all: So ordinary is the fate of ſuch ſorry Arguments, to conclude nothing at all, or that which is nothing to the purpoſe.

LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1622.

*Cant. Doom.* p. 276.

*Hist. Worke,* c. 34. & *Brev.* p. 3.

But what need more be ſaid to confute this Calumny on which I have ſo long inſiſted, than the great Care which was immediately taken by the King and his Biſhops, to maintain the Reputation of the Church of *England* in the Court of *Spain*? No ſooner had his Majeſty notice that the Prince was come in ſafety to the Court of that King, but order preſently was taken for Officers of all Qualities, and Servants of all ſorts to be ſent unto him, that ſo he might appear in Publick with the greater luſtre. Nor was it the leaſt part of his Royal Care, to accommodate him with two ſuch Chaplains as ſhould be able to defend the Doctrine of this Church againſt all Opponents. And that there might appear a face of the Church of *England* in the outward Forms of Worſhip alſo, his Majeſty was pleaſed by the Advice of the Biſhops then about him (of which *Laud* was one) to give the ſaid Chaplains, *Maw* and *Wren*, theſe Inſtructions following, dated at *Newmarket*, *March* 10.

PART I.

*Anno Dom.* 1622.

I. *That there be one convenient Room appointed for Prayer; the ſaid Room to be employed during their abode to no other uſe.*

II. *That it be decently adorned Chappel-wiſe, with an* Altar, *Fonts, Palls, Linnen Coverings, Demy-Carpet, four Surplices, Candleſticks, Tapers, Chalices, Pattens, a fine Towel for the Prince, other Towels for the Houſhold, a Traverſe of Waters for the Communion, a Baſon and Flaggons, two Copes.*

III. *That Prayers be duly kept twice a day: That all reverence be uſed by every one preſent, being uncovered, kneeling at due times, ſtanding up at the Creeds and Goſpel, bowing at the Name of* JESUS.

IV. *That the Communion be celebrated in due form, with an Oblation of every Communicant, and admixing Water with the Wine: the Communion to be as often uſed as it ſhall pleaſe the Prince to ſet down; ſmooth Wafers to be uſed for the Bread.*

V. *That in the Sermons there be no Polemical Preachings to inveigh againſt them, or to confute them; but only to confirm the Doctrine and Tenets of the Church of* England, *by all poſitive Arguments, either in Fundamental or Moral Points; and eſpecially to apply themſelves in Moral Leſſons to Preach* Chriſt Jeſus *Crucified.*

VI. *That they give no occaſions (or raſhly entertain any) of Conference or Diſpute (for fear of diſhonour to the Prince, if upon any offence taken, he ſhould be required to ſend away any one of them): but if the Lord Embaſſador or Mr. Secretary wiſh them to hear any that deſire ſome information, then they may ſafely do it.*

VII. *That they carry the Articles of our Religion in many Copies, the Books of Common Prayer in ſeveral Languages, ſtore of* Engliſh *Service-Books, the Kings own Works in* Engliſh *and* Latin.

Such were his Majeſties Inſtructions to the ſaid two Chaplains: and being ſuch, they do *concludingly* demonſtrate, That there was no deſign in the King or Prince, or in any of the Court or Court-Biſhops, of what name ſoever, to alter the Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed; or that the Prince was poſted into *Spain* of purpoſe that he might be perverted or debauched from it.

But the beſt is, that he which gave the *Wound* hath made the *Plaiſter*; and ſuch a *Plaiſter* as may aſſuredly heal the Sore without troubling any other Chyrurgeon. It is affirmed by him who publiſhed the (p) *Breviate* of our Biſhops Life, That he was not only privy to this Journey of the Prince and *Buckingham* into *Spain*, but that the Journey was purpoſely plotted to pervert him in his Religion, and reconcile him to *Rome*: And this he makes apparent by the following Prayer, found amongſt others in the Biſhops *Manual of Devotions*; than which there can be nothing more repugnant to the Propoſitions, for proof of which it is ſo luckily produced. Now the ſaid Prayer is thus *verbatim*; *viz.*

(p) *Breviate, p.* 14.

*O moſt*

*O Moſt merciful God and gracious Father, the Prince hath put himſelf to a great Adventure: I humbly beſeech thee, make clear the way before him; give thine Angels charge over him; be with him thy ſelf in Mercy, Power, and Protection, in every ſtep of his Journey, in every moment of his Time, in every Conſultation and Addreſs for Action, till thou bring him back with Safety, Honour, and Contentment, to do thee ſervice in this place. Bleſs his moſt truſty and faithful Servant the Lord Duke of* Buckingham, *that he may be diligent in Service, provident in Buſineſs, wiſe and happy in Counſel, for the honour of thy Name, the good of the Church, the preſervation of the Prince, the contentment of the King, the ſatisfaction of the State: Preſerve him, I humbly beſeech thee, from all Envy that attends him; and bleſs him, that his eyes may ſee the Prince ſafely delivered to the King and State; and after it to live long in happineſs, to do thee and them ſervice, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Amen.

And with this Prayer (ſo plainly deſtructive of the purpoſe for which it was publiſhed) I ſhut up the Tranſactions of this preſent year.

We will begin the next with the diſmiſſion of the Archbiſhop of *Spalato*, a man defamed by the *Italians* at his coming hither, and as much reproached by the *Engliſh* at his going hence: His name was *Marcus Antonius de Dominis*, Archbiſhop of *Spalato* in Fact, and Primate of *Dalmatia* in Title: Such anciently and of right thoſe Archbiſhops were, till the Biſhop of *Venice* being made a Patriarch by Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth, *Anno* 1450. aſſumed that Title to himſelf, together with a Superintendency over all the Churches of that Country, as ſubordinate to him. He had been long converſant with the Fathers and Ancient Councils; By this Light he diſcerned the Darkneſs of the Church of *Rome*, and the blind Title which the Popes had for their Supremacy. Inclining to the Proteſtant Religion, he began to fear that his own Country would prove too hot for him at the laſt; and therefore after he had ſate in the See of *Spalato* about fourteen years, he quitted his Preferments there, and betook himſelf for Sanctuary to the Church of *England*, *Anno* 1616. Extremely honoured at his firſt coming by all ſorts of people; entertained in both Univerſities with ſolemn Speeches; preſented, complemented, feaſted, by the great Lords about the Court, the Biſhops, and ſome principal Perſons about the City: Happy was he that could be honoured with his Company, and ſatisfied with beholding his comely preſence, though they underſtood not his Diſcourſes. Commended by King *James* at firſt for a conſtant Sojourner and Gueſt to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, in whoſe Chappel at *Lambeth* he aſſiſted at the Conſecration of ſome *Engliſh* Biſhops. Made afterwards by the King the Maſter of the *Savoy*, and Dean of *Windſor*,

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1623.

and by himſelf made Rector of *Weſt-Illesby* in the County of *Berks*: A Revenue not ſo great as to bring him under the ſuſpicion of coming hither out of Covetouſneſs, for the ſake of filthy Lucre; nor ſo contemptible, but that he might have lived plentifully and contentedly on it. During his ſtay here, he publiſhed his learned and elaborate Book entituled, *De Republica Eccleſiaſtica*, never yet anſwered by the *Papiſts*, and perhaps unanſwerable. He had given great trouble to the Pope by his defection from that Church, and no ſmall countenance to the Doctrine of the Proteſtant Churches by his coming over unto ours. The foundring of ſo great a Pillar, ſeemed to prognoſticate, that the Fabrick of that Church was not like to ſtand. And yet he gave greater blows to them by his Pen, than by the defection of his perſon; the wound ſo given, being conceived to be incurable.

In theſe reſpects, thoſe of that Church beſtirred themſelves to diſgrace his perſon, deviſing many other cauſes, by which he might be moved or forced to forſake thoſe parts, wherein he durſt no longer tarry: but finding little credit given to their libellous Pamphlets, they began to work upon him by more ſecret practiſes, inſinuating, That he had neither that Reſpect nor thoſe Advancements which might encourage him to ſtay; That the new Pope *Gregory* the Fifteenth was his ſpecial Friend; That he might chuſe his own Preferments, and make his own Conditions, if he would return. And on the other ſide they cunningly wrought him out of credit with King *James*, by the Arts of *Gundamore*, Embaſſadour at that time from the King of *Spain*; and leſſened his eſteem amongſt the Clergy, by ſome other Artifices: So that the poor man, being in a manner loſt on both ſides, was forced to a neceſſity of ſwallowing that accurſed bait, by which he was hooked over to his own deſtruction. For having ſollicited King *James* by ſeveral Letters (the laſt of them bearing date on the third of *February*) to licence his departure home, he was by the King diſdainfully turned over to the *High-Commiſſion*, or rather to a ſpecial Commiſſion directed to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, the Lord Keeper *Lincoln*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, and *Winchester*, with certain of the Lords of the Privy Council. Theſe Lords aſſembling at *Lambeth* on the 30th. of *March*, and having firſt heard all his Excuſes and Defences, commanded him to depart the Realm within twenty days, or otherwiſe to expect ſuch puniſhment as by the Laws of the Land might be laid upon him, for holding Intelligence by Letters, Meſſages, *&c.* with the Popes of *Rome*. To this Sentence he ſorrowfully ſubmitted, proteſting openly, That he would never ſpeak reproachfully of the Church of *England*, the Articles whereof he acknowledged to be ſound and profitable, and none of them to be *Heretical*, as appears by a Book entituled, *SPALATO*'s *Shiftings in Religion*, publiſhed (as it was conceived) by *Laud*'s eſpecial Friend, the Lord Biſhop of *Durham*. How well, or rather how ill he performed this promiſe, and what became of him

him after his return to *Rome* is not now my buſineſs. The man is baniſhed out of *England*, and my Hiſtory leads me next into *Spain*, not *Italy*. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1623.

The Church of *England* had a great ſtock at that time to be driven in *Spain*, and many of the *Romiſh* Factors were deſirous to be trading in it. No ſooner was the Princes Train of Lords and Gentlemen come to the City of *Madrid*. but the King of *Spain* aſſigned a day for his Reception. A Reception ſo Magnificent, ſo full of State, and Royal Pomp, that it redounded infinitely to the honour of the *Spaniſh* Court, and the ſatisfaction of the Prince. Never was King of *Spain* on the day of his inauguration received into that City with a more general concourſe of all ſorts of people, and greater ſigns of Joy and Gallantry; then the Prince was conducted through it to the Palace Royal. In which his Quarters being aſſigned him, there wanted no allurements on their parts to win him to a fair eſteem of their Religion, and to put ſome high value alſo on their Court and Nation. Nor was the Prince wanting for his part in all fit compliances, by which he might both gain on them, and preſerve himſelf; for by his Courtly Garb he won ſo much on the affections of the Lady *Infanta*, and by his Grace and circumſpect behaviour got ſo much ground upon that King and his Council, that the Match went forward in good earneſt. A diſpenſation for the Marriage was procured from *Gregory* the fifteenth then ſitting in the See of *Rome*. The Articles of the Marriage with all the circumſtances thereof were agreed upon, and ſolemnly ſworn to by both Kings. Nothing remained to bring the whole buſineſs to a joyfull iſſue but the Conſummation. But before that could be obtained, the Prince muſt try his fortunes in an harder Conflict than any he had learnt in the Schools of Love.

The change of his Religion was much hoped for by the Court of *Spain* at his firſt coming thither. To perfect which he was plied from time to time with many perſwaſive Arguments by many perſons of great Honour about that King. And many of the moſt learned Prieſts and Jeſuites made their Addreſſes to him, with ſuch Rhetorical Orations, with ſuch inſinuating Artifices, and ſubtle Practiſes, as if they had a purpoſe rather to conquer him by kindneſs, than by diſputation. Nor ſtop they there, but dedicated many Books unto him, to gain him fairly to their Party; invited him to behold their ſolemn Proceſſions to captivate his outward ſenſes; and carried him to the moſt Religious places, famous for their magnificent Fabricks, and pretended Miracles. In which conjuncture of deſigns, it is not to be thought but that the Pope beſtirred himſelf in gaining to his Church a Prince of ſuch parts and greatneſs. For firſt he writes unto the Biſhop of *Conchen*, *Inquiſitor* general of *Spain*, not to be wanting to the opportunity which God had put into his hands. The next day, being the twentieth of *April*, he addreſſed his lines unto the Prince, extolling the piety of his Predeceſſors, their Zeal unto the Catholick

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1623.

Catholick Church, and to the head thereof the Pope, inviting him by all the blandiſhments of Art, to put himſelf upon the following of their brave examples. Never had Prince a harder game to play than Prince *Charles* had now: He found himſelf under the Power of the King of *Spain*, and knew that the whole buſineſs did depend on the Popes diſpenſation, with whom if he complied not in ſome handſome way, his expectation might be fruſtrate, and all the fruits of that long Treaty would be ſuddenly blaſted. He therefore writes unto the Pope in ſuch general terms as ſeemed to give his Holineſs ſome aſſurances of him: but being reduced unto particulars, ſignified nothing elſe but ſome civill complements; mixt with ſome promiſes of his endeavours to make up the breaches in the Church, and reſtore Chriſtendom to an happy and deſirable peace. Which notwithſtanding was after reckoned amongſt his crimes, by ſuch as rather would not, then did not know the neceſſity which lay upon him, of keeping at that time a plauſible correſpondence with the Catholick party.

But theſe Temptations and Allurements, theſe Artifices and Inſinuations, prevailed ſo little with the Prince, that he ſtill kept his ſtand, and was found impregnable; carrying himſelf with ſuch a prudent Moderation in theſe Encounters, that he came off alwaies without Envy, but not without Glory. And that it might appear on what grounds he ſtood, it was thought fit to let them ſee that he profeſſed no other Religion than what was agreeable to the Rules of Antiquity, and not much abhorrent from the Forms then uſed in the Church *Rome*. And to this end, by the prudent care of the Lord Keeper *Williams*, the *Engliſh Liturgie* was tranſlated into Spaniſh; ſo many Copies of the book then Printed being ſent into *Spain*, as gave great ſatisfaction both to the Court and Clergy. The work performed by a converted *Dominican* (q) who was gratified for his pains therein by a good Prebend, and a Benefice, as he well deſerved. And this I muſt needs ſay was very ſeaſonably done; For till that time the *Spaniards* had been made believe by their Prieſts and Jeſuites, that when the *Engliſh* had caſt off the *Pope*, they had caſt off all Religion alſo. That from thenceforth they became meer *Atheiſts*; and that the name of God was never uſed amongſt them, but with a purpoſe to expoſe it to profanation. An Argument whereof may be the extreme ſqueamiſhneſs of the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, ſent into *England* in the beginning of the Reign of King *James*, to ſwear the peace between both Kings. Who underſtanding that the buſineſs was to be performed in the Chappel, where ſome *Anthems* were to be ſung, deſired, *that whatſoever was ſung, Gods name might not be uſed in it; and that being forborn, he was content they ſhould ſing what they liſted.* And when the Earl of *Nottingham*, attended by many Gentlemen of worth and quality went into *Spain*, to take the like Oath of the *Catholick* King, it was reported by his followers at their coming back, how much it was commiſerated by the Vulgar *Spaniards*

(q) *Ibid.* p. 47

*Spaniſh Hiſt. of Scotl.* 1530.

that

that ſo many goodly perſons ſhould be trained up in no other Religion than to worſhip the Devil. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1623.

But let us leave the Prince, and return for *England*, where the King had as hard a game to play; For having left ſuch a Pawn in *Spain* he was in a manner bound to his good behaviour, and of neceſſity to gratifie the *Popiſh* Party in this Kingdom with more than ordinary Favours. He knew no Marriage could be made without the *Popes* Diſpenſation, and that the *Popes* Diſpenſation could not be obtained without indulging many graces to his Catholick Subjects. To ſmooth his way therefore to the point deſired, he addreſſeth ſeveral Letters to the *Pope* and Cardinals, in which he gives him the title of moſt holy Father; and imploys *Gage*, as his Agent in the Court of *Rome*, to attend the buſineſs. At home he diſchargeth all ſuch *Prieſts* and *Jeſuites* as had been formerly Impriſoned; inhibiting all Proceſſes, and Superſeding all proceedings againſt Recuſants; and in a word ſuſpends the execution of ſuch penal Laws as were made againſt them. The People hereupon began to cry out generally of a *Toleration*, and murmur in all places againſt the King, as if he were reſolved to grant it. And that they might not ſeem to cry out for nothing, a Letter is diſperſed abroad, under the name of Archbiſhop *Abbot*. In this Letter his Majeſty is told, "That by "granting any ſuch Toleration he ſhould ſet up the moſt damnable "and Heretical Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the whore of "*Babylon*; That it would be both hateful to God, grievous to his "good Subjects and contradictory to his former Writings, in "which he had declared their Doctrines to be Superſtitious, Idola-"trous, and deteſtable; That no ſuch toleration could be granted "but by Parliament only, unleſs it were his purpoſe to ſhew his "people that he would throw down the Laws at his pleaſure; That "by granting ſuch a Toleration, there muſt needs follow a diſcon-"tinuance of the true Profeſſion of the Goſpel, and what could fol-"low thereupon, but Gods heavy wrath and indignation both on "himſelf and all the Kingdom; That the Prince was not only the "Son of his Fleſh, but the Son of his People alſo, and therefore "leaves him to conſider what an errour he had run into, by ſending "him into *Spain* without the privity of his Council, and conſent "of his Subjects; And finally, That though the Princes return "might be ſafe and proſperous, yet they that drew him into "that dangerous and deſperate Action would not ſcape unpu-"niſhed.

This was the ſubſtance of the Letter, whoſoever was the Writer of it. For *Abbot* could not be ſo ill a Stateſman (having been long a Privy Councellour) as not to know, that he who ſitteth at the Helm muſt ſtear his courſe according unto wind and weather; And that there was a very great difference betwixt ſuch perſonal indulgencies, as the King had granted in that caſe to his Popiſh Subjects, and any ſuch Publick Exerciſe of their Superſtitions, as the word

*Toleration*

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1623.

*Toleration* doth import; and howſoever, that it was a known Maxime in the Arts of Government, that neceſſity over-rules the Law, and that Princes many times muſt act for the publick good, in the infringing of ſome perſonal and particular rights which the Subjects claim unto themſelves. Nor could he be ſo ignorant of the Kings affections as to believe, that the King did really intend any ſuch toleration, though poſſibly he might be content, on good reaſon of State, that the people ſhould be generally perſwaded of it: For well he knew that the King loved his Soveraignty too well to quit any part thereof to the *Pope* of *Rome*, and conſequently to part with that Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical matters (as needs he muſt have done by a Toleration) which he eſteemed the faireſt Flower in the Royal Garland. In which reſpect, King *James* might ſeem to be made up of *Cæſar* and *Pompey*; as impatient of enduring an equal, as of admitting a Superiour in his own Dominions. Or had he been a greater ſtranger at the Court than can be imagined, yet could he not be ignorant, that it was the Kings chief intereſt to preſerve Religion in the ſame ſtate in which he found it; and could not fear but that he would ſufficiently provide for the ſafety of it. Upon which Premiſes, it may be rationally inferred, that *Abbot* was only the *reputed* Author of this Baſtard Letter, and not the natural Parent of it.

Nor was the Toleration more feared by the Engliſh Proteſtants, than hoped for by the Papiſts here, and preſumed by the *Pope* himſelf. In confidence whereof, he nominated certain Biſhops to all the Epiſcopal Sees of *England* to exerciſe all manner of Juriſdiction in their ſeveral and reſpective Dioceſſes, as his falſe and titular Biſhops did in the Church of *Ireland*. The intelligence whereof being given to the Jeſuites here in *England*, who feared nothing more than ſuch a thing, one of them, who formerly had free acceſs to the Lord Keeper *Williams*, acquaints him with this mighty ſecret; aſſuring him, that he did it for no other reaſon, but becauſe he knew what a great exaſperation it would give the King, and conſequently how much it would incenſe him againſt the Catholicks. Away with this Intelligence goes the Lord Keeper to the King, who took fire thereat as well as he, and though it was ſomewhat late at night, commanded to go to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour, and to require him to ſend unto the King his Maſter to take ſome courſe that thoſe proceedings might be ſtopt in the Court of *Rome*; or otherwiſe that the Treaty of the Match ſhould advance no further. The Lord Keeper finds the Embaſſadour ready to ſend away his Pacquet, who upon hearing of the news commanded his Currier to ſtay till he had repreſented the whole buſineſs in a Letter to the King his Maſter. On the receiving of which Letter, the King imparts the ſame to the Popes *Nuncio* in his Court. Who preſently ſends his diſpatches to the Pope, acquainting him with the great inconveniences and unavoidable dangers of this new deſign; which being ſtopt by this device, and the Treaty of the Match ending in a rupture not long after,

after, the ſame Jeſuite came again to the Lord Keepers Lodging, and in a fair and facetious manner thanked him moſt humbly for the good office he had done for that Society, for breaking and bearing off which blow all the friends they had in *Rome* could find no buckler. Which Story as I heard from his Lordſhips own mouth (with no ſmall contentment) ſo ſeemed he to be very well pleaſed with the handſomneſs of the trick which was put upon him. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1623.

*Laud* was not ſleeping all this while. It was not poſſible that a man of ſuch an Active Spirit ſhould be out of work, and he had work enough to do in being the Dukes Agent at the Court. The Marquiſs was made Duke of *Buckingham*, at his being in *Spain*, to make him more conſiderable in the eye of that Court: and this addition to his honours was an addition alſo to that envy which was borne againſt him. Great Favourites have for the moſt part many enemies, ſuch as are carefully intent upon all occaſions which may be made uſe of to ſupplant them. Which point the Duke had ſo well ſtudied; that though he knew himſelf to be a very great Maſter of the Kings affections: yet was he apprehenſive of the diſadvantages to which this long abſence would expoſe him. It therefore concerned him nearly to make choice of ſome intelligent and truſty friend, whom he might confide in (and he was grown more confident of *Laud* than of any other) from whom he might receive advertiſement of all occurrences, and ſuch advice as might be moſt agreeable to the complexion of affairs. Nor did it happen otherwiſe than he expected, for long he had not been in *Spain*, when there were many fearings of him in the Court of *England*, many ſtrange whiſperings into the ears of the King concerning the abuſe of his Royal Favours; the general diſcontentments which appeared in the people for the Princes Journey into *Spain*; the ſad conſequents which were feared to enſue upon it in reference to his Perſon, and the true Religion; that the blame of all was by the People laid on the Duke, and that it was ſafeſt for his Majeſty to let it reſt where they had laid it. But nothing could be thought more ſtrange unto him, than that the Lord Keeper *Williams*, and the Lord Treaſurer *Cranfield* ſhould be of Counſel in the Plot, both of them being of his raiſing, and both (in the ſtile of Court) his Creatures. Of all which practiſes and proceedings *Laud* gives intelligence to the Duke, and receives back again Directions in his actings for him. (Pity it is that none of theſe reciprocal Letters have been found to make up the *Cabala*, and to enrich the treaſures in the *Scrinea Sacra*) From hence proceeded the conſtancy of affection which the Duke carried to him for ever, after the Animoſity between *Laud* and *Williams*; the fall of *Cranfield* firſt, and of *Williams* afterwards; *Laud* by his diligence and fidelity overtopping all.

The news of theſe practices in the Court, made the Duke think of leaving *Spain*, where he began to ſink in his Eſtimation; and haſting his return to *England*, for fear of ſinking lower here than he did

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1623.

in *Spain*. Some clashings there had been betwixt him and the *Conde d' Olivarez*, the Principal Favorite of that King; and some *Caresses* were made to him by the Queen of *Bohemia*, inviting him to be a God-father to one of her Children. In these disquiets and distractions he puts the Prince in mind of the other Game he had to play; namely, the Restitution of the Palatinate, which the *Spaniard* would not suffer to be brought under the Treaty of the Match; reserving it (as they pretended, and perhaps really intended) to be bestowed by the *Infanta* after the Marriage, the better to ingratiate her self with the *English* Nation. Which being a point of too great moment to depend upon no other assurance than a Court-Complement only, it was concluded by the Prince, That since he could not prevail in the one, he would not proceed to the Consummation of the other. But then it did concern him so to provide for his own safety, that no intimation might be made of the intended Rupture, till he had unwinded himself out of that *Labyrinth* into which he was cast: For which cause having desired of his Father, that some Ships might be sent to bring him home, he shewed himself a more passionate Lover than ever formerly, bestowed upon the Lady *Infanta* many rich Jewels of most inestimable value, and made a *Proxie* to the Catholick King, and Don *Charles* his Brother, in his name to Espouse the Lady. Which *Proxie* being made and executed in due form of Law, on the Fourth of *August* 1623. was put into the Hands of *Digby* (on the Fifteenth of *September* after made Earl of *Bristol*) by him to be delivered to the King of *Spain* within ten days after the coming of the Dispensation from the new *Pope Urban*, which was then every day expected. But no sooner had he took his leave, and was out of danger, but he dispatch'd a Post unto him, commanding him not to deliver up the *Proxie* until further Order: And having so done, he hoised Sails for *England*.

Arriving at *Portsmouth* on *Sunday* the fifth of *October*, he rides Post the next day to *London*, and after Dinner on the same day to the Court at *Royston*; his welcom home being celebrated in all Places with Bells and Bonfires, and other accustomed Expressions of a Publick Joy. Being come unto the Court, they acquaint his Majesty with all that hapned, informing him that no assurance of regaining the *Palatinate* could be had in *Spain*, though the Match went forwards. His Majesty thereupon dispatches Letters to the Earl of *Bristol* on the eighth of *October*, requiring him not to deliver up the *Proxie*, and so not to proceed to the Espousals, till the *Christmas* Holy-days; and in the mean time to press that King to a positive Answer, touching the *Palatinate*. The expectation whereof not being answered by success, a Parliament is summoned to begin on the 17th. of *February* then next following, to the end that all things might be governed in this Great Affair by the publick Counsel of the Kingdom. Not long after the beginning whereof, the Duke declared before both Houses (more to the disadvantage of the *Spaniard*

than

than there was juſt ground for) how unhandſomly they had dealt with the Prince when he was in *Spain*; how they had fed him with delays; what indignities they had put upon him; and finally, had ſent him back, not only without the *Palatinate*, but without a Wife; leaving it to their prudent conſideration what courſe to follow. It was thereupon Voted by both Houſes, That his Majeſty ſhould be deſired to break off all Treaties with the King of *Spain*, and to engage himſelf in a War againſt him for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, not otherwiſe to be obtained. And that they might come the better to the end they aimed at, they addreſſed themſelves unto the Prince, whom they aſſured, That they would ſtand to him in that War, to the very laſt expence of their Lives and Fortunes; and he accordingly (being further ſet on by the Duke) became their inſtrument to perſwade his Father to hearken to the Common Votes and Deſires of his Subjects, which the King (preſs'd by their continual Importunities) did at the laſt (but with great unwillingneſs) aſſent to: Such was the conduct of this buſineſs on the part of the *Engliſh*.

Look we next what was done in *Spain*; and we ſhall find in Letters from the Earl of *Briſtol*, "(r) That as ſoon as news was come "to *Spain*, that King *James* had ſworn the Articles of the Treaty "(which was done on the 26th. of *July*) the Lady *Infanta* by all the "Court, with the Approbation of that King, and her own good-"liking, was called *La Princeſſa d' Inglaterra*; That as ſuch, ſhe "gave her ſelf the liberty of going publickly to ſuch Comedies as "were preſented in the Court, (which before was not allowable in "her:) (s) That as ſuch alſo, not only he himſelf (as the Kings Em-"baſſadour) was commanded to ſerve her; but the Duke, and all "the *Engliſh* were admitted to kiſs her hands, as her Servants and "Vaſſals; That after the Princes departure, there was no thought "of any thing but of providing Preſents for the King and him, the "ſetling of the Princeſſes Family, and making Preparations for the "Journey on the firſt of *March*; That the Princeſs alſo had begun "to draw the Letters which ſhe intended to have written the day of "her *diſpoſories* to the Prince her Husband, and the King her Father "in Law; That beſides ſuch aſſurances as were given by the *Count* "of *Olivarez*, and other Miniſters of that King, the Princeſs had "made the buſineſs of the *Palatinate* to be her own, and had there-"in moſt expreſly moved the King her Brother, and written to the "*Conde* of *Olivarez* to that effect, and had ſet her heart upon the "making of her ſelf grateful and welcome to the King and King-"dom, by overcoming the difficulties that appeared in it: In which "reſpect it was very truly ſaid by *Digby*, in one of his Letters to "King *James*, That it would be held a point of great diſhonour to "the *Infanta*, if the Powers called for by her Friends ſhould be de-"tained on the Princes part; and that whoſoever had deſerved ill, "ſhe certainly had deſerved neither diſreſpect nor diſcomforts.

(r) Digby to Calvert, *Jul.* 25.

(s) to Calvert *Dec.* 28.

*to K. James, Octob.* 24.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1623. *Hidd. Works, p.* 61.

Add hereunto, That the *Popes Diſpenſation* coming to the Court of *Spain* in the beginning of *December*, that King cauſed Bonfires to be made in all the parts of his Realms, intending on that day (in ſatisfaction of the Oath which he had made to the Prince) to proceed to the *Eſpouſals* with all due ſolemnity. Which being the true ſtate of this affair, as far as I am able to look into it, I ſhall refer it to the judgment of the equal Readers, whether this poor Lady were more *diſhonoured* and *diſcomforted* by her own Brother and his Miniſters, if they meant not really and effectually to ſatisfie all expectations touching either Treaty; or by the *Engliſh*, if they did.

But it is now time to leave theſe Foreign Negotiations, and keep cloſe at home, where we ſhall finde the *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits* as buſie in ſeducing the people, and the *Lay-Papiſts* as audacious in hearing and frequenting *Maſſes*, as if they had been fortified by a *Toleration*. But it pleaſed God to put ſome Water into their Wine, and abate the fervour of thoſe heats, by letting them feel the ſtrokes of his heavy hand, when they look'd not for it. Being aſſembled in a fair and capacious Room at *Hunſdon* Houſe in the *Black-Friers*, to hear the Sermon of one *Drury* a Jeſuit, their numbers were ſo great, and their weight ſo heavy, that the Floor ſunk under them. Moſt lamentable were the cries of thoſe which fell under that Ruine, 94 of them (of which the Preacher himſelf was one) being killed outright; moſt of the reſt ſo miſerably bruiſed and maimed, that the condition of the dead was eſteemed far happier than that of the living: A matter of great aſtoniſhment to their Party here; and that it might not be ſo abroad, they thought it good to ſhift the Scene, and change the Actors, publiſhing to that end a Pamphlet, which they diſperſed in divers parts of *France* and *Italy*, containing a Relation of Gods Judgments ſhown on a ſort of *Proteſtant Hereticks*, by the fall of an Houſe in St. *Andrews* Pariſh in *Holborn*, in which they were aſſembled to hear a *Geneva* Lecture, *October* 26. *A. D.* 1623. So wickedly wiſe are thoſe of that Generation, to cheat their own Soúls, and abuſe their Followers. And yet the Pamphleteer ſays well, That this diſaſter hapned on the 26th of *October*; for ſo it did according to the *Old Style* and Account of *England*: But it was on the fifth day of *November*, according to the *New Style* and Account of *Rome*. And this indeed may ſeem to have ſomewhat of Gods Judgment in it, That the intended blowing up of the Parliament, to the unavoidable deſtruction of the King, Prince, Prelates, Peers, and the chiefeſt Gentry of the Nation, on the fifth day of our *November*, ſhould on the fifth day of their own be recompenced or retaliated by the ſinking of a Room in which they met, to the preſent ſlaughter of ſo many, and the maiming of more.

But leaving them to their ill Fortunes, it was not long before *Buckingham* found the truth of ſuch Informations as he had received touching thoſe ill Offices which had been done to him in his abſence,

from

from ſome whom he eſteemed his Friends. Hereupon followed an eſtranging of the Dukes Countenance from the Lord Keeper *Williams*, and of his from the Biſhop of St. *Davids*, whom he looked upon as one that ſtood in the way betwixt him and the Duke: with which the Duke was not long after made acquainted. But theſe diſpleaſures were not only ſhewn in offended Countenances, but brake out within little time into ſharp Expoſtulations on either ſide. The Duke complained to *Laud*, *December* 15. That the Lord Keeper had ſo ſtrangely forgotten himſelf to him, as he ſeemed to be dead in his affections; and began to entertain ſome thoughts of bringing him by a way which he would not like, to a remembrance of his duty: and on the eleventh of *January* the Lord Keeper meets with *Laud* in the *Withdrawing Chamber*, and fell into very hot words with him, of which the Duke hath an account alſo within three days after. But *Williams* ſeeing how unable he was to contend at once with Wit and Power, applied himſelf with ſo much diligence to regain the Favour of the Duke, that in the beginning of *February* a Reconciliation was made between them, the Duke accepting his ſubmiſſion, and learning from him, That his great Favours unto *Laud*, were the chief reaſons which had moved him unto that forgetfulneſs. And that the benefit of this Reconciliation might extend to all who were concerned in the diſpleaſures, *Williams* engageth to the Duke to be friends with *Laud*, and did accordingly beſtow ſome Complements upon him; but ſuch as had more ceremony than ſubſtance in them. From henceforth nothing but an appearance of fair weather between theſe Great Perſons, though at laſt it brake out again more violently into open Storms. The Wound was only skinned, not healed; and feſtred the more dangerouſly, becauſe the ſecret Rancour of it could not be diſcerned. In the mean time *Laud* was not wanting to himſelf in taking the benefit of this Truce: *Abbot* had ſtill a ſpite againſt him, and was reſolved to keep him down as long as he could; to which end he had cauſed him to be left out of the *High-Commiſſion* (and *Williams* was not forward to put him in) though never a Biſhop that lived about *London* was left out but himſelf, and many who lived not there put in: Of which Indignity he complained to the Duke, by his Letter bearing date *November* 1. 1624. and was remedied in it.

LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1623.

During the heat of theſe Court-combats, the Parliament beforementioned was aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, on the ſeventeenth of *February*; upon whoſe humble Petition and Advice his Majeſty diſſolved the Treaties, and engaged himſelf in a War with *Spain*: But this he had no ſooner done, when they found into what perplexities they had plunged themſelves by this Engagement; there being nothing more derogatory to the Honour and Proſperity of a King of *England*, than to be caſt on the neceſſity of calling Parliaments, which rendreth them obnoxious to the power and pride of each popular ſpirit, and makes them leſs in Reputation both at home and abroad: For firſt

they

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1623.

they Petitioned him for a Faſt, which he alſo granted. They had deſired the like in ſome former Parliaments, and Seſſions of Parliaments, as they had done alſo in Queen *Elizabeths* time; but could never obtain the ſame from either. It was then told them, That there were weekly Faſts appointed to be kept by the Laws of the Land, which if they did obſerve, as they ought to do, there would be no need of Solemn Faſts to begin their Parliaments. The blame of which Anſwer, in the Parliament immediately foregoing this, was by the *Puritan* Faction caſt upon the Biſhops (who at the ſame time had oppoſed ſome Propoſition tending to ſome *Reſtraints* on the *Lords day*, not impoſed before) as men whoſe Pride hindred all ſuch Religious Humiliations, and whoſe Profaneneſs made them Enemies to all Piety. But the King having now caſt himſelf into the arms of his People, had brought himſelf to a neceſſity of yielding to their deſire, and thereby left a fair Preſident both for them to crave, and his Succeſſor to grant the like: So that from this time forward, till the laſt of King *Charles*, we ſhall ſee no Parliament, nor Seſſion of Parliament, to begin without them; though that King checked ſome times at the importunity.

So far his Majeſty had gone along with them, in yielding unto their deſires; but he muſt go a little further. And therefore, ſecondly, They thought it not enough that his Majeſty had made *a Publick Declaration for the real and utter Diſſolution of the ſaid Treaties*; but it muſt be *declared alſo by Act of* Parliament, *That the ſaid two Treaties were by his Majeſty Diſſolved*: Which gave them ſome colour of Pretence in the following Parliament to claim a ſhare in managing the War (which the Diſſolving of theſe Treaties had occaſioned) and of being made acquainted with the Enterprize which was then in hand. But for this time they were contented to have engaged the King for the future War, toward the carrying on of which, and "more particularly (as the Act expreſſeth) for the Defence of this "Realm of *England*, the Securing of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, the "Aſſiſtance of his Majeſties Neighbours the *States* of the *United* "*Provinces*, and other his Majeſties Friends and Allies, and for the "ſetting forth of his Royal Navy; they granted to him three *Subſidies*, together with three *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, to be paid before the tenth of *May* which ſhould be in the year 1625. Which though it be affirmed in the ſaid Act *to be the greateſt Aid which ever was granted in Parliament to be levied in ſo ſhort a time*; yet neither was the time ſo ſhort as it was pretended, there being almoſt fifteen Months between the diſſolving of the Treaties, and the laſt payment of the Monies. Nor did the King get any thing by it, how great ſoever the ſaid Aid was ſuppoſed to be. For, thirdly, before the King could obtain this Act, he was fain to gratifie them with ſome others, amongſt which that entituled, *An Act for the general quiet of the Subject againſt all pretext of* Concealments *whatſoever*, was the moſt conſiderable. An Act of ſuch a grand Concernment to the

*Act of Parl.* A. 11 Jac. 21. c. 34.

Peace

Peace and Happineſs of the Subject, and of ſuch Diſprofit to the King in his Gifts and Graces to his Servants, that it was affirmed by Juſtice *Dodderidge* at the *Oxon.* Aſſiſes next enſuing, That his Majeſty had bought thoſe *Fifteenths* and *Subſidies* at ten years purchaſe. Nor fourthly, did one penny of this Money, ſo dearly paid for, accrew unto his Majeſties particular uſe, or was to come into his Coffers; it being ordered in the Act aforeſaid, That the ſaid Monies, and every part and parcel of them, ſhould be paid to certain Commiſſioners therein nominated; and that the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhould iſſue and diſpoſe the ſame, according as they ſhould be warranted by *George* Lord *Carew*, *Foulk* Lord *Brooke*, and certain other Commiſſioners to the number of ten, nominated and appointed for a Council of War; by them to be expended in the Publick Service. And albeit the Grant of the ſaid *Fifteenths*, *Tenths*, and *Subſidies*, might poſſibly be the *greateſt Aid* which had been given in Parliament for *ſo ſhort a time*; yet did this greatneſs conſiſt rather in tale than weight, the *Subſidy*-Books being grown ſo low (for thoſe of the *Fifteenths* and *Tenths* do never vary) that two entire *Subſidies* in the time of Queen *Elizabeth* came to more than all.

LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1624.

More nobly dealt the Clergy with him in their *Convocation*, becauſe it came into his own Coffers, and without Conditions. For taking into conſideration (amongſt other motives) the great Expences at which his Majeſty was then, and was like to be hereafter, as well for the ſupport of his Royal Eſtate, as for the neceſſary Defence of this Realm of *England*, and other his Dominions, whereby was like to grow the ſafety of *Religion* both at whom and abroad; they granted to him four entire *Subſidies*, after the rate of 4 *s.* in every Pound; which was indeed the *greateſt Aid* that was ever given by *Convocation* in ſo *ſhort a time*; the Subſidies of the Clergy being fixed and certain, thoſe of the Laity diminiſhing and decreaſing daily. A Burden which muſt needs fall exceeding heavy on many poor Vicars in the Country, whoſe Benefices are for the moſt part of ſmall yearly value, and yet rated very high in the Kings Books (according unto which they are to be Taxed); Inſomuch as I knew ſeveral Vicaridges, not worth above 80 *l. per Annum*, which were charged higher than the beſt Gentlemen in the Pariſh, whoſe yearly Revenues have amounted unto many Hundreds. *Laud* who had ſometimes been Vicar of *Stamford* in *Northamptonſhire* (as before is ſaid) was very compaſſionate of the caſe of theſe poor men; for whoſe eaſe he deviſed a courſe in this preſent Seſſion; which being digeſted into form, he communicated to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who very readily promiſed to prepare both the King and Prince for the paſſing of it. This done, he imparted it alſo to the Lord Keeper *Williams*, and the Biſhop of *Durham*, who look'd upon it as the beſt ſervice which had been done for the Church many years before, and adviſed him to acquaint the Archbiſhop with it: But *Abbot* either diſliking the Deſign for the Authors ſake, or being an enemy to all Counſels

which

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1624.

which had any Author but himſelf, inſtead of favours returned him frowns; asking him, What he had to do to make any ſuit for the Church? And telling him withall, That never any Biſhop attempted the like at any time, and that no body would have done it but himſelf; That he had given the Church ſuch a wound, in ſpeaking to any Lord of the Layty about it, as he could never make whole again; And finally, That if the Lord Duke did fully underſtand what he had done, he would never endure him to come near him again. St *Davids* replies very mildly, That he thought he had done a very good office for the Church, and ſo did his betters too; That if his Grace thought otherwiſe, he was ſorry that he had offended: But hoped that he had done it out of a good mind, and for the ſupport of many poor Vicars abroad in the Country, who muſt needs ſink under the payment of ſo many Subſidies; and therefore that his error might be pardonable, if it were an error. Thus ſoundly ratled he departs, and acquaints the Duke with the ſucceſs, for fear ſome ill offices might be otherwiſe done him to the King and Prince. So miſerable was the caſe of the poorer Clergy, in living under ſuch an *High Prieſt*, who though he was ſubject to the ſame *infirmity*, was altogether *inſenſible* of thoſe heavy preſſures which were laid upon them: It being his Felicity, but their unhappineſs, that he was never Parſon, Vicar, nor Curate; and therefore the leſs careful or compaſſionate of their hard condition.

Before the riſing of this Parliament (which was on the twenty ninth of *May*) came out a book of Dr. *Whites*, entituled, *A Reply to Jeſuite Fiſhers Anſwer to certain Queſtions* propounded by his moſt Gracious Majeſty King *JAMES*. (ſ) The occaſion this: His Majeſty being preſent at the ſecond Conference betwixt *White* and *Fiſher*, beforementioned, obſerved in his deep Judgment how cunning and ſubtle the Jeſuite was, in eluding ſuch Arguments as were brought againſt him, and of how little ſtrength in particular queſtions he was when he came to the confirmation of his own Tenets. And thereupon it pleaſed him to have nine Queſtions of Controverſie propounded to the Jeſuite, that he might in writing manifeſt the Grounds and Arguments whereupon the *Popiſh* Faith in thoſe Points were builded. Now the nine Points were theſe that follow: 1. *Praying to Images.* 2. *Prayings and Oblations to the bleſſed Virgin* Mary. 3. *Worſhipping and Invocation of Saints and Angels.* 4. *The Lyturgie and private Prayers for the Ignorant in an unknown tongue.* 5. *Repetition of Pater-noſters, Aves, and Creeds, eſpecially affixing a kind of merit to the number of them.* 6. *The Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation.* 7. *Communion under one kind, and the abetting of it by Concomitancy.* 8. *Works of Supererogation, eſpecially with reference to the treaſure of the Church.* 9. *The opinion of Depoſing Kings, and giving away their Kingdoms by Papal power, whether directly or indirectly?* To theſe nine Queſtions the Jeſuite returned a cloſe and well-wrought Anſwer, the unraveling whereof was by the King committed to this

(ſ) D. *Whites* Preface to his Reply, &c.

Dr. *White*

Dr. *white*, for his encouragement and reward made one of his Majeſties Chaplains in Ordinary, and Dean of *Carlile*. This book being finiſhed at the Preſs about the beginning of *April*, and forthwith publiſhed to others, was very welcom to moſt moderate and learned men; the rather in regard that the third of thoſe Conferences, which was that between *Laud* and *Fiſher*, was ſubjoyned to it. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1624.

Concerning which the Reader may pleaſe to call to mind, that this Conference had been digeſted and read over to the King in the Chriſtmas Holidaies as before is ſaid. But why it ſtaid ſo long before it was publiſhed, why publiſhed in the name of *R. B.* (Mr. *Richard Bayly*) afterwards Preſident of St. *John* Colledge and Dean of *Sarisbury*, being at that time one of his Chaplains, and not in his own; and finally, why it came not out not as a diſtinct book of it ſelf, but as an *Appendix unto whites*, himſelf is better able to tell us than any other, and he tells it thus: (*t*) "The cauſe (ſaith he) "why the diſcourſe upon this *Conference* ſtaid ſo long before it could "endure to be preſſed. It was neither my *Idleneſs*, nor my unwil- "lingneſs to right both my ſelf and the cauſe againſt the *Jeſuite* "which occaſioned this delay; For I had then moſt Honourable "Witneſſes, and have ſome yet living, that this diſcourſe was finiſhed long before I could perſwade my ſelf to let it come into pub- "lick view: And this was cauſed partly by reaſon there was about "the ſame time three *Conferences* held with *Fiſher*, of which this "was the third; and could not therefore conveniently come abroad "into the world till the two former were ready to lead the way, "which till now they were not. And this is in part the reaſon alſo "why this Tract crept into the end of a larger work; For ſince "that *work* contained in a manner the ſubſtance of all that paſſed in "the two former *Conferences*; and that this *third* in divers points "concurred with them, and depended on them, I could not think "it *Subſtantive* enough to ſtand alone. But beſides this *affinity* be- "tween the *Conferences*, I was willing to have it paſs, as ſilently as "it might, at the end of another work, and ſo perhaps little to be "looked after, becauſe I could not hold it worthy (nor can I yet) "of that great duty and ſervice which I owe to my dear mother t' "Church of *England*. As for the Reaſons why it was publiſhed i the name of *R. B.* Chaplain to the Biſhop, rather than his own, it neither was his own deſire, (though the Breviate telleth us that it was) nor *for fear of being ingaged thereby againſt his friends the Papiſts*, as is there affirmed. *His Reaſons, whatever they were, were propoſed by others, and approved by Authority, by which it was thought fit that it ſhould be ſet out in his Chaplains name, and not his own.* To which he readily ſubmitted. But of this *Conference* we ſhall ſpeak further, when we come to the defence and engagements of it, *Anno* 1637.

(*t*) Epiſt. dedicat. to the King, 1637.

The ſeaſonable publiſhing of theſe two Books did much conduce

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1624. to the advancement of his Majeſties Service. The Commons at that time had been hammering a ſharp Remonſtrance againſt the Papiſts, as if there were no enemies of the Religion here eſtabliſhed to be feared but they. In the Preface to which Petition, they took notice of ſo many dangers threatned both to the Church and State by the power and practiſes of the Papiſt, as if the King had took no care to preſerve the one, or ſuppreſs the other: Which Petition, being brought to the Houſe of Lords, was there ſo abbreviated, that the Preamble was quite left out, and the many branches of it reduced to two particulars: Firſt, That all Laws and Statutes, formerly made againſt Jeſuites, Seminary Prieſts, and other Popiſh Recuſants, might from thenceforth be put into execution. Secondly, That he would engage himſelf by his Royal Word, that upon no occaſion of Marriage or Treaty, or other requeſt in that behalf, *&c.* he would ſlaken the execution of the Laws againſt them. Which Petition being preſented to his Majeſty by a Committee of both Houſes on the tenth of *April*; after ſome deliberation he returned this Anſwer to it, *viz. That the Laws againſt Jeſuites and Popiſh Recuſants ſhould be put into due execution from thenceforth*, &c. And it appeared by the coming out of theſe ſaid two Books within few daies after, that as his Majeſty had granted them their deſires, in cauſing the ſaid Laws againſt Prieſts and Jeſuites to be duly executed; ſo he had taken ſpecial care, not only to preſerve Religion in her Purity, by confuting the moſt material Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*: but to preſerve his people alſo from being ſeduced by the practiſes of the Prieſts and Jeſuites.

Which notwithſtanding the Commons remaining ſtill unſatisfied, betook themſelves to the framing of another Petition, in which it was deſired that all ſuch perſons as were either Papiſts, or ſuſpected to be Papiſts, or had not received the Communion within the ſpace of one whole year, or whoſe Wives, or any of their Servants were Recuſants, or ſuſpected to be ſo, might be removed from all Commiſſions of charge and truſt, from being Juſtices of the Peace, or bearing any Office in the Common Wealth. But this Petition was not made ready for the Lords till the twentieth of *May* next following, and being then reported to them by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, they did proceed no further in it. The Commons in the mean time had been wholly buſied in the Proſecution of the Lord Treaſurer *Cranfield*, whom at laſt they brought unto his Sentence. A Gentleman he was by birth, but had his breeding in the City, from whence by his own wit and induſtry he preferred himſelf into the Court, where he was firſt made Maſter of the Wardrobe, afterward Maſter of the Wards, and finally advanced by the power and favour of the Duke, (one of whoſe Kinſwomen he had married) to the office of Lord Treaſurer, and the honour of being made the firſt Earl of *Middleſex*. In this Office he had diſobliged the Prince, when he was in *Spain*, by diſſwading and diverting thoſe Large Supplies

plies which were required for the maintaining of his Port in a Forraign Kingdom. And he had diſobliged the Duke, by joyning in ſome ſecret practiſes to make him grow leſs and leſs in his Majeſties Favour. They had both ſerved the turn of the Commons, in drawing the King by their continual importunities to diſſolve the Treatie. And the Commons muſt now ſerve their turn in proſecuting this man to his final deſtruction: Which they purſued ſo effectually, that in the end he was ſentenced in the Houſe of Lords to be deprived of the Office of Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, to be fined fifty thouſand Pounds, and remain a Priſoner in the Tower during his Majeſties will and pleaſure. It was moved alſo to degrade him from all Titles of honour, but in that the Biſhops ſtood his Friends and daſht the motion. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1624.

So *Cranfield* fell, and *Williams* did not ſtand long after. *Laud* was now brought into an higher degree of credit with the Duke of *Buckingham* than he was before, by means whereof he came to be of great power and authority with him. Inſomuch that when the Duke fell ſick of an Ague in the beginning of *May*, he was extreme impatient in his Fits till *Laud* came to viſit him; by whom he was ſo charmed and ſweetned, that at firſt he endured his Fits with patience, and by that patience did ſo break their heats and violences, that at laſt they left him. From this time forwards he was not uſed only as a Confeſſor, but a Counſellor alſo imployed by him; in conſidering and adviſing whether the great endowments belonging to the Hoſpitals founded in the diſſolved houſe of *Carthuſian* Monks (commonly, but corruptly, called the *Charter-Houſe*) might not be inverted to the maintenance of an Army for the preſent Wars, as well for his Majeſties advantage, as the eaſe of the Subject. And to this Propoſition (as it ſeems) he returned a Negative, for I find not that the buſineſs advanced any further. He liked not any inverſions or alienations of that nature, leſt being drawn into example, the Lands of Colledges or Cathedral Churches might in like manner be imployed unto ſecular uſes. Beſides, he could not chooſe but know, that a project had been ſet on foot about ten years before, for the Entituling of the King to all *Sutton*'s Lands; which probably might have ſucceeded, if *Coke*, then being Lord Chief Juſtice, and one of the Truſtees for erecting the Hoſpital, had not ſtood ſtoutly to his truſt. By which though he got the Kings diſpleaſure, yet amongſt others he preſerved the reputation of an honeſt man. And *Laud* might very well conclude, that he who durſt oppoſe the King when he was in his favour, would be found more intractable at this time when he was in diſgrace; which rendred him the leſs ſollicitous to appear in a buſineſs not otherwiſe approved of by him: But in another point, which was more to his liking, and lay within the ſpheare of his activity, he gave him as much ſatisfaction as he had deſired. This was the giving him the heads of *Doctrinal Puritaniſm*, that is to ſay, the Heads of ſuch Doctrines as were maintained

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1624.

tained by those of the *Puritan* Faction, though not maintained by them as *Puritans*, but as *Calvinists* only. The Duke had a desire to know them, and he served him in it. I must needs say, the name of *Doctrinal Puritanism* is not very ancient, but whether first taken up by the Archbishop of *Spalato* at his being here, I am not able to say; Nor am I of opinion, that *Puritan* and *Calvinian* are terms convertible. For though all *Puritans* are *Calvinians*, both in doctrine and practise, yet all *Calvinians* are not to be counted as *Puritans* also; whose practises many of them abhor, and whose inconformities they detest, though by the errour of their Education, or ill direction in the Course of their Studies, they may, and do agree with them in some points of Doctrine. But I must take the word as it stands in the *Breviate*, and so let it go.

*Fuller.* Ch. Hist. l. 10.

These *Doctrinal* heads, being ten in number, related to the indispensible morality of the Lords-day-Sabbath, the indiscrimination of Bishops and Presbyters, the Power of Soveraign Princes in Ecclesiastical matters, the Doctrine of Confession and Sacerdotal Absolution, and the five Points so much disputed, about Predestination and the Concomitants thereof. Which last Points having been hotly agitated, for twenty years last past, in the *Belgick* Churches, did now begin to exercise the Church of *England* upon this occasion. The Priests and Jesuites having been very busie of late in gaining Proselites, and sowing their erronious Doctrines, had got a haunt in a Village of the County of *Essex*, called *Stanford-Rivers*. The Rector of that Church was *Richard Montague*, Batchelor of Divinity, *Prebend* of *Windsor*, and one of the Fellows of *Eaton* Colledge; a man exceedingly well versed in all the Learning of *Greeks* and *Romans*, and as well studied in the Fathers, Councils, and all other ancient *Monuments* of the Christian Church. Desirous to free his Parish from this haunt, he left some Propositions at the house of one of his Neighbours, which had been frequently visited with these *Night-Spirits*, with this Declaration thereunto, that if any of those which ranged that walk could convince him in any of the same, he would immediately subscribe and be a *Papist*. After long expectation, instead of answering to his *queries*, one of them leaves a short Pamphlet for him, entituled, *A new Gag for the Old Gospel*, in which it was pretended, that the Doctrine of the *Protestants* should be confuted out of the very words of their own English Bibles. This book he was required to answer, and found it no such knotty piece, but that it might be cleft in sunder, without Beetle or Wedges. But in perusing of that book, he found, that besides some few Doctrines which properly and truly did belong to the Church of *England*, there were crouded into it all Points of *Calvinism*, such *Heterodoxies*, and out-landish Fancies, as the Church of *England* never owned. And therefore in his Answer to that *Popish Gagger* he severed or discriminated the *opinions* of particular men, from the Authorized Doctrines of this Church; leaving the one to be maintained by their

*Mount. Pref. to the Gag. &c.*

private

private *Fautors*, and only defending and maintaining the other. And certainly had he not been a man of a mighty Spirit, and one that eaſily could contemn the cry and clamours which were raiſed againſt him for ſo doing, he could not but have ſunk remedileſly under the burden of diſgrace, and the fears of Ruine which that performance drew upon him. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1624.

This Book came out about the latter end of *December*, and coming out made ſuch a general amazement amongſt thoſe of the *Calvinian* Party, that they began to fear the ſad conſequents of it. The opening of this ſecret was of ſuch importance, that if the Author and his Book were not ſpeedily cruſhed, they muſt no longer ſhroud their private opinions under the name of the received Doctrine of the Church of *England*; excluded from that Sanctuary, they could find no place of ſtrength and ſafety, in which they ſhould not be expoſed to aſſaults and dangers. And that the Author and the Book might be cruſht together, it was thought fit that *Yates* and *Ward*, two of the Lecturers or Preachers in *Ipſwich* ſhould gather out of his Book ſome eſpecial Points tending to *Popery* and *Arminianiſm* (as they conceived) to be preſented to the Cenſure of the following Parliament. Having got a Copy of the *Information* intended to be made againſt him, he flies for refuge to King *James*, now grown more moderate, and (ſince the death of *Mountague* the late Biſhop of *Winton*) into a better liking of thoſe opinions, which he had laboured to condemn at the Synod of *Dort*. His Majeſty knew the man, and his great abilities, and was well pleaſed with his performance againſt the *Hiſtory of Tithes*; where he had beaten the (then thought) matchleſs *Selden* at his own weapon, and ſhewed himſelf the greater Philologer of the two: Upon which ground he looked upon him as the fitteſt man to encounter *Baronius*, againſt whom the right learned *Caſaubon* had ſome preparatory velitations before his death, but made no further progreſs in it. *Mountague*, flying to King *James*, as before is ſaid, had preſently his diſcharge or *quietus eſt*, as to his Majeſties good opinion both of him and (*e*) the book it ſelf. And more than ſo, his Majeſty took notice that the *Information* was divulged, and the Clamor violent, and therefore gave him leave to make an Appeal from the ſaid *Defamers* unto his own moſt Sacred Cognizance in publick, and to repreſent his juſt defence againſt their ſlanders and falſe ſurmiſes unto the world. And that the queazineſs of the times might the better brook it, he gave expreſs order unto Dr. *White*, then *Dean* of *Carlile*, (cried up, when Lecturer of St. *Pauls*, for the ſtouteſt Champion of this Church againſt thoſe of *Rome*) for the authorizing and publiſhing thereof, which was done accordingly. This Book he entituled by the name of *APPELLO CÆSAREM*, or *a juſt APPEAL from two unjuſt INFORMERS:* But the King dying before it was finiſhed at the Preſs, it was preſented to King *Charles*, in the firſt entrance of his Reign, and there we ſhall be ſure to hear further of it.

(*e*) Epiſt. dedicat. to *Appello Cæſar.*

In

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1624.

In the mean time it may not be unneceſſary to enquire what the ſaid *Informers* (*Yates* and *Ward*) might and did mean by *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*, with which two crimes they charged the Anſwer to the *Gagger*. And firſt we find upon due ſearch, That by *Popery* they underſtood all ſuch Points of Doctrine, as being determined by this Church, hold ſome correſpondence and agreement with the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*; or being not determined by this Church, are left at liberty for every man to pleaſe himſelf in his own opinion, how near ſoever he may come to ſuch compliance. Of the firſt ſort they reckoned for points of *Popery*; *The Doctrine of the Perpetual Viſibility of the Church of Chriſt*; *The* Local Deſcent *of Chriſt into Hell*, *The Lawfulneſs of Images*, *Signing with the Sign of the Croſs*, *Confeſſion and Sacerdotal Abſolution*, *The* Real Preſence, *The Reward of Good Works*, *The Sacrament of Orders*; quarrelling even with very words, *Sacrifice*, *Altar*, and the like: All which upon a perfect Examination, will be found to be the genuine Doctrines, and to ſpeak nothing but the Language of the Church of *England*, as we have punctually diſcovered in our *Introduction*. Amongſt the laſt I reckon the Diſputes concerning *Evangelical Counſels*, *Antichriſt*, and *Limbus Patrum*, of which the Church of *England* hath determined nothing; and therefore the *Appellant* was left at liberty to follow his own Judgment, and to chuſe what guides he pleaſed to direct his Judgment in thoſe particular Debates. Yet ſuch was the temper of thoſe Times, that whoſoever held any of the Points aforeſaid, or any other controverted with the Church of *Rome*, contrary to the ſenſe of *Calvin*, muſt preſently be accuſed of *Popery*. He that adhered unto the Tendries of the Ancient Fathers, in ſuch particulars as the Church was pleaſed to leave undetermined; or bound himſelf in matters publickly reſolved on, to vindicate this Church to her *genuine* Tenents, was preſently made Subject to all thoſe Clamors and Reproaches, which the Tongues and Pens of that Predominating Faction could either raiſe upon him, or aſperſe him with. *Laud* had found good experience of it when he lived in *Oxon.* and ſo had *Houſon* and *Corbet* too, as before was noted. But none of them were able to break through thoſe difficulties, till *Mountague* took the Work in hand; who being well back'd, and having the Ice ſomewhat broke before him, waded with confidence and courage through the middeſt of thoſe Waters, which otherwiſe might have overwhelmed the moſt tried Adventurer.

In the next place it will be no hard work to finde what they meant by *Arminianiſm*; under which name they comprehend the *Melanchthonian* Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, *The Univerſal Redemption of Mankind by the Death of Chriſt*, *The cooperation of the Will of Man with the Grace of God*; and, *The Poſſibility of falling from Grace received*: All which appear by plain and evident proofs in our ſaid *Introduction*, to have been the true original and native Doctrines of this Church

Church at her firſt *Reformation*. But *Calviniſm* had ſo over-ſpread the face of this Church, by *Humphries* long ſitting in the *Chair* at *Oxon*. and the diſcountenancing of *Peter Baro* at *Cambridge*, that the natural Doctrines and Determinations of it were either ſo forgotten, that they were not known, or elſe ſo overpowred, that none durſt undertake to own them. And ſo it ſtood till the breaking out of the *Predeſtinarian* Quarrels in the *Belgick* Churches, between *Arminius* and his Followers on the one ſide, and the *Rigid Calvinians* on the other. The Books which had been written on both ſides, being purpoſely diſperſed abroad, to encourage and encreaſe their ſeveral Parties, croſs'd over the Seas into *England* alſo; where being diligently ſtudied, either out of curioſity, or deſire of Knowledge, they awaked many out of that dead ſleep in which they were, to look with better eyes into the true and native Doctrines of this Church, than before they did. Amongſt the firſt which publikly appeared that way at *Oxon*. after the coming out of the ſaid Books, were *Laud* and *Houſon*, whom *Abbot* then Doctor of the *Chair*, and *Vice-chancellor* alſo, expoſed to as much diſgrace as by his Place and Power he could lay upon them. Amongſt the firſt at *Cambridge* were *Tompſon*, a *Dutchman* by original (if I be not miſtaken in the man) and *Richardſon* the Maſter of *Trinity* Colledge. The firſt of theſe had writ a Book touching *Falling away from Grace*, entituled, *De Interciſione Gratiæ, & Juſtificationis*; to which *Abbot* of *Oxon*. above-mentioned returned an Anſwer. The other being a *corpulent* man, was publickly reproach'd in S. *Maries* Pulpit in his own Univerſity, by the name of a *Fat-bellied Arminian*. By that name they were called in *Holland*, which adhered not unto *Calvin*'s Doctrine, though many had formerly maintained theſe Opinions in thoſe Churches, before *van Harmine* came to the Chair of *Leyden*. And by that name they muſt be called in *England* alſo, though the ſame Doctrines had been here publickly Authoriſed and Taught before he was born. So that the entitling of theſe Doctrines to the name of *Arminius*, ſeems to be like the nominating of the great *Weſtern Continent* by the name of *America*; of which firſt *Chriſtopher Columbus*, and afterwards the two *Cabots*, Father and Son, had made many great and notable Diſcoveries, before *Americus Veſputius* ever ſaw thoſe Shores. Howſoever theſe Doctrines muſt be called by the name of *Arminianiſm*, and by that name *Mountague* ſtands accuſed by the two *Informers*, though he proteſts in his *Appeal*, That he had never ſeen any of the Writings of *Arminius*; and that he did no otherwiſe maintain thoſe Doctrines, than as they were commended to him by the Church of *England*, and juſtified by the unanimous Conſent of the Ancient Fathers. But of this man, and the purſuance of theſe Quarrels, we ſhall hear more ſhortly.

LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1624.

Theſe matters being thus laid together, let us look back on ſome former Paſſages which preceded *Mountagues* Diſputes. The Commons had obtained their ends, in diſſolving all Treaties with the

King

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1624. King of *Spain*; but loſt their hopes of Marrying the Prince to a Lady of their own Religion. His Majeſty would not look beneath a Crown, to finde a Marriage for his Son; and no Crown could afford him a better Wife for his Son, than a Daughter of *France*. The Prince had ſeen the Lady at the Court in *Paris*, and the King as much deſired to ſee her in the Court of *England*. Upon this ground the Earl of *Holland* is diſpatch'd privately into *France*, to ſee how the Queen-Mother and her Miniſters, who then Governed the Affairs of that King, would approve the Match; to which at firſt they ſeemed ſo chearfully inclined, that they did not ſeem to ſtand upon any Conditions: But no ſooner had they found, that the Breach between his Majeſty and the King of *Spain* was grown irreparable, and that both ſides prepared for War, but they knew how to make their beſt advantage of it. They thought themſelves to be every way as conſiderable as the *Spaniards* were; and would abate nothing of thoſe Terms which had been obtained by the *Spaniards*, in reference either to the Princeſs her ſelf, or in favour of the *Engliſh* Catholicks: And to theſe Terms, when they ſaw no better could be gotten, his Majeſty and the Prince conſented. But ſuch a Spirit of Infatuation was at that time upon the People, that they who on the 23d. of *February* before had celebrated the Diſſolving of the Treaties with *Spain* with Bells and Bonfires, on the 21ſt. of *November* following did celebrate with like Solemnities and Expreſſions the like Match with *France*. And in this Match (*a*) *Laud* is accuſed to have a hand, or at the leaſt to have ſhew'd his good affections to promote it. An heavy Crime, and proved by as infallible proofs; that is to ſay, his writing to and receiving Letters from the Duke, at ſuch time as the Duke was ſent to the Court of *France*, to attend the new Queen into *England*. And what elſe (*b*) could this Match and thoſe Letters aim at, but to carry on the ſame deſign to bring in *Popery*, and by that means to ſtand their ground, and retain all thoſe Priviledges and Immunities, which the Popiſh Party had procured by the former Treaties? To ſuch abſurdities are men ſway'd, when Prejudice and Prepoſſeſſions over-rule the Balance.

(a) *Hidden Works, p. 73.*

(b) *Ib. p. 69.*

1625. We muſt begin the next year with the Death of King *James*, and therefore think it not amiſs to take a brief view of the Condition of the Church and State, at the time of his departing from us. He had ſpent all his life in Peace, but died in the beginning of a War: A War which had been drawn upon him by diſſolving the Treaties, to which he was as it were conſtrained, by the continual importunity of the Prince and the Duke of *Buckingham*. The Duke knew well, that he could not do a more popular act, than to gratifie the Commons in that buſineſs; and had eaſily poſſeſs'd the Prince with this opinion, That as his future Greatneſs muſt be built on the Love of his People, ſo nothing could oblige them more, than to be inſtrumental in diſſolving the preſent Treaties. But herein they conſulted rather their own private Paſſions, than the publick Intereſt of the Crown;

Crown; and they ſhall both pay dear enough for it in a very ſhort ſpace: For there is nothing more unſafe for a King of *England*, than to caſt himſelf upon the neceſſity of calling Parliaments, and depending on the Purſe of the Subject; by means whereof he makes himſelf obnoxious to the humour of any prevailing Member in the Houſe of Commons, and becomes leſs in Reputation both at home and abroad. The Church he left beleaguer'd by two great Enemies; aſſaulted openly by the *Papiſt* on the one ſide, undermined by the *Puritans* on the other. Of the audaciouſneſs of the *Papiſts* we have ſpoke already, abated ſomewhat by the Fall at *Black-friers*, more by the diſſolving the two Treaties about four Months after. For though they made ſome uſe of the *French* by this new Alliance, yet they reſolved to faſten no dependance upon that Crown; inſomuch that many of thoſe, who greedily embraced ſuch Favours as were obtained for them by the Treaties with the King of *Spain*, would not accept the ſame when they were procured by the Match with *France*; for which being asked the Reaſon, they returned this Anſwer, That they would not change an old Friend for a new, of the continuance of whoſe Favours they could have no certainty; and who by ſuffering *Hereticks* in his own Dominions, declared himſelf no fit Protector for the *Catholick Cauſe*.

LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1625.

More ſecret were the *Puritans*; but nothing the leſs dangerous, becauſe more ſecret. Finding they could effect nothing in Queen *Elizabeths* time, either by their publick clamours, or their open practiſes, they cunningly wrought themſelves into a *State-Faction*, and play'd their Game under the colour of Advancing the Civil Liberties of the Subject, and the preſervation of Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed: To which end they continually allarm'd this King with fears and dangers from the *Papiſts* (as before was ſaid) that all mens eyes being turned that way, they might carry on their own deſigns without diſcovery. In which they imitated the old ſtratagem of ſome politick Captains, who having made great noiſe, and prepared all things ready for an Aſſault on the one ſide of a Town beſieged, and thereby drawn all the ſtrength of the Town to make good that ſide, ſuddenly cauſed it to be fallen upon in another place, which they found deſtitute and unprovided of all defence. But having ſerved their Apprenticeſhips in the Reign of this King, we ſhall finde them ſtrong enough in the firſt Parliament of his Son and Succeſſor, to ſet up for themſelves. Hitherto they had worked under the ground like Moles or Wants, without being diſcovered; but then they began to caſt up the Earth before them: and having prepared a Bill for making way to their Lords-day-*Sabbath*, under colour of ſuppreſſing unlawful Paſtimes and Aſſemblies, they preſſed that King to it, and obtained it; ſome further addition to which Act they procured in his third Parliament alſo. Yet ſtill they kept on foot their pretended Zeal againſt the Papiſts, and ſeemed exceeding ſenſible of the Dangers which were threatned by them; not ſo much

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1625.

to advance their own Party, then grown ſtrong enough (as they had done formerly); but to make it ſerve them as a Property to put by the Buſineſs of the King in the Grant of *Subſidies*, whenſoever he required it of them,

In this condition of Affairs King *James* departs this Life at *Theobalds*, on *Sunday* the 27th. of *March*; his Diſeaſe no other than an *Ague*; which though it fell on him in the *Spring*, yet it croſſed the Proverb, and proved not Medicinal, but Mortal. His Character hath been given by many others, and therefore I may well ſpare mine, looking upon him only in his zeal to the Church, and his affections unto Learning. His zeal to Unity and Uniformity in the Church, appeared in *England* by the *Conference* at *Hampton Court*, *Anno* 1603. by his directions ſent to the Univerſity of *Oxon*, 1616. by thoſe to the Archbiſhops and their ſeveral *Suffragans*, 1622. In *Scotland*, by his Reſtitution of *Epiſcopacy*, *Anno* 1610. by the Articles of *Perth*, 1618. and by the Grounds laid for the Publick *Liturgy* and *Canons*, at the *Aſſembly* in *Aberdeen*, *Anno* 1616. Had he been well followed by his Biſhops, and other Publick Miniſters in his ſeveral Kingdoms, he would have left the Church eſtabliſhed on ſo ſure a Foundation, that neither ſecret Practiſes could have undermined it, nor open Batteries have diſtreſſed it. His great affections unto Learning do appear as viſibly, by the encouragement which he gave unto it both in his Perſon and Example. In the beginning of his Reign, *Anno* 1603. he graciouſly received the *Vice-chancellor* of *Oxon*. together with the Doctors, Proctors, and Heads of Houſes, at his *Mannor* of *Woodſtock*: And within two years after, *Anno* 1605. he accepted a Solemn Entertainment from them, performed in all manner of *Scholaſtick Exerciſes*, Divinity, Law, Phyſick, and Philoſophy; in all of which he ſhewed himſelf of ſuch great Abilities, that he might have governed in thoſe *Chairs*, as well as all or any of his three Profeſſors. Being informed how ſmall and inſufficient their old Salary was, he added to his Profeſſor for Divinity, and his Succeſſors in that place, the next Prebend of *Chriſt-church*, as ſoon as any ſhould be void, and the Rectory of *Evelme* in the County of *Oxon*. to the Doctor of the Chair for *Law*, the Corps of a good Prebend in the Church of *Salisbury*; and to the Profeſſors place for Phyſick, the Government of an Hoſpital in *Evelme* aforeſaid, being within ten miles of the Univerſity.

Incouraged by which Examples, two Mathematick Lectures were founded by Sir *Henry Savile* Provoſt of *Eaton*, and Warden of *Merton* Colledge; An *Hiſtory Lecture* by *William Cambden*, one of the Kings at Arms, by the name of *Clarencieux*; A Lecture in *Natural Philoſophy*, by Sir *William Sidley* Knight and Baronet; In *Moral Philoſophy*, by Doctor *Thomas White* one of the *Reſidentiaries* of St. *Pauls*, and Prebend of *Chriſt-Church*; All of them of a liberal and large Endowment. After all which an *Anatomy Lecture* was ſet up by *Richard Tomlins* of the City of *Weſtminſter*, as neceſſary as any of the reſt,

reſt, though not ſo plentifully Endowed. The poor man caſting in his *Mite* (almoſt all he had) amongſt thoſe Rich *Offerings*. But the powerful Influences of his Learning and Government produce a further operation than the Inſtituting of a few particular *Lectures*; even to the Building and Endowing of ſome, and Beautifying of many other Colledges in that Univerſity; Witneſs that fair and Uniform Colledge, built by *Nicholas Wadham* and *Dorothy* his Wife, *Anno* 1612. The turning of *Broadgates* Hall into *Pembroke* Colledge, built and endowed at the Charges of *Thomas Tiſdale* of *Glymton* in the Court of *Oxon.* appropriated in a manner to the Free-Grammar-School of *Abingdon*, *Anno* 1624. Witneſs the raiſing of the old Schools to a goodly and magnificent Structure, the adding of a new Quadrangle unto *Merton* Colledge by the prudent care of Sir *Henry Savil*; the reducing of *Exeter*, and the making up of *Jeſus* Colledge into form Quadrangular, by adding of a neat Chappel and a fair Hall to each; of which the Chappel of *Jeſus* Colledge (being built together with the Hall, at ſuch time as Sir *Eubule Thelwall* was Principal of it) was Conſecrated by the Right Reverend Doctor *Houſon* then Biſhop of *Oxon*, *May* 28. 1621. The other built at the ſole Charges of Doctor *Hackwell* Arch-Deacon of *Surrey*, received Conſecration from the ſame hands, *October* 5. 1624. And finally, Witneſs a large and capacious piece of Ground, incloſed with a beautiful Quadrangular Wall, for a *Phyſick-Garden*, the firſt Stone whereof was laid in a Solemn Aſſembly of the whole Univerſity on St. *James* his day, *July* 25. 1622. Not to ſay any thing of the great coſt beſtowed in beautifying the Quires of *Chriſt-Church* and *Magdalens*, the ſetting up of a fair new Organ in the Chappel of St. *John*'s Colledge, by the procurement of our *Laud*, the then Preſident of it, *Anno* 1618. The like fair Organ made and ſet up in *Chriſt-Church*, and the old one given to St. *Maries* for the publick uſe of the Univerſity, about ſix years after. Such and ſo many Benefactions in one Univerſity, and that too in ſo ſhort a ſpace, as none of the former Times can parallel, ſo let it be the wonder and amazement of all Ages following.

LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1625.

But the King dies, though his Munificence ſurvive him. It was then *Midlent-Sunday*, and the Court-Sermon at *Whitehall* (according to the ancient Cuſtom) in the after-noon: At what time the ſad News paſſing through *London*, began to be rumored in the Court, as *Laud* was going into the Pulpit to preach before the Lords of the Council, the Officers of the Houſhold, and the reſt of that great Concourſe of all ſorts of People which uſually repaired thither at thoſe Solemn Sermons. Before he was come to the middle of it, the certainty of the Kings death (more generally known amongſt them) the confuſion which he ſaw in the faces of all the Company, his own griefs, and the dolorous complaints made by the Duke of *Buckingham*, occaſioned him to leave the Pulpit, and to beſtow his pains and comforts where there was more need. He did

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1625.

not think (as I believe few wiſe men do) that the carrying on of one particular Sermon was ſuch a neceſſary part of *Gods buſineſs*, as is not to be intermitted upon any occaſion, nor was this ever charged upon him amongſt his crimes. The ſenſe of this great loſs being ſomewhat abated, he was requeſted by the Duke to draw up ſome Remembrances, of the Life, Reign, and Government of the King Deceaſed, which he accordingly performed and preſented to him: But they are but Remembrances or Memorials only, like the firſt lines of a deſign or Picture, which being poliſhed and perfected by a skilful Workman, might have preſented us with the true and lively Pourtraiture of that gracious Prince. But who will undertake to finiſh what *Laud* began? I muſt therefore leave the deceaſed King to thoſe Memorials, and thoſe *Memorials* to be found in his *Breviate*, p.5. But there was another Pourtraiture provided for that King before his Funeral. His Body being brought from *Theobalds* unto *Sommerſet-houſe*, where a Royal and Magnificent Hearſe was erected for him, viſited and reſorted to by infinite multitudes of people, for ſome Weeks together. From *Sommerſet-houſe* his Body was carried in great State, on *Saturday* the ſeventh of *May*, to St. *Peters* Church in *Weſtminſter*, where it was ſolemnly interred. The Funeral Sermon preached by the Lord Keeper *Williams*, and printed not long after by the name of *Great Britains Solomon*; which afterwards adminiſtred the occaſion of ſome diſcourſe, which otherwiſe might have been ſpared.

Thus is *James* dead and buried, but the King ſurvives, his only Son Prince *Charles* being immediately proclaimed King of Great *Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, firſt at the Court Gates, by Sir *Edward Zouch* Knight Marſhal, moſt ſolemnly the next day at *London*, and afterwards by degrees in all the Cities and Market Towns of the Kingdom. At his firſt entrance on the Crown he found himſelf ingaged in a war with the K. of *Spain*, the mightieſt Monarch of the *Weſt*, for which he was to raiſe great Forces both by Sea and Land. He was alſo at the Point of Marriage with the Daughter of *France*, and ſome proportionable preparations muſt be made for that. Nor was King *James* to be interred without a ſolemn and magnificent Funeral, anſwerable in the full height to ſo great a Prince. All which muſt needs exact great Sums of money, and money was not to be had without the help of a Parliament, which he therefore gave order to be called in the uſual manner. But in the middeſt of theſe many and great preparations he forgets not the great buſineſs of the Church. He had obſerved the multitudinouſneſs of his Fathers Chaplains, and the diſorder of their waitings, which puts him on a Reſolution of reducing them to a leſſer number, and limiting them to a more certain time of attendance than before they were. He knew well alſo what an influence the Court had alwaies on the Country; by conſequence how much it did concern him in his future Government that his Officers and Servants ſhould be rightly principled, according

ing

ing to the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worſhip eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*. And therefore that he might be ſerved with *Orthodox* and Regular men, *Laud* is commanded to prepare a Catalogue of the moſt eminent Divines, and to diſtinguiſh them by the two Letters of *O* and *P*. according to their ſeveral perſwaſions and affections. And that being done, he is directed by the Duke and the Kings appointment to have recourſe to the moſt learned Biſhop *Andrews*, to know of him what he thought fitting to be done in the Cauſe of Religion; Eſpecially in reference to the five Articles condemned not long ſince in the *Synod* at *Dort*, and to report his anſwer with convenient ſpeed. A Convocation was of courſe to accompany the enſuing Parliament. And it was fit not only that the Prelates ſhould reſolve before-hand what Points they meant to treat on when they were aſſembled, but that his Majeſty alſo might have time to conſider of them.

Lib. II. *Anno Dom.* 1625.

*Breviate* p.6.

Theſe ſeaſonable cares being thus paſſed over, he haſtens both his own marriage, and his Fathers Funeral: The firſt he ſollemnized by Proxie in the Church of *Noſtre Dame* in *Paris*, on Sunday the firſt of *May* according to the Style of *England*. The news whereof being brought to the Court, on the *Wedneſday* following was celebrated in the Streets of *London*, the Liberties and out-parts of it, with more than ordinary Expreſſions of Joy and Gladneſs. The Proxie made to *Claud. de Lorain*, Duke of *Chevereux*, one of the younger Sons of the Duke of *Guiſe*; from which Houſe his Majeſty derived himſelf by his great Grand-Mother *Mary* of *Lorain*, Wife of *James* the Fifth. The Funeral he attended in his own Perſon, as the principal *Mourner*: Which though it were contrary to the Cuſtome of his Predeceſſors, yet he choſe rather to expreſs his Piety in attending the dead Body of his Father to the Funeral Pile, than to ſtand upon any ſuch old niceties and points of State. This was the third Funeral which he had attended as the principal Mourner, which gave ſome occaſion to preſage that he would prove a man of ſorrows, and that his end would carry ſome proportion to thoſe mournful beginnings. The Intervall before the coming of his Queen he ſpent in looking to his *Navy*, and drawing his Land Forces together for that Summers ſervice: But hearing that his Queen was advancing toward him he went to *Canterbury*, and reſted there on *Trinity* Sunday the twelfth of *June*. That night he heard the news of her ſafe arrival at the Port of *Dover*, whom he welcomed the next morning into *England* with the moſt chearful ſigns of a true affection. From thence he brought her unto *Canterbury*, and from thence by eaſie Stages to *Graveſend*, where entring in their Royal Barge, attended by infinite companies of all ſorts of People, and entertained by a continual peal of Ordnance all the way they paſſed, he brought her ſafely and contentedly unto his Palace at *Weſtminſter*. The Lords and Ladies of the Court having preſented to her the acknowledgement of their humble duties, ſuch Biſhops as were about the Town

( as

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1625.

(as moſt of them were, in regard of the Parliament and Convocation) were admitted to the kiſs of her hand, whom ſhe moſt graciouſly received.

For on the *Saturday* before, being *June* the eighteenth, the Parliament had took beginning. Which fell out not unſeaſonably, that the *French* Lords might ſee with what Royal Magnificence he was attended by the Prelates, Peers, and other Officers of State (beſides his own Domeſtick Servants) to the Parliament Houſe. At their firſt meeting he put them in mind of the War, in which they had engaged his Father, and of the promiſe they had made to ſtand to him in it with their lives and fortunes; That both his Land and Sea Forces were now in readineſs to ſet forwards; And, That there wanted nothing but a preſent ſupply of money to quicken and expedite the affaire; That the eyes of all Chriſtendom were fixt upon him; And that if he ſhould miſcarry in his firſt attempt, it would blemiſh all the honour of his future actions; And therefore, That they ſhould endeavour to deliver him out of that War in which they had incumbred (he hoped it would never be ſaid that they had betrayed) him. In anſwer whereunto, the Commons paſt a Bill of two Subſidies only, ſo ſhort of that exceſſive charge which the maintenance of ſo great a Fleet and Army required at their hands, that being diſtributed amongſt the Officers, Souldiers, and Mariners, it would ſcarce have ſerved for *Advance-money* to ſend them going. Which notwithſtanding, he very graciouſly accepted of it, taking it as an *earneſt* of their good affections, in reference to the greater Sums which were to follow. In order whereunto he audited his account unto them, as well for ſuch moneys as had remained undisburſed of the former aides, as for the defraying of ſuch further Charges as his preſent Fleet, conſiſting of 120 Sail, and a conſiderable Land Army, muſt needs lay upon him. The particulars of which account ſtood thus: *viz.* 32000 pounds for ſecuring of *Ireland*; 47000 pounds for ſtrengthning the Forts; 37000 pounds for the repair of the Navy; 99000 pounds upon the four Engliſh Regiments in the States Country; 62000 pounds laid out for Count *Mansfield*; Totall 287000 pounds. Beſides which he ſent in a demand of 200000 pounds and upwards upon the Navy; 48000 pounds upon the Ordnance; 45000 pounds in Charges of the Land men; 20000 pounds a month to Count *Mansfield*; and 46000 pounds to bring down the King of *Denmarke*; the totall of which latter Sum amounts to 339000 pounds. Both Sums make no leſs than 626000 pounds, to which the Grant of two Subſidies holds but ſmall proportion.

But the Commons had other game to follow. Their *Grievances* muſt firſt be heard: A Liſt whereof they had preſented to King *JAMES* toward the end of the former Parliament; of which the greateſt part were ſtill unredreſſed. To theſe his Majeſty vouchſafed a very gracious, and for the moſt part a full and ſatisfactory Anſwer.

Anſwer. Amongſt which *Grievances*, a ſober and diſcreet man would not think to find, that the building of all houſes in *London*, and the parts adjoyning, in one uniform way, with a face of brick toward the ſtreets ſhould be paſſed for one, then which there could not be a greater ornament to that City, or a greater honour to his Majeſties Government. And to that his Majeſty returned this Anſwer: That there had much good come by ſuch a reformation of Building in his Fathers time, and therefore that he was reſolved to go on with the work. Which Reſolution ſo much tending to the glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, and no objection being ready for his other Anſwers, the matter of Grievances could no longer be inſiſted on; eſpecially in ſuch a time when the concernments of the State, his Majeſties honour, and all the motives which induced them to ingage him in this preſent War, ought in all reaſon to precede their *Grievances*, had they been greater than they were. But then they had ſome Religious *Grievances*, which required a more ſpeedy redreſs than any which concerned them in their Civil Intereſſes. The Lords day was pretended to be much profaned by unlawful paſtimes, and People frequently reſorted out of their own Pariſhes to feaſt in Revels. Of this a remedy is deſired by Act of Parliament. Had any ſuch Bill been offered in King *James* his time, it would have found a ſorry welcome; but this King being under a neceſſity of compliance with them, reſolved to grant them their deſires in that Particular, to the end that they might grant his alſo in the aide required, when that obſtruction was removed. The *Sabbatarians* took the benefit of this opportunity for the obtaining of this grant (the firſt that ever they obtained by all their ſtruglings) which of what conſequence it was we ſhall ſee hereafter. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1625.

But then the Doctrine of the Church was more in danger than ever. In former Parliaments they were afraid of the Papiſts only: But now there was as much danger to be feared from *Arminianiſm* as before from *Popery*. An Information had been made by *Yates* and *Ward*, as before is ſaid, againſt ſome paſſages in *Mountagues* Anſwer to the *Romiſh Gagger*; and he had agravated his offence by juſtifying all his *Popiſh*, and *Arminian* Tenents in a book newly publiſhed, called *Appello Cæſarem*. It could not be denied, but that this book was Licenced by Dr. *White*, then Dean of *Carlile*, by whom it was affirmed to be agreeable to the Publick Faith, Doctrine, and Diſcipline eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*. But *white* they ſaid was now turned *black*, and what is the Eſtabliſhed Doctrine of the Church of *England* compared with *Calvins* Doctrine in his *Inſtitutions*? What Trifles are the Articles of Religion, agreed on by the Biſhops and Clergy, in two ſeveral *Synods* held in *London*, compared with the determinations of the *Synod* of *Dort*, which *Mountague* (that bold man) had deſpiſed and vilified? This was a matter which became the care of the Houſe of Commons, and *Mountague* is cited to appear before them on the ſeventh of *July*. Being

brought

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1625.

brought unto the Bar, the Speaker declared to him the pleaſure of the Houſe, which was, that they would refer his Cenſure to the next meeting; and that in the interim he ſhould ſtand committed to the Serjeants Ward; and entred baile for his appearance to the value of two thouſand pound. His Majeſty had preſent notice of this occurrence; And being very ſenſible of this new incroachment, he thereupon cauſed intimation to be made unto them, that he was not pleaſed with their proceedings againſt *Mountague*, being one of his Chaplains; adding withall that he conceived his Servants to be as capable of protection from all impriſonments and arreſts, as any of the Servants of the *Knights* and *Burgeſſes*. It was not long before *Laud* found an opportunity to give *Mountague* notice of his Majeſties great care of him, and affection to him. Which muſt needs be a Soveraign Cordial to the man, notwithſtanding that the Commons were ſo ſtiff in their Rigors toward him that his bail-bond of 2000 pound did remain uncancelled.

*Breviate* p. 6.

Notice hereof being given to *Laud*, he conſidered of the ſad effects and conſequents which might follow on it, communicating thoſe his fears to ſome other Biſhops: By whom it was thought fit that *Mountagues* caſe, and not his only, but the caſe of the Church it ſelf, ſhould be commended to the care and power of the Duke of of *Buckingham*. According unto which Advice and Reſolution, three of them framed and ſigned the enſuing Letter. But before this Letter was delivered, *Mountague* had taken ſo much care of himſelf, as to prepare his way by a Letter of his own, bearing date *July* 29. In which Letter he firſt laid open the ſtate of his caſe, deſiring that by his Majeſties Power he might be abſolutely freed from thoſe who had neither any Authority over his perſon, as being one of his Majeſties Servants; nor over his Book, as being commanded by his Father, and authorized by himſelf. Which being ſaid, he makes this reſolute declaration, "That if he could not really and through-"ly anſwer whatſoever was or could be imputed to him in any of "his Books, he would no further deſire favour and protection of his "Majeſty, or his Grace, but willingly would be left unto the power "of his Enemies. Which Letter being ſent before to prepare the way, this of the ſaid three Biſhops followed within four daies after.

## May it pleaſe your Grace,

*Cab.* p. 156.

*WE are bold to be Suitors to you in the behalf of the Church of* England, *and a poor Member of it,* Mr. Mountague, *at this time not a little diſtreſſed. We are not ſtrangers to his perſon, but it is the Cauſe which we are bound to be tender of. The Cauſe we conceive (under correction of better Judgment) concerns the Church of* England *nearly; for that Church, when it was reformed from the ſuperſtitious opinions broached or maintained by the Church of* Rome, *refuſed the*

*the apparent and dangerous Errors, and would not be too buſie with every particular School-Point. The cauſe why ſhe held this moderation was, becauſe ſhe could not be able to preſerve any unity among Chriſtians, if men were forced to ſubſcribe to curious particulars diſputed in Schools. Now may it pleaſe your Grace, the opinions which at this time trouble many men in the late Book of Mr.* Mountague, *are ſome of them ſuch as are expreſly the reſolved Doctrine of the Church of* England, *and thoſe he is bound to maintain. Some of them are ſuch as are fit only for Schools, and to be left at more liberty for learned men to* abound in their own ſenſe, *ſo they keep themſelves peaceable, and diſtract not the Church. And therefore to make any Man ſubſcribe to School-opinions may juſtly ſeem hard in the Church of Chriſt, and was one great fault of the Council of* Trent. *And to affright them from thoſe opinions in which they have (as they are bound) ſubſcribed to the Church, as it is worſe in it ſelf, ſo may it be the Mother of greater danger.* LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1625.

*May it pleaſe your Grace farther to conſider, That when the Clergie ſubmitted themſelves in the time of* Henry *the Eighth, the ſubmiſſion was ſo made, that if any difference Doctrinal or other fell in the Church, the King and the Biſhops were to be Judges of it in the National* Synod *or Convocation; the King firſt giving leave under his Broad Seal to handle the Points in difference: But the Church never ſubmitted to any other Judge, neither indeed can ſhe though ſhe would. And we humbly deſire your Grace to conſider, and then to move his moſt Gracious Majeſty (if you ſhall think fit) what dangerous conſequences may follow upon it; For firſt if any other Judge be allowed in matter of Doctrine we ſhall depart from the Ordinance of Chriſt, and the continual Courſe and Practice of the Church. Secondly, If the Church be once brought down beneath her ſelf, we cannot but fear what may be the next ſtroke at it. Thirdly, It will ſome way touch the honour of his Majeſties dear Father, and our moſt Dread Soveraign of glorious and ever bleſſed memory, King* James, *who ſaw and approved all the opinions of this Book: And he in his rare Wiſdom and Judgment would never have allowed them if they had croſſed with truth and the Church of* England. *Fourthly, We muſt be bold to ſay, that we cannot conceive what uſe there can be of Civil Government in the Commonwealth, or of Preaching or External Miniſtry in the Church, if ſuch fatall opinions, as ſome which are oppoſite and contrary to theſe delivered by Mr.* Mountague *are, ſhall be publikely taught and maintained, Fifthly, We are certain that all or moſt of the contrary opinions were treated of at* Lambeth, *and ready to be publiſhed, but then Queen* Elizabeth *of famous memory, upon notice given, how little they agreed with the Practice of Piety, and obedience to all Government, cauſed them to be ſuppreſſed; and ſo they have continued ever ſince, till of late ſome of them have received countenance at the* Synod *of* Dort. *Now this was a Synod of that Nation, and can be of no Authority in any other National Church, till it be received there by publick Authority. And our hope is, That the Church of* England *will be well adviſed, and more than once over, before ſhe admit a foraign* Synod,

PART I. Anno Dom. 1625.

*especially of such a Church as condemneth her Discipline and manner of Government, to say no more.*

*And further we are bold to commend to your graces Wisdom this one particular. His Majesty (as we have been informed) hath already taken this business into his own care, and most worthily referred it in a right course to Church consideration. And we well hoped that without further trouble to the State, or breach of unity in the Church, it might so have been well and orderly composed, as we still pray it may. These things considered, we have little to say for Mr.* Mountagues *person: only thus much we know, He is a very good Scholar, and a right honest man: A man every way able to do God, his Majesty, and the Church of* England *great service. We fear he may receive discouragement, and (which is far worse) we have some cause to doubt this may breed a great backwardness in able men to write in defence of the Church of* England, *against either home or foraign Adversaries, if they shall see him sink in Fortunes Reputation, or health, upon occasion of his Book. And this we most humbly submit to your Graces Judgment, and care of the Churches peace and welfare; So commending your Grace to the Protection of Almighty God,*

August 2. 1625. We shall ever rest at Your Graces Service,

*Jo. Roffens. Jo. Oxon. Guil. Meneven.*

After this no more news of *Montague* in the present Parliament, Adjourned by his Majesty on the eleventh of *July* (by reason of the Plague) to *Oxon*, there to be reassembled on the first of *August*. Which time being come, his Majesty puts them again in mind of his pressing occasions, acquaints them with the necessity of setting out the Fleet, then ready for Service; That the eyes of his Confederates were fixt upon him; and that they would separate and dissolve if it did not speedily set forwards. But then the dangers which they feared from the growth of Popery, stood as much in his way, as *Mountague* and the *Grievances* had done before. For the securing them from all such fears, an humble Petition and Remonstrance must be first prepared, which they framed much after the same manner with that which had been offered to King *James*, in the year 1621. In this they shewed the King the dangers which were threatned to the Church and State, by the more than ordinary increase of Popery; and offered him such Remedies, as they conceived most likely, to prevent the mischiefs. And unto this Petition they procured the Peers also to joyn with them, But the King easily removed this obstruction, by giving them such a full and satisfactory answer, on the seventh of *August*, that they could not chuse, before their Rising,

Riſing, which followed within five days after, but Vote their humble Thanks to be returned unto his Majeſty, for giving ſuch a Gracious Anſwer to their ſaid Petition. This they had reaſon to expect from his Majeſties Piety; but then they had another Game which muſt be followed, before the Kings Buſineſs could be heard. In the two former Parliaments they had fleſh'd themſelves, by removing *Bacon* from the *Seal*, and *Cranfeild* from the *Treaſury*: And ſomewhat muſt be done this Parliament alſo, for fear of hazarding ſuch a *Priviledge* by a *diſcontinuance*. *Williams* came firſt into their eye, whom they looked on as a man not only improper for the Place, but alſo as not having carried himſelf in it with ſuch integrity as he ſhould have done; and him the Lawyers had moſt mind to, that they might get that Office once again into their poſſeſſion. This *Williams* fearing, ſo applied himſelf to ſome leading Members, that he diverted them from himſelf to the Duke of *Buckingham*, as a more noble Prey, and fitter for ſuch *mighty Hunters* than a *ſilly Prieſt*. Nor was this Overture propoſed to ſuch as were either deaf or tongue-tied; for this great Game was no ſooner ſtarted, but they followed it with ſuch an Out-cry, that the noiſe thereof came preſently to his Majeſties ears; who finding by theſe delays and artifices, that there was no hope of gaining the Supplies deſired, on the 12th. of the ſame *Auguſt* diſſolved the Parliament. He may now ſee the error he had run into by his breach with *Spain*, which put him into a neceſſity of making War, and that neceſſity compell'd him to caſt himſelf in a manner on the Alms of his People, and to ſtand wholly in like manner at their Devotion. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1625.

The Parliament being thus diſſolved, his Majeſty progreſſeth towards the *Weſt*, to ſet forward his Navy, and *Laud* betakes himſelf unto his Dioceſs, this being the year of his *Triennial Viſitation*. He took along with him in this Journey ſuch Plate and Furniture as he had provided for his new Chappel at *Aberguilly*, which he Conſecrated on *Sunday Auguſt* 28. Here he continued, by reaſon that the Sickneſs was hot in *London*, and not cooled in *Oxon.* till he was fain to make his way back again through Ice and Snow, as he writes in his Letters to the Duke from *Windſor*, *December* 13. At his return he found no ſmall alteration in the Court. The Lord Keeper *Williams* ſtood upon no good terms with the Duke in the life of King *James*; but he declined more and more in Favour after his deceaſe. The Duke had notice of his practiſing againſt him in the laſt Parliament, and was reſolved to do his errand ſo effectually to the King his Maſter, that he ſhould hold the Seal no longer; and he prevailed therein ſo far, that Sir *John Suckling*, Controller of His Majeſties Houſhold, was ſent to him (being then at a Houſe of the Lord *Sandys*'s in the Pariſh of *Bray* neer *Windſor*) to require him to deliver up the Seal to his Majeſties uſe; which being very unwillingly done, the Cuſtody of the Great Seal, on *Sunday* the ſecond of *October*, was committed to Sir *Thomas Coventry* his Majeſties Atturney General,

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1625.

whom *Heath* ſucceeded in that place. But my Lord was not gone, though the Keeper was: He ſtill remained Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and Dean of *Weſtminſter*, holding ſtill both his other Dignities and Preferments before recited: So that he might have lived as plentifully as the greateſt, and as contentedly as the beſt, had he not thought that the fall was greater from the top of the Stairs unto the ſecond or third Step, than from the ſecond or third to the loweſt of all. But as he fell, ſo *Laud* aſcended: *Neil* his good Friend, then *Biſhop* of *Durham*, had fallen ſick in the beginning of the Spring, at whoſe requeſt he was appointed to wait upon his Majeſty as Clerk of the Cloſet; in which Service though he continued not long, yet he made ſuch uſe of it, that from that time forwards he grew as much into the Kings Favour, as before he had been in the Dukes; becoming as it were his Majeſties Secretary for all Church Concernments.

His Majeſty having ſet forward his Navy (which ſetting out ſo late, could not be like to make any good Return) was not unmindful of the Promiſe he had made in Parliament, in anſwer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons, concerning the great dangers threatned to the Church and State by the *Growth of Popery*; to which end he cauſed a Commiſſion to be iſſued under the Great Seal, for executing the Laws againſt Recuſants, which he commanded to be publiſhed in all the Courts of Juſtice at *Reading* (to which Town the Term was then removed) that all his Judges and other Miniſters of Juſtice might take notice of it, *as alſo that all his Loving Subjects might be certified of his Princely Care and Charge for the Advancement of true Religion, and Suppreſſion of Popery and Superſtition*: Which done, he directed his (*a*) Letters of the 15th. of *December*, to his two Archbiſhops, ſignifying how far he had proceeded, and requiring them in purſuance of it, "That no good means be neglected on "their part for diſcovering, finding out, and apprehending of Jeſu- "its and Seminary Prieſts, and other Seducers of his People to the "*Romiſh* Religion; or for repreſſing *Popiſh* Recuſants, and Delin- "quents of that ſort, againſt whom they were to proceed by Ex- "communication, and other Cenſures of the Church, not omit- "ting any other Lawful means to bring them forth to publick Ju- "ſtice. But then withal his Majeſty takes notice of another Enemy, which threatned as much danger to the Church as the *Papiſts* did: And thereupon he further requireth the ſaid two Archbiſhops, "That a vigilant care be taken with the reſt of the Clergy, "for the repreſſing of thoſe who being ill affected to the true Religi- "on here eſtabliſhed, they keep more cloſe and ſecret their ill and "dangerous affections that way, and as well by their example, as "by ſecret and under-hand ſleights and means, do much encourage "and encreaſe the growth of *Popery* and *Superſtition* in ſundry parts "of this Kingdom. And therefore he did not only require, that "none of them might have any manner of Covert, Protection, "Countenance,

(*a*) *Eil. Regia p.* 12.

"Countenance, or connivence from them, or any of the reſt, as "they tendred his Royal Commandment in that behalf: but that all "poſſible diligence be uſed, as well to unmask the falſe ſhadows "and pretences of thoſe who may poſſibly be won to Conformity; "letting all men know, That he could not think well of any that ha- "ving Place and Authority in the Church, do permit ſuch perſons "to paſs with impunity; much leſs if they give them any counte- "nance, to the emboldening them or their adherents. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1625.

On the receiving of theſe Letters, *Abbot* tranſmits the Copies of them to his ſeveral *Suffragans*, and to our Biſhop of St. *Davids* amongſt the reſt, requiring him to conform therein to his Majeſties Pleaſure, and to ſee the ſame executed in all parts of his Dioceſs. On the receipt whereof, the Biſhop commands his *Chancellor*, *Arch-Deacons*, and other Eccleſiaſtical Officers within his Dioceſs of St. *Davids*. "That all poſſible care be taken of ſuch as are any way "backward in Points of Religion, and more eſpecially of known "and profeſſed Recuſants, that they may be carefully preſented, "and Proceedings had againſt them to Excommunication, accord- "ing to form and order of Law; and that there be a true Liſt and "Catalogue of all ſuch as have been preſented and proceeded "againſt, ſent to him yearly after *Eaſter*, by him to be preſented to "the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as had been required. No Com- mand given unto his Chancellor, and other Officers, to look into the Practiſes and Proceedings of the *Puritan* Faction; for which I am able to give no reaſon, but that he had received no ſuch Direcți- on and Command from Archbiſhop *Abbot*, whoſe Letter pointed him no further (it is no hard matter to ſay why) than to the ſearch- ing out, preſenting, and Excommunicating the *Popiſh* Recuſants. And in what he commanded, he was obeyed by his Chancellor, re- turning to him in *June* following the names of ſuch Recuſants as lived within the Counties of *Caermarthen* and *Pembroke*, the chief parts of his Dioceſs. *Ibid. p.* 15.

The Kings Coronation now draws on, for which Solemnity he had appointed the Feaſt of the *Purification* of the Bleſſed Virgin, bet- ter known by the name of *Candlemas day*. The Coronations of King *Edward* vi. and Queen *Elizabeth*, had been performed according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Roman Pontificals*; That at the Co- ronation of King *James* had been drawn in haſte, and wanted many things which might have been conſidered of in a time of leaſure. His Majeſty therefore iſſueth a Commiſſion to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and certain other Biſhops, whereof *Laud* was one, to conſider of the Form and Order of the Coronation, and to acco- modate the ſame more punctually to the preſent Rules and Orders of the Church of *England*. On the fourth of *January* the Com- miſſioners firſt met to conſult about it; and having compared the Form obſerved in the Coronation of King *James*, with the publick *Rituals*, it was agreed upon amongſt them to make ſome Alterations

in

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1625.

in it, and Additions to it. The Alteration in it was, that the Unction was to be performed *in forma Crucis*, after the manner of a Croſs, which was accordingly done by *Abbot* when he officiated as Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the Coronation. The Additions in the Form conſiſted chiefly in one Prayer or Requeſt to him in the behalf of the Clergy, and the clauſe of another Prayer for him to Almighty God; the laſt of which was thought to have aſcribed too much Power to the King, the firſt to themſelves, eſpecially by the advancing of the Biſhops and Clergy above the *Laity*. The Prayer or Requeſt which was made to him, followed after the *Unction*, and was this, *viz.*

† *Cant Doom*, 69.

*Stand, and hold faſt from henceforth the Place to which you have been Heir by the Succeſſion of your Forefathers, being now delivered to you by the Authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us and all the Biſhops, and Servants of God: And as you ſee the* Clergy *to come neerer to the Altar than others, ſo remember that in place convenient you give them greater honour; that the Mediator of God and Man may eſtabliſh you in the Kingly Throne, to be the Mediator between the* Clergy *and the* Laity, *that you may Reign for ever with Jeſus Chriſt the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt liveth and reigneth for ever.* Amen.

The Clauſe of that Prayer which was made for him, had been intermitted ſince the time of King *Henry* vi. and was this that followeth; *viz.*

× *Hiſt. K. Ch.* 20.

*Let him obtain favour for the People, like* Aaron *in the Tabernacle,* Eliſha *in the Waters,* Zacharias *in the Temple: Give him* Peters *Key of Diſcipline, and* Pauls *Doctrine.*

Which Clauſe had been omitted in times of *Popery*, as intimating more Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction to be given to our Kings, than the *Popes* allowed of; and for the ſame reaſon was now quarrell'd at by the *Puritan* Faction.

It was objected commonly in the time of his fall, That in digeſting the form of the Coronation, he altered the Coronation Oath, making it more advantageous to the King, and leſs beneficial to the People than it had been formerly; from which calumny his Majeſty cleared both himſelf and the Biſhop, when they were both involved by common Speech in the guilt thereof. For the clearer manifeſtation of which truth, I will firſt ſet down the Oath it ſelf, as it was taken by the King; and then the Kings Defence for his taking of it. Now the Oath is this.

*The*

## The Form of the *CORONATION-OATH.*

SIR (ſays the Archbiſhop) *will you grant, keep, and by your Oath confirm to your People of* ENGLAND *the Laws and Cuſtoms to them granted by the Kings of* ENGLAND, *your Lawful and Religious Predeceſſors; and namely, the Laws, Cuſtoms, and Franchiſes granted to the Clergy, by the Glorious King St.* Edward *your Predeceſſor, according to the Laws of God, the true Profeſſion of the Goſpel eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, and agreeable to the Prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the Ancient Cuſtoms of this Land?*

*Husbands Collect. p. 190.*

The King Anſwers, *I grant and promiſe to keep them.*

Archbiſhop. *Sir, Will you keep Peace and Godly Agreement entirely (according to your Power) both to God, the Holy Church, the Clergie, and the People?*

Rex. *I will keep it.*

Archbiſhop. *Sir, Will you (to your Power) cauſe Juſtice, Law, and Diſcretion in Mercy and Truth, to be executed in all your Judgments?*

Rex. *I will,*

Archbiſhop. *Sir, Will you grant to hold and grant to keep the Laws and rightful Cuſtoms which the Commonalty of this your Kingdom have? and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God, ſo much as in you lieth?*

Rex. *I grant and promiſe ſo to do.*

Then one of the Biſhops reads this Admonition to the King before the People with a loud voice. *Our Lord and King, we beſeech you to pardon, and to grant, and to preſerve unto us, and the Churches committed to our charge, all Canonical Priviledges, and due Law and Juſtice; and that you would protect and defend us, as every good King in his Kingdom ought to be a Protector and Defender of the Biſhops and the Churches under their Government.*

The King anſwereth, *With a willing and devout heart I promiſe and grant my pardon, and that I will preſerve and maintain to you and the Churches committed to your charge, all Canonical Priviledges, and due Law and Juſtice; and that I will be your Protector and Defender to my power by the Aſſiſtance of God, as every good King ought in his Kingdom, in right to protect and defend the Biſhops and Churches under their Government.*

The King ariſeth, and is led to the Communion Table, where he makes a ſolemn Oath in ſight of all the People, to obſerve the *Premiſes*, and laying his Hand upon the Book, ſaith, *The things which I have before promiſed, I ſhall perform and keep, So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.*

Such was the Coronation-Oath accuſtomably taken by the Kings of *England*: Which notwithſtanding, it was objected by the Lords and Commons in the time of the Long Parliament, not to have been the

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1625.

Exact Collect. of *Edw. Husb.* 290.

the ſame which ought to have been taken by him. And for proof thereof an antiquated Oath was found, and publiſhed in a Remonſtrance of theirs, bearing date the twentieth of *May* 1642. To which his Majeſty made this Anſwer, That the Oath which he took at his Coronation was warranted, and enjoyned by the Cuſtoms of his Predeceſſors; and that the Ceremony of their and his taking of it they might find in the Records of the Exchequer. And this it is, *&c.*

Now in performing the Solemnities of the Coronation, the *Abbot* anciently; and for more than one hundred years laſt paſt, the Deans of *Weſtminſter* had a ſpecial place. To them belonged the Cuſtody of the old *Regalia*, that is to ſay, the Crown, Sword, Scepter, Spurs, *&c.* of King *Edward* Sirnamed the *Confeſſor*, kept by them in a ſecret place of *Weſtminſter* Abbey, not eaſily acceſſable to any, but ſuch as know the myſtery of it: never brought forth but at the Coronation of a King, or His going to Parliament. *Williams* the late Lord Keeper was at this time *Dean*. But being under the Kings diſpleaſure, was commanded to forbear his attendance at the Coronation, and to depute one of the Prebends in his place. This put him into ſome diſpute within himſelf. He had no mind to nominate *Laud*, being then one of the Prebendaries of that Church, becauſe he lookt upon him as his Corrival and Supplanter in the Dukes good Grace; and to have named other of a lower order, there being a Biſhop in the number, would have ſubjected him to ſome diſcourſe and miſconſtruction; He therefore very wiſely ſent unto his Majeſty the names, degrees, and dignities of all the Prebends, leaving it unto him alone to make the Election; who thereupon without any Heſitancy or deliberation deputed *Laud* unto the Service. *Laud*, being thus nominated and deputed, prepared all things ready for that great Solemnity. And finding the *Old Crucifix* among the *Regalia*, he cauſed it to be placed on the Altar, as in former times. The Coronation being ended, his Majeſty going in his Robes to *Weſtminſter* Hall, did there deliver them to *Laud* (repreſenting in that Pomp the Dean of *Weſtminſter*) together with the Crown, Scepter, and the Sword called *Cortena*, to be laid up with the reſt of the *Regalia* in their old repoſitory; which he receiving from the King, returned into the Abbey Church, offered ſolemnly on the Altar in his Majeſties name (as by his place he was to do) and ſo laid them up.

Two things there were remarkable in this Coronation, which ſeemed to have ſomething in them of Preſage. *Senhouſe*, who had been once his Chaplain, when Prince of *Wales*, and was now Biſhop of *Carlile*, had the honour to preach upon the day of that great Solemnity. An eloquent man he was reputed, and one that could very well expreſs a paſſion: but he had choſen ſuch a Text, as was more proper for a Funeral than a Coronation; his Text being this, *viz. I will give thee a Crown of life*, *Apoc.* 2. 10. and was rather thought

to

to put the new King in mind of his Death than his duty in Govern- LIB. II.
ment; and to have been his Funeral Sermon when he was alive, as *Anno Dom.*
if he were to have none when he was to be buried. It was obſerved 1625.
alſo, that his Majeſty on that day was cloathed in *white*, contrary to the Cuſtom of his Predeceſſors, who were on that day clad in *Purple*. And this he did not out of any neceſſity, for want of Purple Velvet, enough to make a Suite, (for he had many yards of it in his outward Garment) but at his own choice only, to declare that Virgin Purity with which he came to be eſpouſed unto his Kingdom. *white* (as we know) is the colour of the Saints, who are repreſented to us in *White Robes* by St. *John* in the *Revelation*; and *Purple* is the Imperial and Regal colour, ſo proper heretofore unto Kings and Emperours, that many of the *Conſtantinopolitan* Emperours were called *Porphyrogenites*, becauſe at their firſt coming into the world they were wrapt in *Purple*. And this ſome looked on alſo as an ill Preſage, that the King laying aſide his *Purple*, the Robe of Majeſty, ſhould cloath himſelf in *white*, the Robe of *innocence*; as if thereby it were fore-ſignified, that he ſhould deveſt himſelf of that Regal Majeſty which might and would have kept him ſafe from affront and ſcorn, to rely wholly on the innocence of a vertuous life, which did expoſe him finally to calamitous ruine.

No ſooner were the Pomps of the Coronation ended, but the Second Parliament began; at the opening whereof, on *Munday* the ſixt of *February*, our Biſhop of St. *Davids* preacht before his Majeſty, the Lords, *&c.* in the Abbey Church. He was appointed to have preached in the beginning of the former Parliament, on *Saturday* the eighteenth of *June*; but that turn being otherwiſe ſupplied, he preached the ſame Sermon the next day before his Majeſty at *Whitehall*, his Text then, *Pſal.* 75. 2, 3. *When I ſhall receive the Congregation, I will judge according unto right*, &c. But now he choſe for the Theam or Subject of his diſcourſe the 3, 4, 5 verſes of the 112 *Pſalm*, viz. *Jeruſalem is like a City that is at unity in it ſelf*, &c. In which, conſidering *Jeruſalem* as a Type of the Church and State, he firſt beholds it as a type of the State, or Civil Government. Where he conſidered "That *Ordo Politicus*, the wiſe ordering of the "people in *Concord* and *Unity* was ſimply the ſtrongeſt Wall of a "State: But break *Unity* once, and farewel all ſtrength. And therefore "disjoynted Factions in a State when they work upon Diviſion, are "*Publica iræ divinæ incendia*, the publick kindlings of Gods Anger, *Ser.* 3. p. 102
"and they burn down all before them. And God ſeldom ſuffers "theſe to fire a State till himſelf be heated firſt with the ſins of the "State: But then *he will divide them in* Jacob, *and ſcatter them in* "Iſrael, *Gen.* 49. Nay ſcatter *Jacob* and *Iſrael* it ſelf for them. Which ſaid in general, he deſcended to a more particular application, putting his Auditory in mind of thoſe words of *Tacitus*, "That nothing gave the *Romans* (powerful enemies though they Pag. 104.
"were) more advantage againſt the ancient *Britains* than this, *Quod*

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1625.

"*Factionibus & ſtudiis trahebantur*; That they were broken into Fa-
"ctions, and would not ſo much as take counſel and advice toge-
"ther: And they ſmarted for it. But I pray what is the difference
"for men not to meet in counſel, and to fall to pieces when they
"meet? If the firſt were our Fore-fathers errour, God of his mer-
"cy grant this ſecond be not ours. And for the Church, that is as
P.107. "the City too, juſt ſo, *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline* are the Walls and the
"Towers of it: But be the one never ſo true, and the other never
"ſo perfect, they come both ſhort of Preſervation, if that body be
"not at *unity* in it ſelf. The Church, take it Catholick, cannot ſtand
"well, if it be not compacted together into an holy *unity* with
"Faith and Charity. And as the whole Church is in regard of the
"affairs of Chriſtendom, ſo is each particular Church in the
"Nation and Kingdom in which it ſojourns. If it be not at *unity*
"in it ſelf, it doth but invite Malice, which is ready to do hurt
"without any invitation: and it ever lies with an open ſide to the
"devil and all his batteries. So both Church and State, then hap-
"py, and never till then, when they are at unity within themſelves,
"and one with another. Well, both State and Church owe
"much to *Unity*; and therefore very little to them that break the
"peace of either. *Father forgive them they know not what they do.*
"But if *unity* be ſo neceſſary, how may it be preſerved in both?
"How? I will tell you. Would you keep the State in *Unity*? In
"any caſe take heed of breaking the peace of the Church. The
"peace of the State depends much upon it; For divide Chriſt in
P.109. "the minds of men, or divide the minds of men about their hopes
"of Salvation in Chriſt, and tell me what *unity* there will be. Let this
"ſuffice ſo far as the Church is an ingredient into the unity of the
"State. But what other things are concurring to the unity of it, the
"State it ſelf knows better than I can teach.

This was good *Doctrine* out of doubt. The Preacher had done his part in it, but the hearers did not; the Parliament not making ſuch *uſe* of it as they ſhould have done. At ſuch time as the former Parliament was adjourned to *Oxon*, the Divinity School was prepared for the Houſe of Commons, and a Chair made for the Speaker in or near the place, in which his Majeſties Profeſſor for Divinity did uſually read his publick Lectures, and moderate in all publick Diſputations. And this firſt put them into conceit, that the determining of all Points and Controverſies in Religion did belong to them. As *Vibius Rufus* in the Story, having married *Tullies* Widow, and bought *Cæſars* Chair, conceived that he was then in a way to gain the Eloquence of the one, and the power of the other. For after that we find no Parliament without a Committee for Religion, and no Committee for Religion but what did think it ſelf ſufficiently inſtructed to manage the greateſt Controverſies of Divinity which were brought before them: And ſo it was particularly with the preſent Parliament. The Commons had ſcarce ſetled themſelves in their

own

own Houſe, but *Mountague* muſt be called to a new account for the *Popery* and *Arminianiſm* affirmed to have been maintained by him in his books. In which Books if he had defended any thing contrary to the eſtabliſhed Doctrine of the Church of *England*, the Convocation, of the two, was the fitter Judge. And certainly it might have hapned ill unto him, the King not being willing to engage too far in thoſe Emergences, ( as the caſe then ſtood ) if the Commons had not been diverted in purſuit of the Duke of *Buckingham*; which being a more noble game, they laid this aſide, having done nothing in it but raiſed a great deſire in ſeveral Members of both Houſes to give themſelves ſome ſatisfaction in thoſe doubtful Points. To which end a Conference was procured by the Earl of *Warwick*, to be held at *York* Houſe, between *Buckeridge* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *White* Dean of *Carlile*, on the one ſide: *Morton* then of *Lichfield*, and *Preſton* then of *Lincolns-Inn* (of whom more hereafter) on the other; The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, many other Lords, and many other perſons of inferiour quality being preſent at it. To this Conference, which was holden on the eleventh of this *February*, another was added the next week on the ſeventeenth. In which *Mountague* acted his own part in the place of *Buckeridge*, the Concourſe being as great, both for the quality and number of the perſons, as had been at the former. And the ſucceſs was equal alſo. The Friends and Fautors of each ſide giving the victory to thoſe (as commonly it happens in ſuch caſes) whoſe cauſe they favoured.

After this we hear no more of *Mountague*, but the paſſing of ſome Votes againſt him in the *April* following; which heats being over, he was kept cold till the following Parliament: And then he ſhall be called for. In the mean time the King perceiving that the Commons had took no notice of his own occaſions, gave order to Sir *Richard Weſton* ( then *Chancellour* of his *Exchequer* ) to mind them of it; by whom he repreſented to them the return of the laſt years Fleet, and the want of Money to ſatisfie the Mariners and Souldiers for their Arrears; That he had prepared a new Fleet of forty Sail ready to ſet forth, which could not ſtir without a preſent ſupply of money; And that without the like ſupply, not only his Armies, which were quartered upon the Coaſts, would disband or mutiny, but that the Forces ſent for *Ireland* would be apt to rebell; and therefore he deſired to know, without more adoe, what preſent ſupply he muſt depend upon from them, that accordingly he might ſhape his courſe. Theſe Propoſitions being made, *Clem. Coke* a younger Son of Sir *Edward Coke* ( who had ſucceſſively been Chief Juſtice of either Bench ) obſtructs the Anſwer by this raſh and unhandſome expreſſion, *That it was better to dye by a Forreign Enemy, than to be deſtroyed at home.* Which general words were by one *Turner*, a Doctor of Phyſick, and then a Member of that Houſe, reſtrained and applied more particularly to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1625. The Commons well remembred at what Point they were cut off in the former Parliament, and carefully watcht all advantages to resume it in this. They had begun a great clamour against him on the first of *March*, for staying a *French Ship*, called the St. *Peter of Newhaven*; and *Turner* now incites them to a higher distemper, by six Queries raised about him, that is to say, "First, Whether the King had "not lost the Regality of the Narrow Seas since the Duke became "Admiral? Secondly, Whether his not going as Admirall in this "last Fleet was not the cause of the ill success? Thirdly, Whe-"ther the Kings Revenue hath not been impaired through his immense "liberality? Fourthly, Whether he hath not ingrossed all Offices, "and preferred his Kindred to unfit places? Fifthly, Whether "he hath not made sale of places of Judicature? Sixthly, Whe-"ther the *Recusants* have not dependance on his Mother and Father "in Law?

1626. For this days work *Coke* was severely reprehended by his Father, who could not be perswaded to look upon him for a long while after: But *Turner*, having none whom he stood in fear of, escaped not only without a private reprehension, but without any publick Censure. His Majesty thereupon complained by *Weston* to the House of Commons, who were so far from censuring the offence, that they seemed rather willing to protect the Offendors. And yet this was not all the affront they had done him neither. For seeming well satisfied with his Majesties gracious Answer to their Petition against Recusants, which they received from him at *Oxon* in the former Parliament, they now resolved to see what execution had been done upon it. And to that end they appoint a Committee for Religion, and that Committee substitutes a Sub-Committee; which Sub-Committee were impowered to search the Signet Office concerning such indulgencies as had been granted to the Papists since the end of that Parliament, and to examine the Letters of the Secretaries of State, leaving his Majesty nothing free from their discovery as to that particular: A point which never was presumed on in preceding times. And which seemed worst of all in the present conjuncture, they had voted him three Subsidies, and three fifteens, but voted them with such a clog that they should not pass into a Bill till their *Grievances* were both heard and answered. Which *Grievances* what they were both in weight and number, as it was not known unto themselves; so did his Majesty look upon it, not only as a thing dilatory in it self, but as a baffle put on him and his proceedings.

These indignities coming thus upon the neck of one another, he caused the Lords and Commons to come before him at *White Hall*, *March* 29. 1626. where first he signified unto them, by the mouth of the Lord Keeper, how sensible he was of those affronts which were put upon him, touching upon every one of them in particular, and aggravating each of them in their several kinds, letting them also know, *That as he loved his people, so he regarded his honour; and that*

*that if he were ſenſible of his Subjects Grievances, of his own he was ſenſible much more.* The Keeper alſo had Command to tell them, in his Majeſties Name, *That the Duke had acted nothing of Publick Employment, without his Majeſties Special Warrant; That he had diſcharged his Truſt with abundant both Care and Fidelity; That ſince his Return from* Spain *he had been ſedulous in promoting the Service and Contentment of the Commons Houſe; And therefore, That it was his expreſs Command, That they deſiſt from ſuch Unparliamentary Proceedings, and reſign the Reformation of what was amiſs to his Majeſties Care, Wiſdom, and Juſtice.* Which Speech being ended, his Majeſty ſaith as followeth: *I muſt withal put you in mind of Times paſt; you may remember my Father, moved by your Counſel, and won by your Perſwaſions, brake the Treaties: In theſe Perſwaſions I was your Inſtrument towards him; and I was glad to be inſtrumental in any thing which might pleaſe the whole Body of this Realm: Nor was there any in greater favour with you, than this man whom you ſo traduce. And now when you find me ſo ſure intangled in War, as I have no honourable and ſafe Retreat, you make my Neceſſity your Priviledge, and ſet what rate you pleaſe upon your Supplies: A Practiſe not very obliging unto Kings. Mr.* Coke *told you,* It was better to die by a Foreign Enemy, than to be deſtroyed at home. *Indeed I think it more honourable for a King to be invaded and almoſt deſtroyed by a Foreign Enemy, than to be deſpiſed at home.*

But all this did not edifie with the Houſe of Commons. So little were they moved with the Eloquence of the one, and the ſmart Expreſſions of the other, that both their own Members remained uncenſured, and the Proſecution of the Duke was followed with more violence then before it was. But for all this his Majeſty and the Duke might thank themſelves. His Majeſty had power in his own hands to have righted himſelf, according to the practice of Queen *Elizabeth*, and others of his Majeſties Royal Predeceſſors in the times foregoing. But by complaining in this manner to the Houſe of Commons, he choſe rather to follow the Example of King *James*, who in like manner had complained of one *Piggot*, for ſome ſeditious words by him ſpoken in the Houſe of Commons, *Anno* 1607. and with like ſucceſs. He that diveſts himſelf of a natural and original Power to right the injuries which are done him, in hope to find redreſs from others (eſpecially from ſuch as are parcel guilty of the Wrong) may put up all his gettings in a Seamſtreſs Thimble, and yet never fill it. All that which both Kings effected by it, was but the weakning of their own Power, and the increaſing of the others, who had now put themſelves upon this Reſolution, not to ſuffer any one of their Members to be queſtioned, till themſelves had conſidered of his Crimes. By which means they kept themſelves cloſe together, and emboldened one another to ſtand it out againſt the King to the very laſt. And of this *Maxime*, as they made uſe in this preſent Parliament, in the Caſe of *Coke*, *Turner*, *Diggs*, and

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1626.

and *Eliot* (which 2 laſt had been impriſoned by the Kings Command) ſo was it more violently and pertinaciouſly inſiſted on in the Caſe of the Five Members, impeach'd of High Treaſon by the Kings Atturney *January* 14. 1641. the miſerable effects whereof we finde two ſenſibly. And as for their proſecuting of the Duke, the Commons might very well pretend, that they had and ſhould do nothing in it, for which as well his Majeſty as the Duke himſelf, had not given encouragement. They had both joined together againſt *Cranfeild* the late Lord Treaſurer, and to revenge themſelves on him, had turned him over to the power and malice of his Enemies in the Houſe of Commons. The Commons had ſerved their turns on *Cranfeild*, and will now ſerve their own turns on the Duke himſelf, let the King do the beſt he could to preſerve him from them. So unſafe a thing it is for Princes to deliver any of their Servants into the hands of their People, and putting a Power out of themſelves, which they cannot call back again when it moſt concerns them.

At the ſame time the Earl of *Briſtol*, being charged with Treaſon by the Duke, exhibited againſt him certain Articles in the Houſe of Peers, in which he accuſed him of the like Crime, in reference to his Actings in the *Spaniſh* buſineſs. This made good ſport amongſt the Commons for a time; but at laſt fearing either the Weakneſs of *Briſtol*'s Charge, or the inſufficiency of his Proofs, they reſolved to follow their own way; and to that end a large Impeachment was drawn up againſt him, and preſented to the Lords on the eighth of *May*, managed by ſix of the ableſt Lawyers in the Houſe, that is to ſay, *Glanvile*, *Herbert*, *Selden*, *Pym*, *Wansford*, and *Sherland*; the Prologue made by Sir *Dudly Diggs*, and the Epilogue by Sir *John Eliot*. The principal Branches of this Impeachment related to his engroſſing of Offices, his buying the Places of Lord *Admiral*, and Lord *Warden* of the *Cinque Ports*; His not guarding the Seas; His ſtay of a Ship called the St. *Peter* of *Newhaven*, and of the *Eaſt-India* Fleet; Lending his Majeſties Ship called the *Vantgard* to the *French* King, which the *French* King employed againſt *Rochel*; His ſelling of Honours and Offices; procuring Honours for his Kindred; His diminiſhing the Revenues of the Crown; and his applying Phyſick to King *James* in the time of his Sickneſs. To every one of theſe there was returned in Writing a particular Anſwer by the Duke himſelf: "And then addreſſing his Diſcourſe unto the "Peers, he humbly referred it to their Judgment, how full of dan-"ger and prejudice it was, to give too ready an ear, and too eaſie a "belief unto a Report or Teſtimony without Oath, which are not of "weight enough to condemn any. With like humility he acknow-"ledged, how eaſie a thing it was for him in his younger years, and "unexperienced, to fall into thouſands of Errors, in theſe ten years "wherein he had the honour to ſerve ſo great and ſo open-hearted a "Sovereign Maſter. But ſtill he hoped the fear of God, his ſince-"rity in the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*

"(though

" (though accompanied with many weakneſſes and imperfections, LIB. II.
" which he is not aſhamed humbly and heartily to confeſs) his care- *Anno Dom.*
" fulneſs not willingly to offend ſo good and gracious a Maſter, and 1626.
" his love and duty to his Country, had reſtrained and preſerved him
" from running into any hainous miſdemeanours and crimes. Which ſaid, and having craved the benefit of two ſeveral Pardons, the one granted in the laſt Parliament of King *James*, the other at the Coronation of King *Charles*, he added, " That he could not chuſe but " hope ſo much in their Lordſhips Juſtice and Honour, that they " would acquit him of and from thoſe Miſdemeanours, Offences, " Miſpriſions, and Crimes wherewith he had bee charged; and for " his own part, he both hoped and would daily pray, That for the " future he might ſo watch over all his Actions, both publick and " private, as not to give cauſe of juſt offence to any perſon.

Of theſe Proceedings his Majeſty was exceeding ſenſible: He ſaw himſelf wounded through the Dukes ſides; That his Fathers Favours and his own were the greateſt Crimes of which the Duke had been impeached; and, That their Regal Authority, in beſtowing Offices and Honours on whom they pleaſed, was not only queſtioned, but controlled. With which diſturbances being very much perplex'd and troubled, he receives a Letter written to him from an unknown Perſon, in which he firſt met with a Recital of the ſeveral Intereſts and Affections which were united in this Proſecution againſt the Duke; and after that this Application to himſelf, and his own Concernments, *viz.* " Theſe men (ſaith the Wri- *Cabal.*
" ter of the Letter) either cannot or will not remember, That never
" any noble man in favour with his Sovereign, was queſtioned in
" Parliament, except by the King himſelf in caſe of Treaſon, or un-
" leſs it were in the nonage and tumultuary times of *Richard* the Se-
" cond, *Henry* vi. or *Edward* vi. which hapned to the deſtruction
" both of King and Kingdom. And that not to exceed our own and
" Fathers Memory, in King *Henry* viii. his time, *Wolſeys* exorbitant
" Power and Pride, and *Cromwels* contempt of the Nobility and the
" Laws, were not yet permitted to be diſcuſſed in Parliament,
" though they were moſt odious and grievous to all the Kingdom:
" And that *Leiceſters* undeſerved Favour and Faults, *Hattons* inſuffi-
" ciency, and *Raleighs* Inſolencies, far exceeded what yet hath
" been objected againſt the Duke; yet no Lawyer durſt abet, nor
" any man elſe begin any Invectives againſt them in Parliament. And then he adds (ſome other Paſſages intervening) " That it behoves his
" Majeſty to uphold the Duke againſt them, who if he be but diſ-
" courted, it will be the Corner ſtone on which the demoliſhing of
" his Monarchy will be builded: For if they prevail with this,
" they have hatched a thouſand other Demands to pull the Feathers
" of the Royalty; they will appoint him Counſellors, Servants,
" Alliances, Limits of his Expences, Accounts of his Revenue;
" chiefly, if they can (as they mainly deſire) they will now dazle

" him

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1626.

" him in the beginning of his Reign. How true a Prophet this man proved, the event hath ſhewed, and the King ſaw it well enough; and therefore ſince he could not divert them from that purſuit, on the 15th of *June* he diſſolved the Parliament.

I have been the more punctual and particular in relating theſe Proceedings of the Commons againſt the Duke, by reaſon of that Influence which *Laud* either had, or is reported to have had, in managing his Cauſe againſt them. For firſt it is affirmed by the Publiſher of this Biſhops *Breviate*, That the Copy of the Kings Speech made in behalf of the Duke, *March* 29. was of *Lauds* enditing; and, That the Original Copy thereof under his own hand was given in evidence againſt him at the time of Trial. Secondly, That he likewiſe penned the Kings Speech to the Houſe of Peers, touching the Duke, and the Commitment of the Earl of *Arundel*, *May* the 11th. In which he ſpake concerning the preſervation of the Honour of Noblemen, againſt the vile and deteſtable Calumnies of thoſe of the Lower Houſe, by whom the Duke had been accuſed, as before was ſaid. Moſt grievous Crimes indeed, if they had been true; for a Subject to aſſiſt his Prince, and a Servant to be aiding to his Maſter, in penning a ſhort Speech or two, when either the preſſure of Affairs, or perplexities of minde might require it of him. But for the truth of this there is no proof offered, but that the Copies of both Speeches (the *Original Copies*, as he calls them) were found in the Archbiſhops Study, as probably they might have been in the Studies of many other men, if they had been ſearched; For who can rationally ſuppoſe, That his Majeſty, who was the Maſter of ſuch a pure and elegant Style, as he declared himſelf to be in his Diſcourſe with *Henderſon* at *Newcaſtle*, and his Divine *Eſſays* made in Priſon, when he could have no other helps but what he found in himſelf, ſhould ſtand in need of the Expreſſions of another man in matters of ſo great concernment? Or if it be to be ſuppoſed, it makes exceedingly to the honour and commendation of this our Biſhop, as well in point of Secrecy as unfeigned Fidelity, that his Majeſty ſhould pick out him from all other men, to be his Pen-man or Chief Secretary in ſuch weighty buſineſſes. Then again, it is affirmed, That he not only corrected and amended the Dukes Anſwer to the Impeachment which was made againſt him by the Commons, but that he alſo penned that Speech which the Duke ſubjoined unto his Anſwer. A Crime of the ſame nature, and proved by the ſame *Mediums* as the others was; and ſuch as rather might have ſerved for a ſtrong aſſurance both of his honeſt Fidelity to his Friend and Patron, and the even temper of his own mind in the managing of it. For if we may believe the Author of the firſt Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of King *Charles*, as I think we may, this Anſwer of the Duke was ſo in-laid with Modeſty and Humility, that it became a new Grievance to his Adverſaries, and was like to have a powerful influence toward the converſion of many, who expected a Defence of another and more diſdainful Spirit.

*Breviate* P. 7.

Pa. 8.

Hiſt. King *Charles*, p. 50

Thus

Thus have we brought two Parliaments unto an end; but we hear nothing of the *Convocations* which were ſummoned with them. Nothing indeed of the firſt Convocation, but the paſſing of a Grant for three Subſidies, toward the Advancement of his Majeſties Service. In the ſecond we find ſomething more, though no Subſidies are granted in it. On the fifth *Sunday* in *Lent*, *Goodman* then Biſhop of *Gloceſter* preach'd before his Majeſty, and preſs'd ſo hard upon the Point of the *Real Preſence*, that he was ſuppoſed to trench too neer the borders of *Popery*, which raiſed a great clamour both in Court and Country: The matter of which Sermon was agitated *pro* and *con* in the *Convocation*, *March* 29. without determining any thing on either ſide. But his Majeſtie out of a deſire to ſatisfie both himſelf and his Houſes of Parliament, touching that particular, referred the conſideration of it to *Abbot* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Andrews* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Laud* Biſhop of St. *Davids*; who meeting and conſidering of it, on the twelfth of *April*, returned this Anſwer to the King; *That ſome things in that Sermon had been ſpoke leſs warily, but nothing falſly; That nothing had been innovated by him in the Doctrine of the Church of* England: *But howſoever, That they thought very fit that* Goodman *ſhould be appointed to Preach again before his Majeſty, for the better explaining of his meaning, and ſhewing how and in what Particulars he had been miſtaken by his Auditors*: Which he accordingly performed. But nothing was of ſuch concernment to a Convocation, as the cauſe of *Mountague*, vexed and moleſted by the Commons in both the Parliaments, for ſuppoſed *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*, matters meerly *Doctrinal*: And poſſibly it may be admired, that they ſhould do nothing in a matter of their own *peculiar*, having his Majeſty to Friend; for it appears in the Letter of the three Biſhops before-mentioned, to the Duke of *Buckingham*, *That his Majeſty had taken that buſineſs into his own care, and had moſt worthily referred it in a right courſe to Church-conſideration.* And it appears alſo by the *Breviate*, *pag.* 8. That on *Sunday*, *April* 22. of this preſent year, his Majeſty had commanded all the Biſhops to come before him, and reprehended ſuch as came (being fourteen in number) for being ſilent in Cauſes which concerned the Church, and had not made known unto him what might be profitable or unprofitable for it, the Cauſe whereof he was ſo ready to promote. But then we are to call to mind, that *Laud* not long ſince had been ſent by the Duke of *Buckingham* to conſult with *Andrews*, and learn of him what he thought fitting to be done in the Cauſe of the Church, and more eſpecially in the Five Articles, ſo hotly agitated between the *Remonſtrants* and *Contra-Remonſtrants* in the *Belgick* Provinces. And it appears by the event, That *Andrews* did not hold it fit for any thing to be done in that particular, as the caſe then ſtood; the truth in thoſe Opinions not being ſo generally entertained amongſt the Clergy, nor the Archbiſhop and the greater part of the Prelates ſo inclinable to them, as to venture the determining of thoſe Points to a *Convocation*.

LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1626.

*Ch. Hiſt.* lib. 2.

*Breviate.*

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1626.

But that which was not thought fit in that preſent Conjuncture for a *Convocation*, his Majeſty was pleaſed to take order in by his *Royal Edict*. Many Books had been written againſt *Mountague* by *Carleton* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, *Sutcliffe* Dean of *Exeter*, *Yates* and *Rouſe*; by which the differences were rather increaſed than diminiſhed. Which coming to his Majeſties notice, it pleaſed him by the Advice of his Biſhops, to ſignifie by his Proclamation of *June* 14. "Not only to his own People, but to all the World, his utter "diſlike of all thoſe, who to ſhew the ſubtilty of their Wits, or to "pleaſe their own Humours, or vent their own Paſſions, do or ſhall "adventure to ſtir or move any new Opinions, not only contrary "but differing from the ſound and *Orthodoxal* Grounds of the true "Religion, ſincerely Profeſſed and happily Eſtabliſhed in the Church "of *England*; and alſo to declare his full and conſtant Reſolution, "That neither in matter of Doctrine nor Diſcipline of the Church, "nor in the Government of the State, he will admit of the leaſt *In-* "*novation*; but by Gods aſſiſtance will ſo guide the Scepter of theſe "his Kingdoms and Dominions (by the Divine Providence put into "his hand) as ſhall be for the comfort and aſſurance of his ſober, "Religious, and well-affected Subjects, and for the repreſſing and "ſevere puniſhing of ſuch as out of any ſiniſter reſpects, or diſaf- "fection to his Perſon or Government, ſhall dare either in Church "or State to diſtract or diſquiet the Peace thereof. His Majeſty "thereupon commands all his Subjects (the Clergy moſt eſpecially) "both in *England* and *Ireland*, That from thenceforth they ſhould "carry themſelves ſo wiſely, warily, and conſcionably, that neither "by Writing, Preaching, Printing, Conferences, or otherwiſe, they "raiſe any doubts, or publiſh or maintain any new Inventions or "Opinions concerning Religion, than ſuch as are clearly grounded "and warranted by the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church "of *England* heretofore publiſhed, and happily eſtabliſhed by "Authority: Straightly charging all Archbiſhops and Biſhops "in their ſeveral Dioceſſes, as alſo all Counſellors of State, "Judges, and Miniſters of Juſtice, ſpeedily to reclaim and repreſs "all ſuch Spirits as ſhall adventure hereafter to break this Rule of "Sobriety, and due Obedience to his Majeſty, his Laws, and this "Religious Duty to the Church of God, or in the leaſt degree at- "tempt to violate this bond of Peace; adding withal this intimati- "on of his Royal Pleaſure, That whoſoever from thenceforth "ſhould take the boldneſs wilfully to neglect this his Majeſties gra- "cious Admonition, and either for the ſatisfying of their unquiet "and reſtleſs Spirits, or for expreſſing of their raſh and undutiful "Inſolencies, ſhould wilfully break that Circle of Order, which "without apparent danger both to Church and State may not be "broken, his Majeſty will proceed againſt them with that ſeverity as "upon due conſideration had of their Offences and Contempts, "they and every one of them ſhould deſerve, *&c.*

*Pl. Regia, ſect.* 3. *p.* 1.

Such

Such was the tenor of his Majeſties Proclamation of *June* 14. And the effect thereof was this. The Houſe of Commons in purſuance of their Quarrel againſt *Mountague*'s Books, had referred the conſideration of it to their Committee for Religion, from whom *Pym* brought a Report on the eighteenth of *April*, concerning ſome *Arminian* and *Popiſh* Tenents comprized in them. It was thereupon Voted in that Houſe, 1. *That he had diſturbed the Peace of the Church, by publiſhing Doctrines contrary to the Articles of the Church of* England, *and the Book of* Homilies. 2. *That there are divers Paſſages in his Book (eſpecially againſt thoſe he calleth* Puritans) *apt to move Sedition betwixt the King and his Subjects, and between Subject and Subject*, 3. *That the whole frame and ſcope of his Books is to diſcourage the well affected in Religion, from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church, and to incline them, and as much as in him lay, to reconcile them to* POPERY. This gave great animation to the oppoſite Party, who thought it a high point of Wiſdom to aſſault the man whom they perceived to have been ſmitten with this terrible Thunder-bolt, and not to loſe the opportunity of a Parliament-time (when the Preſs is open to all comers) for publiſhing their Books againſt him. Some of them we have named already; beſides which there appeared ſo many in the Liſt againſt him, *viz. Goad*, *Featly*, *Ward*, *Wotton*, *Prynne*, and *Burton*, that the Encounter ſeemed to be betwixt a whole Army and a ſingle Perſon. (a) *Laud* and ſome of thoſe Biſhops on the other ſide, incouraged by his Majeſties Proclamation, endeavoured to ſuppreſs thoſe Books, which ſeemed to have been publiſhed in defiance of it; ſome of them being called in, ſome ſtopped at the Preſs; ſome Printers queſtioned for Printing, as the Authors were for writing ſuch prohibited Pamphlets. *Burton* and *Prynne* amongſt the reſt were called into the *High-Commiſſion*, and at the point to have been cenſured, when a *Prohibition* comes from *Weſtminſter-Hall* to ſtay the Proceedings in that Court, contrary to his Majeſties Will and Pleaſure, expreſſed ſo clearly and diſtinctly in the ſaid Proclamation: Which *Prohibition* they tendred to the Court in ſo rude a manner, that *Laud* was like to have laid them by the heels for their labour. From henceforth we muſt look for nothing from both theſe *hot-ſpurs* but deſire of revenge, a violent oppoſition againſt all Perſons whatſoever, who did not look the ſame way with them, and whatſoever elſe an ill-governed *Zeal* could excite them too.

LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1626.

(a) *Perque novum fortuna vidit concurrere bellum, atque virum.* Lucan.

And now being fallen upon theſe men, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of them in this place, conſidering how much they exerciſed the patience of the Church and State in the Times ſucceeding. *Burton* had been a Servant in the Cloſet to his Sacred Majeſty when he was Prince of *Wales*; and being once in the *Aſcendent*, preſumed that he ſhould *culminate* before his time. He took it very ill that he was not ſent as one of the Chaplains into *Spain* when the Prince was there; but worſe, that *Laud* then Biſhop of St. *Davids*, ſhould exe-

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1626.

cute the Office of *Clerk of the Closet* at such time as Bishop *Neil* was sick, and he be looked on no otherwise than as an underling still. Vexed with that Indignity, as he then conceived it, he puts a scandalous Paper into the hands of the King, for which, and for some other Insolencies and factious carriage, he was commanded by him to depart the Court; into which being never able to set foot again, he breathed nothing but rage and malice against his Majesty, the Bishops, and all that were in place above him, and so continued till the last; it being the custom of all those whom the Court *casts out*, to labour by all means they can to *out-cast* the Court. *Prynne* lived sometimes a Commoner of *Oriall* Colledge, and afterwards entred himself a Student in *Lincolns-Inn*, where he became a great follower of *Preston*, then the Lecturer there: Some parts of Learning he brought with him, which afterwards he improved by continual Study; and being found to be of an enterprising nature, hot-spirited, and eager in pursuit of any thing which was put into him, he was looked upon by *Preston* as the fittest person to venture upon such Exploits, which a more sober and considerate man durst not have appeared in. Being once put into the road, it was not possible to get him out of it again by threats or punishments; till growing weary of himself, when he had no Enemy in a manner to encounter with, he began to look up at the last, and setled on more moderate and quiet courses, becoming in the end a happy Instrument of Peace both to Church and State. And now I am fallen on *Preston* also, I shall add something of him too, as being a man which made much noise in the World about this time. A man he was (beyond all question) of a shrewd Wit and deep Comprehensions; an excellent Master in the Art of Insinuation, and one who for a long time sate at the Helm, and steared the Course of his Party, as one well observeth. Toward the latter end of the Reign of King *James* he was brought into the Court by the Duke of *Buckingham*, in hope to gain a Party by him: There he was gazed on for a time, like a new *Court-Meteor*; and having flashed and blazed a little, went out again, and was forgotten, in case he did not leave, as most *Meteors* do, an ill smell behind him. Much was he cried up by his Followers in the University, City, and all places else, as if he might have chosen his own *Mitre*, and had been as likely a man as any to have been trusted with the Great Seal in the place of *Williams*: But he was not principled for the Court, nor the Court for him; For long he had not been in that School of Policy, but he found other men as wise and cunning as himself, and that he could not govern there with such an absolute *Omni-regency*, as he had done in the Families of private Gentlemen in most parts of the Kingdom. Nor was it long before the Duke began to have some suspicion of him, as one not to be trusted in his Majesties Service, when it seemed any way to cross with the *Puritan* Interest, which he drove on with so much openness in the Court, as was not proper for a man of so famed a cunning. But that which

*Ch. Hist.* lib. 10.

lost

loſt him at the laſt, was a Letter by him written to a great Peer of the Realm, in which he ſpake diſadvantageouſly enough, if not reproachfully of the Court; and ſignified withal how little hope there was of doing any good in that place, for the advancement of the Cauſe. Which Letter, or a Copy of it, being unluckily dropp'd out of his Pocket, was taken up, and forthwith carried to the Duke: The ſhame and grief of which miſchance, gave him ſo much trouble, that he withdrew by little and little, and at laſt betook himſelf wholly to his old affectation of a Popular Greatneſs. By reaſon of his Lectures in *Cambridge* and *Lincolns-Inn*, he was grown powerful in the Univerſity, and had gained a ſtrong Party in the City, but died about the time that *Laud* ſucceeded *Mountain* in the See of *London*. And it was well for him that he died ſo opportunely; *Laud* was reſolved that there ſhould be no more but one Biſhop of that City, and would have found ſome way or other to remove him out of *Lincolns-Inn*, to the end he might have no pretence of raiſing or encreaſing any Faction there, to diſturbe the Publick. But before *Laud* ſhall come from St. *Davids* to *London*, he muſt take *Bath* and *Wells* in his way, to which we are now ready to wait upon him.

LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1626.

THE

# THE LIFE OF The most Reverend FATHER in GOD WILLIAM Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

## LIB. III.

*Extending from his being made Biſhop of* Bath *and* Wells *till his coming to the See of* Canterbury.

IT hapned during the Sitting of the late Parliament, that Doctor *Arthur Lake* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, a man of great Learning and exemplary Piety, departed this Life; into whoſe Place his Majeſty on the twentieth of *June* nominates our Biſhop of St. *Davids*: In purſuance of which Nomination, his Majeſty on the 26th. of *July* Signed the Writ of *Conge d'eſlire* to the *Dean* and *Chapter*, warranting them thereby to proceed to a new Election; and therewith ſent his Letters Miſſive (according to the uſual Cuſtom) in behalf of *Laud*. On *Wedneſday*, *Auguſt* the 16th. they Elect him Biſhop of that See; and on *September* 18. their Election is confirmed in due form of Law; his Majeſty on the morrow after, reſtoring the Temporalties of that Biſhoprick from the time of his Predeceſſors death. And now he is actually poſſeſſed not only of the Juriſdiction, but of the Rents, Profits, and Emergencies belonging to a Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; a double Title, but relating to a ſingle Dioceſs, and that Dioceſs confined to the County of *Somerſet*. The Biſhops *Anno Dom.* 1626.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1626.

Biſhops ſeat originally at *Wells*, where it ſtill continues, and in reſpect whereof this Church is called in ſome Writers, *Fontanenſis Eccleſia*. The ſtile of *Bath* came in but upon the by. The Church of *Wells* firſt built by *Ina* King of the *Weſt Saxons*, *Anno* 704. and by him dedicated to St. *Andrew*, after endowed by *Kenulfe* another King of the ſame people, *Anno* 766. and finally made a Biſhops See in the time of *Edward* the elder, *Anno* 905. The firſt that bore that title being *Adelmus*, before Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*. The preſent Church, in place where that of *Ina* had ſtood before, was built moſt part of it by Biſhop *Robert*, the eighteenth Biſhop of this See, but finiſhed and perfected by Biſhop *Joceline* Sirnamed *d' Wellis*. *Johannes d' Villula*, the ſixteenth Biſhop, having bought the Town of *Bath* of King *Henry* the Firſt for five hundred Marks, transferred his Seat unto that City 1088. Hence grew a jar betwixt the Monks of *Bath* and the Canons of *Wells* about the Election of the Biſhop. At laſt the difference was thus compoſed by that Biſhop *Robert*, whom before I ſpake of, that from thenceforward the Biſhop ſhould be denominated from both places, and the precedency in the Style ſhould be given to *Bath*; that on the vacancy of the See, a certain number of Delegates from both Churches ſhould elect their *Prelate*, who being elected ſhould be inſtalled in them both; both of them to be reckoned as the Biſhops Chapter, and all his Grants and Patents confirmed in both. And ſo it ſtood untill the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. at what time the Monaſtery of *Bath* being diſſolved, there paſſed an Act of Parliament for the *Dean* and *Chapter* of *Wells* to make one ſole *Chapter* to the Biſhop, 35 *Hen.* 8. *c.* 15.

To welcome him to this new honour his Majeſty commanded him to draw up certain *Inſtructions* to be communicated to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and the reſt of the Clergy of this Realm upon this occaſion. The late Parliament being diſſolved without acting any thing in order to his Majeſties Service, he was neceſſitated by the urgency of his affairs to try his Fortune on the ſubject in the way of *Loane*, which ſeemed to have ſome Regality in it; For whereas the Parliament had paſſed a Bill of three Subſidies and three fifteens, and that the ſaid Parliament was diſſolved before the Bill paſſed into an Act, his Majeſty was adviſed that he had good grounds to require thoſe Subſidies of the Subjects which the Houſe of Commons in their names had aſſented to, and yet not to require them by the name of Subſidies, but only in the way of *Loan*, till the next Parliament ſhould enable him to make payment of it, or confirm his levying of thoſe moneys by a ſubſequent Act. The Sum required to be raiſed was 173411 pound, which was conceived to equal the three Subſidies, which had been voted for him in the Houſe of Commons, though it never paſſed into an Act: or otherwiſe to make up that Sum which the preſent neceſſity of ſetting out his Fleet required. He had before pawned the Plate and Jewels of the Crown, and ſold as much Land to the City of *London*, (which would neither

lend

lent *gratis*, nor take thoſe Lands in way of *Mortgage*) as brought in 120000 pound upon eaſie purchaſes. All which he was ready to expend, or had before expended on the publick ſafety. But that not being able to make ſuch neceſſary proviſions as were required, both to ſecure himſelf at home, and ſuccour his Confederates and Allies abroad, he was forced to fall upon this courſe. To which end he iſſues out his Letters of *Commiſſion*, bearing date the thirteenth of *October*, directed to certain Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen in their ſeveral Counties. In which they were required to acquaint the People, that his dear Uncle the King of *Denmark* was brought into great diſtreſs; That without preſent Succour the *Sound* would be loſt, his Garriſon in *Stoade* broken by the Emperours Forces, (which then ſtraightly beſieged it;) the *Eaſtland* Trade (which maintains our Shipping) and the Staple of *Hamborough* (which vents our Cloth) would both be gotten from him; As alſo that the two great Kings of *Spain* and *France*, together with the Pope, were joyned to rout out our Religion; That their Admirals, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and *Don Frederick d' Toledo*, were at that preſent before *Rochel*, endeavouring to block it up; And that they have ſtore of Land-men ready on the Coaſt of *Britain*, with them and other Forces to invade us. Upon which grounds they were required by all plauſible and powerful means to perſwade the People to pay the Taxes ſeverally impoſed upon them; with many other directions tending to advance the Service.

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1626.

It was obſerved of Queen *Elizabeth*, that when ſhe had any buſineſs to bring about amongſt the people, ſhe uſed to *tune the Pulpits*, as her ſaying was; that is to ſay, to have ſome Preachers in and about *London*, and other great Auditories in the Kingdom, ready at command to cry up her deſign, as well in their publick Sermons as their private Conferences: Which courſe was now thought fit to be followed in preparing the people toward a dutifull compliance to theſe his Majeſties deſires. And to that end *Laud* received a Command from his Majeſty by the Duke of *Buckingham*, to reduce certain inſtructions into Form, partly *Political*, partly *Eccleſiaſtical*, in the Cauſe of the King of *Denmark*, not long before beaten, and now much diſtreſſed by Count *Tilly*, to be publiſhed in all Pariſhes within the Realm. To this he chearfully conformed, and brought the ſaid Inſtructions to the Duke within two daies after, being the ſixteenth of *September*. And having read them over firſt to the Duke, and after to the King himſelf, he received from both a very favourable acceptation. On the next day they were communicated to the Lords of the Council, who approved them alſo. By whoſe advice he ſent them to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, requiring him by his Letters, bearing date *September* 29. to ſee them publiſhed and diſperſed in the ſeveral Dioceſſes of his Province. The like Letters he alſo writ to the Archbiſhop of *York*; And they accordingly gave order to their ſeveral and reſpective *Suffragans*, "To ſee them made

*Breviate.*

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1626.

" known to the worthy Preachers and Miniſters in their Dioceſs, and " ſo far as their Lordſhips might in their own perſons, to put theſe " things in execution, and to call upon the Clergy which was un- " der them, in their Preachings and private Conferences to ſtir up " all ſorts of people to expreſs their Zeal to God, their Duty to the " King, and their Love unto their Country, and one to another; that " all good and Chriſtian-like courſe might be taken for the preſerva- " tion of true Religion both in this Land, and through all Chri- " ſtendom. Now the tenour of the ſaid *Inſtructions* was as fol- loweth:

Moſt Reverend Father in God, right truſty and right well-beloved Counſellour, We greet you well.

*WE have obſerved that the Church and the State are ſo nearly united and knit together, that though they may ſeem two bodies, yet indeed in ſome relation they may be accounted but as one, inaſmuch as they both are made up of the ſame men, which are differenced only in relation to Spiritual or Civil ends. This neerneſs makes the Church call in the help of the State, to ſuccour and ſupport her, whenſoever ſhe is preſſed beyond her ſtrength: And the ſame nearneſs makes the State call in for the ſervice of the Church, both to teach that duty which her Members know not, and to exhort them to, and encourage them in that duty which they know. It is not long ſince we ordered the State to ſerve the Church, and by a timely Proclamation ſettled the peace of it: And now the State looks for the like aſſiſtance from the Church, that ſhe and all her Miniſters may ſerve God and us, by preaching peace and unity at home, that it may be the better able to reſiſt Forraign Force uniting and multiplying againſt it. And to the end that they to whom we have committed the Government of the Church under us, may be the better able to diſpoſe of the preſent occaſions, we have, with the Advice of our Council, thought fit to ſend unto you theſe Inſtructions following, to be ſent by you to the Biſhops of your Province, and ſuch others whom it may concern, and by them and all their Officers directed to all the Miniſters throughout the ſeveral Dioceſſes, that according to theſe punctually they may inſtruct and exhort the people to ſerve God and us, and labour by their Prayers to divert the dangers which hang over us. The danger in which we are at this time is great. It is encreaſed by the late blow given our good Uncle the King of* Denmark, *who is the chief Perſon in thoſe parts that oppoſed the ſpreading Forces of* Spain. *If he cannot ſubſiſt, there is little or nothing left to hinder the Houſe of* Auſtria *from being Lord and Maſter of* Germany: *And that is a large and mighty Territory, and ſuch as ſhould it be gotten, would make an open way for* Spain *to do what they pleaſed in all the Weſt part of Chriſtendom. For beſides the great ſtrength which* Germany *once poſſeſſed would bring to them, which are two ſtrong already, you are to conſider firſt how it enables them by Land, in that it will joyn all or the moſt part*

*of*

*of the* Spaniards *now diſtracted Territories, and be a means for him ſafely and ſpeedily to draw down Forces againſt any other Kingdom that ſhall ſtand in his way. Nor can it be thought the Low Countries can hold out longer againſt him if he once become Lord of the upper parts. And ſecondly, You are to weigh how it will advantage him by Sea, and make him ſtrong againſt us in our particular, which is of eaſie apprehenſion to all men. And beſides, if he once get* Germany *he will be able, though he had no Gold from* India, *to ſupply the neceſſity of thoſe Wars, and to hinder all Trade and Traffick of the greateſt Staple Commodities of this Kingdom, Cloth and Wool, and ſo make them of little or no value.*

*You are to know therefore that to prevent this, is the preſent care of the King and State, and there is no probable way left but by ſending Forces and other Supplies to the ſaid King of* Denmark *our dear Uncle, to enable him to keep the Field, that our Enemies be not Maſters of all on the ſudden. You are further to take notice how both we and the whole State ſtand bound in Honour and Conſcience to ſupply the preſent neceſſity of the King of* Denmark. *For this quarrel is more nearly ours, the recovery of the Ancient Inheritance of our dear Siſter and her Children. The King of* Denmark *ſtands not ſo near in bloud unto her as we do: Yet for her and our ſakes that brave and valiant King hath adventured into the field, and in that ingagement hath not only hazarded his Perſon, but, as things go now, it may turn to ſome danger to his own Kingdom, and Poſterity, ſhould he not receive aide and ſuccour from us without delay: Which ſhould it happen (as God forbid) will be one of the greateſt diſhonours that ever this Kingdom was ſtained withall. Nor is danger and diſhonour all the miſchief that is like to follow this diſaſter; For if it be not preſently relieved, the Cauſe of Religion is not only likely to ſuffer by it in ſome one part (as it hath already in a fearful manner in the* Palatinate) *but in all places where it hath gotten any footing. So that if we ſupply not preſently our Allies and Confederates in this caſe, it is like to prove the extirpation of true Religion, and the re-planting of* Romiſh *Superſtition in all the neighbouring parts of Chriſtendom. And the coldneſs of this State ſhall ſuffer in all places as the betrayer of that Religion elſewhere, which it profeſſeth and honoureth at home, which will be an imputation never to be waſhed off. And God forbid this State ſhould ſuffer under it.*

*Neither may you forget rightly to inform the People committed to your charge, that this War which now grows full of danger was not entred upon raſhly and without advice, but you are to acquaint them, that all former Treaties by a peaceable way were in the latter end of our dear Father of ever bleſſed memory diſſolved as fruitleſs, and unfit to be longer held on foot; And this by the Counſel of both Houſes of Parliament then ſitting: ſo thoſe two great and honourable Bodies of Peers and People repreſented in Parliament led on this Counſel and courſe to a War with* Spain. *To effect this, they deſired our aide and aſſiſtance, and uſed us to work our ſaid dear Father to entertain this courſe. This upon their*

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1626.

*Perſwaſions, and Promiſes of all Aſſiſtance and Supply, we readily undertook and effected, and cannot now be left in that Buſineſs, but with the Sin and Shame of all men. Sin, becauſe Aid and Supply for the Defence of the Kingdom, and the like Affairs of State, eſpecially ſuch as are adviſed and aſſumed by Parliamentary Council, are due to the King from his People, by all Law both of God and Men: And ſhame, if they forſake the King, while he purſues their own Council, juſt and honourable, and which could not under God but have been as ſucceſful, if it had been followed and ſupplied in time, as we deſired and laboured for. One thing there is which proves a great hinderance of this State, and not continued among the People, without great offence againſt God, detriment both to Church and State, and our great diſſervice in this and all other Buſineſs. It is breach of* Unity, *which is grown too great and common amongſt all ſorts of men. The danger of this goes far; for in all States it hath made way for Enemies to enter. We have by all means endeavoured Union, and require of you to Preach it, and Charity the Mother of it, frequently in the ears of the People. We know their Loyal hearts, and therefore wonder the more what ſhould cauſe deſtracted Affections. If you call upon them (which is your duty) we doubt not but that God will bleſs them with that Love to himſelf, to his Church, and their own Preſervation, which alone will be able to bind up the ſcatterings of divided Affections into Strength. To this end you are to lay before them what Miſeries Home-diviſions have brought upon this and many other Kingdoms, and to exhort all men to embrace it in time. The Danger it ſelf, beſides all other Chriſtian and Prudent Motives, is of force enough (where it is duly conſidered) to make men joyn in all amity againſt a common Enemy, a great and growing Enemy: And to do it in time, before any ſecret and cunning working of his may uſe one part in a diviſion to weaken the other.*

*And in the laſt place (but firſt and laſt and all times to be inſiſted on) you are to call upon God your ſelves, and to incite the People to joyn with you in humble and hearty Prayers unto God, That he would be pleaſed now, after long affliction of his dear People and Children, to look in mercy both upon them and us, and in particular for the Safety of the King of* Denmark, *and that Army which is left him, That God would bleſs and proſper him againſt his and our Enemies. Thus you are to ſtrengthen the hearts and hopes of our Loyal Subjects and People, in and upon God. And whereas the greateſt confidence men have in God, ariſeth not only from his Promiſes, but from their experience likewiſe of his Goodneſs, you muſt not fail often to recal to the memory of the People, with thankfulneſs, the late great Experience we have had of his Goodneſs towards us: For the three great and uſual Judgments, which he darts down upon diſobedient and unthankful People, are* Peſtilence, Famine, *and the* Sword. *The* Peſtilence *did never rage more in this Kingdom than of late; and God was graciouſly pleaſed in mercy to hear the Prayers which were made unto him, and the ceaſing of the Judgement was little leſs than a Miracle. The* Famine *threatned us this preſent*

*preſent year; and it muſt have followed, had God rained down his Anger a little longer upon the Fruits of the Earth: But upon our Prayers he ſtaied that Judgment, and ſent us a bleſſed Seaſon, and a moſt plentiful Harveſt. The* Sword *is the thing which we are now to look to; and you muſt call the People to their Prayers again, againſt that Enemy, That God will be pleaſed to ſend the like deliverance from this Judgment alſo; That in the ſame Mercy he will vouchſafe to ſtrengthen the hands of his People; That he will ſharpen their Sword, but dull and turn the edge of that which is in our Enemies hands; that ſo while ſome Fight, others may Pray for the Bleſſing. And you are to be careful that you fail not to direct and hearten our Loving People in this and all other neceſſary Services, both of God, his Church, and Us: That we may have the comfort of our Peoples Service; the State, Safety; the Church, Religion; and the People, the enjoying of all ſuch Bleſſings as follow theſe. And we end with doubling this Care upon you, and all under you in their ſeveral Places.*

Given at our Palace at *Weſtminſter* in the Second year of our Reign, *September* 21. 1626.

Such were the *Inſtructions* iſſued by his Majeſties Command, in the preſent exigent: The dexterous performance of which Service, as it raiſed *Laud* higher in his Majeſties good Opinion of him, than before he was; ſo was it recompenced with a Place of greater neerneſs to him, than before he had. For on that very day which gives date to the ſaid *Inſtructions*, the moſt Learned and Reverend Biſhop *Andrews*, Biſhop of *Winton.* and Dean of his Majeſties Chappel-Royal, departed this Life at his *Epiſcopal* Houſe in *Southwark*; whoſe Funerals were ſolemnized in St. *Saviours* Church on the eleventh day of *November* following, *Buckeridge* then Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, beſtowing his laſt duty on him in a Funeral Sermon. A man he was of ſuch extraordinary Abilities, that I ſhall rather chuſe to expreſs his Character by the Pen of others, than my own. Thus then ſays one of our late Hiſtorians: "This year we loſt the ſtupendiouſly pro- "found Prelate Doctor *Andrews* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, an excellent "Diſputant, in the Oriental Tongues ſurpaſſing knowing; ſo ſtudi- "ouſly devoted to the Doctrine of the Ancient Fathers, as his ex- "tant Works breath nothing but their Faith; nor can we now read "the Fathers, more than we ſhould have done in his very Aſpect, "Geſture, and Actions; ſo venerable in his Preſence, ſo grave in "his Motions, ſo pious in his Converſation, ſo primitive in all. Another goes a little further, and tells us of him, "That the World "wanted Learning to know how Learned he was; ſo skilled in all "(eſpecially Oriental Languages) that ſome conceive he might (if "then living) almoſt have ſerved as an *Interpreter-General* at the "*Confuſion of Tongues.* In his life time he only publiſhed two Books in *Latin*, *viz.* His *Apologie* againſt Cardinal *Bellarmine*, and

*Hiſt. of K. Ch. by* H.L. p 62.

*Ch. Hiſt.* B. 11. p. 126.

that

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1626.

that which he called *Tortura Torti*, in behalf of King *James*; and a ſmall Tract entituled, *Determinatio Theologica, de jure-jurando exigendo, quarto*, Printed at *London*, 1593. And in *Engliſh* nothing but a ſmall Volume of Sermons, which he acknowledged for his own. The Book of *Catechetical Doctrine*, publiſhed in his life by others, but without his privity and conſent, he always profeſſedly diſavowed, as containing only ſome imperfect Collections, which had been taken from his mouth by ſome ignorant hand, when he was Reader of the *Catechiſm Lecture* in *Pembroke Hall*. But after his deceaſe, ninety ſix of his Sermons were collected with great care and induſtry, publiſhed in Print, and Dedicated to his Sacred Majeſty by *Laud* then Biſhop of *London*, and *Buckeridge* at that time Biſhop of *Ely*, 1628. For *Felton* of *Ely* dying the year before, *Buckeridge* had been tranſlated thither by the Power and Favour of that his dear Friend and *quondam* Pupil, *Curle* Dean of *Litchfield*, and one of the *Reſidentiaries* of *Salisbury*, ſucceeding after his Tranſlation in the See of *Rocheſter*. By the ſame hands ſome other Pieces of his, both in *Engliſh* and *Latin*, were very carefully drawn together, and publiſhed with the like Dedication to his Sacred Majeſty, *Anno* 1629. He that deſires to hear more of him, let him firſt conſult the Funeral Sermon before mentioned, extant at the end of the great Volume of his Sermons; and afterwards peruſe his Epitaph in the Church of St. *Maries Over-rhe*, tranſcribed in *Stows* Survey of *London* of the laſt Edition. After his death the See of *Winton* was kept vacant till the latter end of the year next following; the profits of it being in the mean time taken up for his Majeſties uſe, and anſwered into the Exchequer, according to an ancient Cuſtom (but more old than commendable) uſed frequently by the Kings of *England*, ſince the time of *William* ſirnamed *Rufus*, from whom it is ſaid to have took beginning.

But the *Deanry* of the Chappel had not been void above nine days, when *Laud* was nominated to it, and was actually admitted into that Office on the ſixth day of *October* following, by *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery* Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſties Houſhold, before whom he took the uſual and appointed Oath. He had before obſerved a Cuſtom (as ill though not ſo old as the other) uſed in the Court ſince the firſt entrance of King *James*. The Cuſtom was, That at what part ſoever of the Publick Prayers the King came into his Cloſet (which looked into the Chappel) to hear the Sermon, the Divine Service was cut off, and the Anthem ſung, that the Preacher might go into the Pulpit. This the new Dean diſliked, as he had good reaſon, and thereupon humbly moved his Majeſty, that he would be preſent at the *Liturgie*, as well as the Sermon every Lords day; and that at whatſoever part of Prayers he came, the Prieſt who Miniſtred ſhould proceed to the end of the Service: To which his Majeſty moſt readily and religiouſly condeſcended, and gave him thanks for that his ſeaſonable and pious Motion. As for the *Deanry* of the Chappel, it was of long ſtanding in the Court, but had been diſcontinued

diſcontinued from the death of Dr. *George Carew* Dean of *Windſor*, (the Father of *George* Lord *Carew* of *Clopton*, and Earl of *Totneſs*) *Anno* 1572. till King *James* his coming to this Crown, at what time *Bancroft*, then Biſhop of *London*, conceiving into what dangers the Church was like to run, by the multitude of *Scots* about him, thought it expedient that ſome Clergy-men of Note and Eminence ſhould be attendant always in and about the Court. And thereupon it was adviſed, that to the Biſhop *Almoner* and the Clerk of the Cloſet a Dean of the Chappel ſhould be added, to look unto the diligent and due performance of Gods Publick Service, and order matters of the Quire. According to which reſolution, Dr. *James Mountague* was recommended to the King for the firſt Dean of the Chappel in his time; ſucceeded in that place by *Andrews*, and he now by *Laud*. LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1626.

But to proceed, Whileſt matters went on thus ſmoothly about the Court, they met with many Rubbs in the Country, ſome of the Preachers did their parts according as they were required by the ſaid *Inſtructions*, amongſt whom *Sibthorp*, Vicar of *Brackly* in *Northampton*-ſhire, advanced the Service, in a Sermon preached by him at the Aſſizes for that County. *The ſcope of which Sermon was to juſtifie the Lawfulneſs of the general Loane, and of the Kings impoſing Taxes by his own Regal Power, without conſent in Parliament, and to prove, that the people in point of Conſcience and Religion ought chearfully to ſubmit to ſuch Loans and Taxes without any oppoſition.* The Licencing of which Sermon (when it was offered to the Preſs) being refuſed by Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and ſome exceptions made againſt it, the peruſing of it was referred to *Laud*, *April* 24. 1627, by whom, after ſome qualifications and corrections, it was approved, and after publiſhed by the Author, under the name of *Apoſtolical Obedience*. About the ſame time *Manwaring*, Doctor in Divinity, one of his Majeſties Chaplains in Ordinary, and Vicar of the Pariſh Church of St. *Giles* in the Fields, publiſhed two Sermons of his preaching on the ſame occaſion, the one before the King, the other in the hearing of his own Pariſhioners. Theſe Sermons he entituled by the name of *Religion and Allegiance*, both of them tending to the *juſtification of the lawfulneſs of the Kings impoſing Loans and Taxes on his people without conſent in Parliament; and that the impoſition of ſuch Loans and Taxes did ſo far bind the Conſciences of the Subjects of this Kingdom, that they could not refuſe the payment of them without peril of eternal damnation.* But neither the Doctrine of theſe Preachers, or of any other to that purpoſe, nor the diſtreſs of the King of *Denmark*, nor the miſerable eſtate of *Rochel*, did ſo far prevail amongſt the people; but that the Commiſſioners for the Loane found greater oppoſition in it than they did expect. Many who had been Members in the two former Parliaments oppoſed it with their utmoſt power, and drew a great part of the Subjects, in all Countries ſome, to the like refuſal. For which refuſal ſome Lords, and many 1627. *Cant. Doom*, p. 245. Pag. 83.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1627.

many of the choice Gentry of the Kingdom, and others of inferiour sort were committed unto several Prisons, where they remained till the approach of the following Parliament. Insomuch that the Court was put upon the necessity of some further Project. The *Papists* would have raised a Provision for the setting forth both of Ships and Men, for the defence of the Narrow Seas, and working on the Kings wants, flattered themselves with the hope of a Toleration for it. But old Sir *John Savill* of *Yorkshire*, who had been lately taken into his Majesties Council, had found out a plot worth two of that; conceiving, that a Commission to proceed against Recusants for their thirds, due to his Majesty by Law, would bring in double the Sum which they had offered. To this the King readily condescended, granting him and some others a Commission for that purpose for the Parts beyond *Trent*; as unto certain Lords and Gentlemen for all other Counties in the Kingdom. By which means, and some moneys raised upon the *Loane*, there was such a present stock advanced, that with some other helps which his Majesty had, he was enabled to set forth a powerfull Fleet, and a considerable Land Army for the relief of the *Rochellers*, whose quarrel he had undertaken upon this occasion.

Hist. King *Charles*, p. 63

The Queen at her first coming into *England* had brought with her a compleat Family of *French* to attend her here, according to the Capitulations, between the Commissioners of both Kings, before the Marriage. But the *French* Priests, and some of the rest of her Domesticks were grown so insolent, and had put so many affronts upon his Majesty, that he was forced to send them home within few daies after he had dissolved the foregoing Parliament. In which he had done no more than what the *French* King had done before him, in sending back all the *Spanish* Courtiers which his Queen brought with her. But the *French* King not looking on his own Example, and knowing on what ill terms the King stood both at home and abroad, first seized on all the Merchants Ships, which lay on the River of *Burdeaux*, and then brake out into open war. So that the King was necessitated to make use of those Forces against the *French* which were designed to have been used against the *Spaniard*, and to comply with the desires of the *Rochellers*, who humbly sued for his protection and defence. But the Fleet, not going out till after *Michaelmas*, found greater opposition at Sea than they feared from the Land; being encountred with strong Tempests, and thereby necessitated to return without doing any thing, but only shewing the Kings good will and readiness toward their assistance. But the next Fleet, and the Land-Army before mentioned, being in a readiness, the Duke of *Buckingham* appeared Commander general for that Service, who hoped thereby to make himself of some consideration in the eyes of the People. On the twenty seventh of *June* he hoised Sailes for the Isle of *Rhe*, which lay before the Port of *Rochel*, and embarred their trade; the taking whereof was the matter aimed at: And he had strength enough both for Sea and Land to have done the work,

work, if he had not followed it more like a Courtier than a Souldier: For having neglected thoſe advantages which the victory at his Landing gave him, he firſt ſuffered himſelf to be complemented out of the taking of their chief Fort, when it was almoſt at his mercy; and after ſtood unſeaſonably upon point of Honour, in facing thoſe Forces which were ſent from the *French* King to raiſe the Siege, when he might have made a ſafe retreat unto his Ships without loſs or danger. So that well beaten by the *French*, and with great loſs of Reputation among the Engliſh, he came back with the remainder of his broken Forces in *November* following, as dearly welcom to the King as if he had returned with ſucceſs and triumphs. LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1627.

During the preparations for this unfortunate attempt, on *Sunday* the twenty ninth of *April* it pleaſed his Majeſty to admit the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* for one of the Lords of his moſt honourable Privy Council; An honour which he would not have accepted with ſo great chearfulneſs if his dear Friend, the Lord Biſhop of *Durham*, had not been ſworn at or about the ſame time alſo. So mutually did theſe two Prelates contribute their aſſiſtances to one another, that as *Neile* gave *Laud* his helping hand to bring him firſt into the Court, and plant him in King *James* his favour: So *Laud* made uſe of all advantages in behalf of *Neile* to keep him in favour with King *Charles*, and advance him higher. The Fleet and Forces before mentioned being in a readineſs, and the Duke provided for the Voyaye, it was not thought either ſafe or fit that the Duke himſelf ſhould be ſo long abſent, without leaving ſome aſſured Friend about his Majeſty by whom all practiſes againſt him might be either prevented or ſuppreſſed, and by whoſe means the Kings affections might be alwaies inflamed towards him; To which end *Laud* is firſt deſired to attend his Majeſty to *Portſmouth*, before which the Navy lay at Anchor, and afterwards to wait the whole Progreſs alſo; the Inconveniencies of which journeys he was as willing to undergo as the Duke was willing to deſire it. The Church beſides was at that time in an heavy condition, and opportunities muſt be watcht for keeping her from falling from bad to worſe. No better her condition now in the Realm of *England* than anciently in the Eaſtern Churches, when *Nectarius* ſate as Supreme Paſtor in the Chair of *Conſtantinople*; of which thus *Nazianze* writes unto him; The *Arians* (ſaith he) were grown ſo inſolent, that they make open profeſſion of their Hereſie, as if they had been authorized and licenced to it; The *Macedonians* ſo preſumptuous, that they were formed into a Sect, and had a Titular Biſhop of their own; The *Apollinarians* held their *Conventicles*, with as much ſafety and eſteem as the Orthodox Chriſtians. And for *Eunomius*, the boſome-miſchief of thoſe times, he thought ſo poorly of a general connivence, that at laſt nothing would content him but a toleration, The cauſe of which diſorders he aſcribeth to *Nectarius* only. A man, as the Hiſtorian ſaith of him, of an exceeding fair and plauſible deneanour, *Greg. Naz. Orat. 46.* *Socrat. Hiſt. Lib. 5. c. 8.*

Z

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1627.

demeanour, and very gracious with the people: one that choſe rather (as it ſeems) to give free way to all mens fancies, and ſuffer every mans proceedings, than draw upon himſelf the envy of a ſtubborn Clergy, and a factious Multitude. Never was Church more like to Church, Biſhop to Biſhop, time to time, (the names of the Sects and Hereſies being only changed) than thoſe of *Conſtantinople* then, and of *England* now. A pregnant evidence, that poſſibly there could not be a greater miſchief in a Church of God than a Popular Prelate.

This, though his Majeſty might not know, yet the Biſhops which were about him did, who therefore had but ill diſcharged their duty both to God and man, if they had not made his Majeſty acquainted with it; he could not chuſe but ſee by the practiſes and proceedings of the former Parliaments to what a prevalency the Puritans were grown in all parts of the Kingdom; and how incompatible that humour was with the Regal intereſt. There was no need to tell him from what fountain the miſchief came, how much the Popularity and remiſs Government of *Abbot* did contribute towards it. Him therefore he ſequeſtreth from his *Metropolitical* Jurisdiction, confines him to his houſe at *Ford* in *Kent*, and by his Commiſſion, bearing date the ninth day of *October*, 1627. transfers the exerciſe of that Jurisdiction to *Mountaine* Biſhop of *London*, *Neile* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Buckeridge* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Houſon* Biſhop of *Oxon*, and *Laud* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; To whom, or any two or more of them, he gives authority to execute and perform all and every thoſe Acts, matters, and things, any way touching or concerning the Power, Jurisdiction, or Authority of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in cauſes or matters Eccleſiaſtical, as amply, fully, and effectually, to all intents and purpoſes, as the ſaid Archbiſhop himſelf might have done. And this his Majeſty did to this end and purpoſe, that the *Archiepiſcopal* Jurisdiction, being committed to ſuch hands as were no favourers of that Faction, there might ſome ſtop be given to that violent current which then began to bear all before it. Nor did his Majeſty fail of the end deſired; For though *Abbot* (on good reaſons of State) was reſtored unto his Jurisdiction toward the latter end of the year next following: Yet by this breathing time, as ſhort as it was, the Church recovered ſtrength again. And the diſgrace put upon the man did ſo diſanimate and deject the oppoſite Party, that the Ballance began viſibly to turn on the Churches ſide.

During the time that this Commiſſion was in force, ſome Beneficed perſons in the Country, who in themſelves were well affected to ancient orders, and now in more aſſurance of Protections than before they were, adventured on removing the Communion Table from the middle of the Church or Chancel, and ſetting it (according to the pattern of the Mother Churches) where the Altar formerly had ſtood. Amongſt the reſt one *Titly*, Vicar of *Grantham* (a noted Town upon the Road) in the County of *Lincoln*, having obſerved

obſerved the ſituation of the holy Table, as well in his *Dioceſans* Chappel, as in the Cathedral mother Church, tranſpoſed the Table from the middeſt of the Chancel in his Pariſh Church, and placed it *Altar-wiſe* at the Eaſt end of it. Complaint hereof being made by ſome of that Town to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, he preſently takes hold of the opportunity to diſcourage the work; not becauſe he diſliked it in point of judgment (for then his judgment and his practice muſt have croſt each other) but becauſe *Titly* had Relation to the Biſhop of *Durham*. And for the Biſhop of *Durham* he had no good thoughts, partly becauſe he kept his ſtand in the Court, out of which himſelf had been ejected, and partly by reaſon of the intimacy betwixt him and *Laud*, whom he looked on as his open and profeſſed enemy. And then how was it poſſible that he ſhould approve of *Titly*, or his action either, conceiving that it might be done by their or one of their appointments, or at the leaſt in hope of better preferment from them? Hereupon he betakes himſelf unto his Books, and frames a Popular Diſcourſe againſt placing the Communion Table Altar-wiſe, digeſts it in the Form of a Letter to the Vicar of *Grantham*; but ſends it unto ſome Divines of the Lecture there, by them to be diſperſed and ſcattered over all the Country. But of this Letter more hereafter, when we ſhall find it taken up for a Buckler againſt Authority, and laid in Bar againſt the proceedings of the Church and the Rules of it, when ſuch tranſpoſing of the Table became more general, not alone practiſed, but preſcribed. But the noiſe of this Letter not flying very far, at the firſt hindred not the removing of the Table in the Pariſh Church of St. *Nicholas* in the Burrough of *Abingdon*; the occaſion this: One *Blucknall*, dwelling in that Pariſh, beſtowed upon it, amongſt other Legacies, an annual Penſion to be paid unto the Curate thereof, for reading duly prayer in the ſaid Church according to the Form preſcribed in the *Engliſh Liturgie*. For the eſtabliſhing of which Gifts and Legacies to the proper uſe and uſes intended by him, a Commiſſion was iſſued out of the High Court of *Chancery*, according to the Statute 43 *Eliz.* Directed amongſt others to Sir *Ed. Clark* Knight, *Sam. Fell* Doctor in Divinity, *George Purefez*, and *Richard Organ* Eſquires; who by their joynt conſent made this Order following: *viz.* "And that the Table given by Mr. *Blucknall* ſhould not by the "multitude of People coming to Service, or otherwiſe by ſitting or "writing upon it, or by any other unreverent uſage, be prophaned, "ſpoyled, or hurt; We do order and decree, that the ſaid Table "ſhall continually ſtand at the upper end of the Chancell, upon "which a Carpet (by him given) ſhould be laid, where it ſhall "continually ſtand cloſe to the upper Skreen (there being of old with-"in that Skreen a kind of Veſtry for keeping the Plate, Books, and "Veſtments which belong to the Church) and there to be covered "with the Carpet aforeſaid, and in no place elſe. Which Order, together with many others, for ſettling and diſpoſing the ſaid Gifts

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1627.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1627. and Legacies, were made at *Abingdon* on the twenty fifth of *April*, 1628. and afterwards confirmed under the Great Seal of *England*. This being the only Table, as I conceive, whose posture in that place is ratified by Decree in *Chancery*.

Now as some private Beneficed persons, during the Suspension of the said Archbishop, did thus adventure on the one side; so divers *Commissaries*, *Officials*, *Surrogates*, and other Ecclesiastical Officers, began to carry a more hard hand on the *Puritan* Party (their great Friend and Patron being thus discountenanced) than they had done formerly. Amongst these none more active than *Lamb*, *Sibthorp*, *Allen*, and *Burden*, according to their Power and Places; the three last having some relation to *Lamb*, as *Lamb* had to the Episcopal Court at *Peterborough*, and thereby a neer neighbourhood to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, then keeping in his House at *Buckden* in the County of *Huntingdon*; at whose Table being entertained (as they had been many times before) they found there *Morison* Chancellor to that Bishop, and *Prigeon* one of the Officers of the Court at *Lincoln*. Their Discourse growing hot against the *Puritans*, the Bishop advised them to take off their heavy hand from them; informing them, That his Majesty hereafter intended to use them with more mildness, as a considerable Party, having great influence on the *Parliament*, without whose concurrence the King could not comfortably supply his Necessities: To which he added, That his Majesty had communicated this unto him by his own mouth, with his Resolutions hereafter of more gentleness to men of that Opinion. Which words, though unadvisedly spoken, yet were not thought, when first spoken by him, to be of such a dangerous and malignant nature, as to create to him all that charge and trouble, which afterwards befel him upon that occasion; For some years after, a breach being made betwixt him and *Lamb*, about the *Officials* place of *Leicester*, which the Bishop had designed to another person, *Lamb* complains of him to some great men about the Court, for revealing the Kings Secrets committed to his trust and privacy, contrary to the Oath taken by him as a Privy Counsellor. The Bishop was conceived to live at too great a height, to be too popular withal, and thereby to promote the *Puritan* Interest, against the Counsels of the Court. This Information was laid hold on, as a means to humble him, to make him sensible of his own duty, and the Kings displeasure; and a Command is given to *Noy* (then newly made his Majesties Atturney-General) to file a Bill, and prosecute against him in the *Star-Chamber*, upon this delinquency. Though the Bishop about two or three years since had lost the Seal, yet he was thought to have taken the Purse along with him; reputed rich, and one that had good Friends in the Court about the King, which made him take the less regard of this prosecution. By the Advice of his Counsel he first demurred unto the Bill, and afterwards put in a strong Plea against it; both which were over-ruled by Chief Justice *Richardson*, to whom by Order of the Court they had

*Ch. Hist.* lib. 11. p. 155.

had been referred: Which artifices and delays, though they gained much time, yet could he not thereby take off the edge of the Atturney, grown ſo much ſharper toward him by thoſe tricks in Law. And in this ſtate we ſhall finde the buſineſs about ten years hence, when it came to a Sentence; having laid ſo much of it here together, becauſe the occaſion of the Suit was given much about this time. LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1627.

About the ſame time alſo came out a Book entituled, *A Collection of Private Devotions, or, the Hours of Prayer*, compoſed by *Cozens* one of the *Prebends* of *Durham*, at the Requeſt, and for the Satisfaction, as it was then generally believed, of the Counteſs of *Denbigh*, the only Siſter of the Duke, and then ſuppoſed to be unſetled in the Religion here eſtabliſhed, if not warping from it: A Book which had in it much good matter, but not well pleaſing in the form; ſaid in the Title page to be framed agreeably to a Book of Private Prayers Authorized by Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1560. *After the Kalendar it began with a Specification of the Apoſtles Creed in Twelve Articles, the Lords Prayer in Seven Petitions, the Ten Commandements, with the Duties enjoined, and the Sins prohibited by them; The Precepts of Charity, The Precepts of the Church, The Seven Sacraments, The Three Theological Virtues, The Three kinds of Good Works, The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, The Twelve Fruits of the Holy Ghoſt, The Spiritual and Corporal Works of Mercy, The Eight Beatitudes, Seven deadly Sins, and their contrary Vertues, and the* Quatuor noviſſima: *After which* (ſome Prefaces and Introductions intervening) *followed the Forms of Prayer for the firſt, third, ſixth, and ninth Hours, as alſo for the* Veſpers *and* Compline, *known here in former Times by the vulgar name of* Canonical Hours: *Then came the Litany, The Seven Penitential Pſalms, Preparatory Prayers for Receiving the Holy Communion, Prayers to be uſed in time of Sickneſs, and of the near approach of Death, beſides many others.* The Book approved by *Mountain* then Biſhop of *London*, and by him Licenced for the Preſs (with the Subſcription of his own hand to it): Which notwithſtanding, it ſtartled many at the firſt, though otherwiſe very moderate and ſober men, who looked upon it as a Preparatory to uſher in the Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*. The Title gave offence to ſome, by reaſon of the correſpondence which it held with the *Popiſh Horaries*; but the Frontiſpiece a great deal more, on the top whereof was found the Name of *JESUS*, figured in three Capital Letters (IHS) with a Croſs upon them, incircled with the Sun, ſupported by two Angels, with two devout Women praying toward it.

It was not long before it was encountred by *Prynne* and *Burton*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more hereafter. *Prynn*'s Book (for of the other there was but little notice taken) was Printed by the name of *A Brief Survey and Cenſure of* Cozens *his Cozening Devotions, Anno* 1628. In which he chargeth it for being framed in general according to the *Horaries* and *Primers* of the Church of *Rome*? but more particularly, to be directly moulded, framed, and contrived

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1627.

contrived according to *Our Ladies Primer* or *Office* Printed in *Latin* at *Antwerp*, 1593. and afterwards in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, *Anno* 1604. Next he objects, That the Book of *Latin* Prayers publiſhed by Queen *Elizabeth*, 1560. was called *Orarium* (not *Horarium*) *ſive Libellus Precationum* (that is to ſay, *A Book of Prayers*): That in that Book there was mention of no other hours of Prayer than firſt, third, and ninth; and that in the ſecond and third Editions of the ſame Book, publiſhed in the years 1564. and 1573. there occurred no ſuch diſtribution into hours at all; which (ſaid he) reproacheth all the Specifications before-remembred by the name of *Popiſh* traſh and trumpery, ſtollen out of *Popiſh* Primers and Catechiſms, not mentioned in any *Proteſtant* Writers; and then proceeds to the canvaſing of every Office, and the Prefaces belonging to them, which with the like infallible Spirit he condemns of *Popery*. But for all this violent oppoſition, and the great clamors made againſt it, the Book grew up into eſteem, and juſtified it ſelf, without any Advocate; inſomuch that many of thoſe who firſt ſtartled at in regard of the Title, found in the body of it ſo much Piety, ſuch regular Forms of Divine Worſhip, ſuch neceſſary Conſolations in ſpecial Exigencies, that they reſerved it by them as a Jewel of great Price and value. But of this Author and his Book, the following Parliament, to whom *Prynne* dedicates his Anſwer, will take further notice.

But before that Parliament begins, we muſt take notice of ſome Changes then in agitation amongſt the Governours of the Church. His Majeſty in the *June* foregoing had acquainted *Laud* with his intent of nominating him to the See of *London* in the place of *Mountain*, whom he looked on as a man unactive, and addicted to voluptuouſneſs, and one that loved his eaſe too well to diſturbe himſelf in the concerments of the Church. He alſo looked upon that City as the Retreat and Receptacle of the Grandees of the *Puritan* Faction; the influence which it had, by reaſon of its Wealth and Trading, on all parts of the Kingdom; and that upon the Correſpondence and Conformity thereof, the welfare of the whole depended: No better way to make them an example of Obedience to the reſt of the Subjects, then by placing over them a Biſhop of ſuch Parts and Power as they ſhould either be unable to withſtand, or afraid to offend. In order unto this deſign, it was thought expedient to tranſlate *Neile* (whoſe accommodations *Laud* much ſtudied) to the See of *Wincheſter*, then vacant by the death of *Andrews*, and to remove *Mountain* unto *Durham* in the place of *Neile*: But the putting of this deſign into execution did require ſome time. Such Officers of State as had the management of the Kings Revenue, thought it not fit in that low ebb of the Exchequer, that the Church of *Winton* ſhould be filled with another Biſhop, before the *Michaelmas* Rents at leaſt (if not ſome following Pay-days alſo) had flowed into his Majeſties Coffers. Which though it were no very long time, compared with the

the Vacancies of ſome former Reign; yet gave it an occaſion to ſome calumniating Spirits to report abroad, That this Biſhoprick was deſigned to be a Subſiſtence for one of the Queen of *Bohemia's* younger Sons, who was to hold it by the Name of an Adminiſtrator, according to an ill Cuſtom of ſome Princes amongſt the *Lutherans*. But this Obſtruction being paſſed by, *Neile* with great chearfulneſs in himſelf, and thankfulneſs unto the King, proceeded in his Tranſlation to the See of *Winton*; his Election being ratified by his Majeſty, and confirmed in due form of Law, before the end of the next year, 1627. In *Mountains* hands the buſineſs did receive a ſtop: He had ſpent a great part of his Life in the air of the Court, as Chaplain to *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and Biſhop *Almoner*; and had lived for many years laſt paſt in the warm City of *London*. To remove him ſo far from the Court, and ſend him into thoſe cold Regions of the *North*, he looked on as the worſt kind of Baniſhment, next neighbour to a Civil death: But having a long while ſtrived in vain, and underſtanding that his Majeſty was not well pleaſed with his delays, he began to ſet forward on that Journey, with this *Proviſo* notwithſtanding, That the utmoſt term of his Removal ſhould be but from *London*-Houſe in the City, to *Durham*-Houſe in the *Strand*. And yet to beget more delays toward *Laud's* Advancement, before he actually was confirmed in the See of *Durham*, the *Metropolitan* See of *York* fell void by the death of the moſt Reverend Prelate Doctor *Toby Matthews*: This Dignity he affected with as much ambition, as he had earneſtly endeavoured to decline the other; and he obtained what he deſired: But ſo much time was taken up in paſſing the Election, facilitating the Royal Aſſent, and the Formalities of his Confirmation, that the next Seſſion of Parliament was ended, and the middle of *July* well near paſſed, before *Laud* could be actually Tranſlated to the See of *London*.

Lib. III. *Anno Dom.* 1627.

Theſe matters being in agitation, and the Parliament drawing on apace, on *Tueſday* the fifth of *February* he ſtrained the back-ſinew of his right Leg, as he went with his Majeſty to *Hampton-Court*, which kept him to his Chamber till the fourteenth of the ſame; during which time of his keeping in, I had both the happineſs of being taken into his ſpecial knowledge of me, and the opportunity of a longer Conference with him than I could otherwiſe have expected. I went to have preſented my ſervice to him as he was preparing for this Journey, and was appointed to attend him on the ſame day ſevennight, when I might preſume on his return. Coming preciſely at the time, I heard of his miſchance, and that he kept himſelf to his Chamber; but order had been left amongſt the Servants, that if I came he ſhould be made acquainted with it; which being done accordingly, I was brought into his Chamber, where I found him ſitting in a Chair, with his lame leg reſting on a Pillow. Commanding that no body ſhould come to interrupt him till he called for them, he cauſed me to ſit down by him, inquired firſt into the courſe

of

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1627.

of my Studies, which he well approved of, exhorting me to hold my ſelf in that moderate courſe in which he found me. He fell afterwards to diſcourſe of ſome paſſages in *Oxon.* in which I was ſpecially concerned, and told me thereupon the ſtory of ſuch oppoſitions as had been made againſt him in that Univerſity, by Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and ſome others; encouraged me not to ſhrink, if I had already, or ſhould hereafter find the like. I was with him thus, *remotis Arbitris*, almoſt two hours: It grew towards twelve of the clock, and then he knocked for his Servants to come unto him. He dined that day in his ordinary Dining-room, which was the firſt time he had ſo done ſince his miſhap. He cauſed me to tarry Dinner with him, and uſed me with no ſmall reſpect, which was much noted by ſome Gentlemen (*Ephilſton*, one of his Majeſties Cup-bearers, being one of the Company) who dined that day with him. A paſſage, I confeſs, not pertinent to my preſent Story, but ſuch as I have a good precedent for from *Philip de Comines*, who telleth us as impertinently of the time (though he acquaint us not with the occaſion) of his leaving the Duke of *Burgundies* Service, to betake himſelf to the Imployments of King *Lewis* xi.

It is now time to look into the following Parliament, in the preparation whereunto (to make himſelf more gracious in the eyes of the People) his Majeſty releaſeth ſuch Gentlemen as had been formerly impriſoned about the *Loan*; which in effect was but the letting looſe of ſo many hungry Lions to purſue and worry him: For being looked upon as Confeſſors, if not Martyrs for the Commonwealth, upon the merit of thoſe ſufferings they were generally preferred afore all others to ſerve in Parliament; and being ſo preferred, they carried as generally with them a vindicative Spirit, to revenge themſelves for that Reſtraint, by a reſtraining of the Prerogative within narrower bounds. At the opening of this Parliament, *March* 17. the Preaching of the Sermon was committed to the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, who ſhewed much honeſt Art in perſwading them to *endeavour to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace*, *Epheſ.* 4. 3. which he had taken for his Text: In which, firſt laying before them the excellency and effects of UNITY, he told them, amongſt other things, "That it was a very charitable tie, but better "*known* than *loved*; a thing ſo good, that it was never broken but "by the worſt men; nay, ſo good it was, that the very worſt men "pretended beſt when they broke it; and that it was ſo in the "Church, neuer yet Heretick renting her Bowels, but he pretended "that he raked them for Truth: That it was ſo alſo in the State, "ſeldom any *unquiet Spirit* dividing her *Union*, but he pretends ſome "*great abuſes*, which his *integrity* would remedy: *O that I were* "*made a Judge in the Land, that every man which hath any Controverſie might come to me, that I might do him Juſtice*: and yet no "worſe a man than *David* was King when this cunning was uſed, "1 *Sam.* 15. That *Unity* both in Church and Common-wealth was "ſo

*Serm.* 6. *p.* 247.

"ſo good, that none but the worſt willingly broke it; That even "they were ſo far aſhamed of the breach, that they muſt ſeem holier than the reſt, that they may be thought to have had a juſt cauſe "to break it. And afterwards coming by degrees to an Application, "Good God (ſaith he) what a prepoſterous Thrift is this in men, to "ſow up every ſmall rent in their own Coat, and not care what "rents they not only ſuffer, but make in the Coat of Chriſt? What "is it? Is Chriſt only thought fit to wear a torn Garment? Or can "we think that the *Spirit of Unity*, which is one with Chriſt, will "not depart to ſeek warmer cloathing? Or if he be not gone already, "why is there not *Unity*, which is where ere he is? Or if he be but "yet gone from other parts of *Chriſtendom*, in any caſe (for the "paſſion, and in the bowels of *Jeſus Chriſt* I beg it) let us make ſtay "of him here in our parts, *&c.* Which Sermon (being all of the ſame piece) ſo well pleaſed the Hearers, that his Majeſty gave command to have it Printed. How well it edified with the Commons, when they came to read it; and what thanks he received from them for it, we ſhall clearly ſee before we come to the end of this preſent Seſſion.

The Sermon being ended, his Majeſty ſet forwards to the Houſe of Peers, where ſitting in his Royal Throne, and cauſing the Commons then aſſembled to come before him, he ſignified in few words, "That no man (as he conceived) could be ſo ignorant of the Com-"mon neceſſity, as to expoſtulate the cauſe of this Meeting, and not "to think Supply to be the end of it; That as this neceſſity was the "product and conſequent of their Advice (he means in reference to "his firſt ingaging in the War with *Spain*) ſo the true Religion, the "Laws and Liberties of this State, and juſt Defence of his Friends "and Allies, being ſo conſiderably concerned, would be, he hoped, "Arguments enough to perſwade Supply; That he had taken the "moſt ancient, ſpeedy, and beſt way for Supply, by calling them "together; in which if they ſhould not do their duties, in anſwer-"ing the quality of his occaſions, he muſt then take ſome other "courſe for the ſaving of that, which the folly of ſome particular "men might hazard to loſe; That notwitſtanding the diſtractions of "the laſt Meeting, he came thither with no ſmall confidence of good "ſucceſs; aſſuring them that he would forget and forgive whatſoever "was paſt, and hoping that they would follow that ſacred Advice "lately inculcated, *To maintain the UNITY of the Spirit in the bond of "Peace.* Which being ſaid, the Lord Keeper took his turn to ſpeak, as the Cuſtom is, in which Speech he chiefly laboured to lay before them the formidable Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the mighty Preparations made by the King of *Spain*, the Diſtractions at the preſent in the *Netherlands*, the Dangers threatned by the *French* King to thoſe of the Reformed Religion in his Dominions, and the neceſſity which lay upon the King to provide for the ſupport thereof, as well as for the Peace and Preſervation of his own Eſtate; concluding with

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1628.

ſeverall reaſons to invite them to aſſiſt his Majeſty with a bountiful and quick ſupply according to the exigency of his affairs.

But all this, little edified with the Houſe of Commons, or rather with the prevailing Party in it, which comes all to one. For ſo it happens commonly in all great Councils, that ſome few leading Members, either by their diligence or cunning, out-wit the reſt, and form a party ſtrong enough, by caſting a miſt before their eyes, or other ſubtle Artifices to effect their purpoſe. And ſo it fared in this laſt Parliament with the Houſe of Commons, which though it contained amongſt the reſt as *dutiful Subjects as any were in the world*, (in his Majeſties own acknowledgment of them) yet being governed by ſome men which had their intereſſes apart from the Crown, they are put upon a reſolution of doing their own buſineſs firſt, and the Kings at leiſure. And their own buſineſs it muſt be to ſecure the plots and practiſes of the *Puritan* Faction by turning all mens eyes upon ſuch dangers as were to be feared from the Papiſts; and in the next place, to make ſuch proviſion for themſelves, that it ſhould not be within the power of the Royal Prerogative to lay any reſtraint upon their perſons. No ſooner had they obtained their Faſt (without which nothing could be done) but they moved the Lords to joyn with them in a Petition for the ſuppreſſing of Popery, which they conceived to make the Wall of Separation betwixt God and them; to which they found their Lordſhips willing to conſent, and his Majeſty no leſs willing to ſatisfie them in all parts thereof than they could deſire. For calling both houſes before him on the fourth of *April*, "He told them he liked well of their beginning with Religi-
"on, and hoped their Conſultations would ſucceed the happier;
"That he was as careful of Religion, and ſhould be as forward
"in it, as they could deſire; That he liked well of the Petition, and
"would make uſe of thoſe and all other means for the maintenance
"and propagation of that true Religion wherein he had lived, and
"by the grace of God was reſolved to dye; And finally, That for
"the particulars, they ſhould receive a more full anſwer hereafter
"(as they ſhortly did.) Which ſaid, he put them in remembrance,
"That if Proviſions were not ſpeedily made, he ſhould not be able
"to put a ſhip to ſea this year. But though his Majeſty gave ſo full and ſatisfactory an anſwer to every particular branch of the ſaid Petition, that Sir *Benjamin Ruddiard* moved the Houſe to tender their humble thanks to his Majeſty for it; yet to the cloſe of his Majeſties Speech, touching the ſpeedy making of proviſions for that Summers Service, they returned no anſwer. They muſt firſt know whether they had any thing to give or not, whether they are to be accounted as Slaves or Freemen, to which two doubts the late impriſonment of their Members, for not paying the Loan required of them, gave them ground enough.

*Cant. Dom.*

Theſe weighty Queſtions being ſtarted, their own property and Liberty muſt firſt be ſetled, before they could be perſwaded to move

move a foot toward his Majeſties ſupplies; Five Subſidies they had voted for him, but it paſſed no further than the Vote; For ſeeing that there was to be a truſt on the one ſide or the other, it was reſolved, that the honour of it ſhould be theirs. The agitating of which Points, with thoſe which depended thereupon, took up ſo much time, that before the Lords could be brought to joyn with the Commons, and both together could obtain their deſires of the King, there was ſpent as far as to the ſeventh of *June*; and it was ten daies after before they had prepared the Bill of Subſidies for the Kings Aſſent. Nothing in all this buſineſs did ſo trouble his Majeſty as their inſiſting on this point: That in no caſe whatſoever, though it never ſo nearly concerned matters of State and Government, he or his Privy Council ſhould have power to commit any man to priſon without ſhewing the cauſe, and that cauſe to be allowed or diſallowed as his Majeſties Judges ſhould think fit on the *Habeas Corpus*, of which his Majeſty well obſerved in a Letter by him written to the Peers on the twelfth of *May*, "That by ſhewing the cauſe of the "Commitment, the whole Service many times might happen to be "deſtroyed; and that the cauſe alſo might be ſuch, and of a nature "ſo tranſcending the Rules of Law, that the Judges had no capacity "in a Court of Judicature to determine in it. The intermitting of "which power, being one of the conſtant Rules of Government, "practiſed for ſo many Ages within this Kingdom, would (as he "ſaid) ſoon diſſolve the very frame and foundation of his Monar-"chy, and therefore that without the overthrow of his Soveraignty "he could not ſuffer theſe powers to be impeached. But what reaſon ſoever he had to alledge for himſelf, he was ſo bent on his deſires to relieve the *Rochellers*, and keep that honour up abroad which he loſt at home; that at the laſt he condeſcended unto their deſires, and confirmed the prayer of their Petition by Act of Parliament.

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1628.

His Majeſties Letter for the Lords, *Bill. Reg.* Sect. 6. N. 19.

Nor would they reſt upon that point. They thought they had not done themſelves *right* enough in diſputing their *Property* with the King in Parliament if they ſuffered it to be preached down in the Court and Country. *Manwaring* therefore (of whoſe Sermons we have ſpake before) muſt be brought in for an example unto others. Whoſe charge, being drawn up by the Commons, was reported to the Peers by *Pym June* 13. The Book of his two Sermons produced before them, the paſſages which gave offence openly read, and aggravated to the very height. And though the poor man, on his knees, with tears in his eyes, and ſorrows in his heart, had moſt humbly craved pardon of the Lords and Commons for the errors and indiſcretions he had committed in the ſaid two Sermons, yet could he find no other mercy than, "1. To be impriſoned during the pleaſure "of the Houſe. 2. To be fined one thouſand pounds to the King. "3. To make ſuch an acknowledgment of his offence at the Com-"mons Bar as it ſhould pleaſe them to preſcribe. 4. To be ſuſpen-

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1628.

"ded from his Miniſtry for three years to come. 5. To be diſabled "from ever preaching at the Court. 6. To be uncapable of any "further Eccleſiaſtical preferment, or ſecular Office. And fi- "nally, That his Majeſty ſhould be moved to call in the ſaid Book "by Proclamation, and cauſe it to be publickly burnt. An heavy Sentence I confeſs, but ſuch as did rather affright than hurt him. For his Majeſty looking on him in that conjuncture as one that ſuffered in his cauſe, preferred him firſt to the Parſonage of *Stamford-Rivers* in *Eſſex*, (void not long after by the promotion of *Mountague* to the See of *Chicheſter*) afterwards to the Deanry of *Worceſter*; and finally to the Biſhoprick of St. *Davids*. This was indeed the way to have his Majeſty well ſerved, but ſuch as created ſome ill thoughts amongſt the Commons for his Majeſties Indulgence to him.

But they had a greater game to fly at, than to content themſelves with ſo poor a Sacrifice. The day before, complaint was made unto the Commons, that *Laud*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, had warranted thoſe Sermons to the Preſs, and him they had as good a mind to as to any other. There had been ſome liftings at him in the Court by Sir *John Cook*, who had informed againſt him to the Lord Treaſurer then being: And by the Lord Treaſurer to the Duke, where the buſineſs ſtopt. And there had been ſome liftings at him in the Country alſo, there being ſome mutterings ſpread abroad, that ſome Sacrifices muſt be made for expiating the ill ſucceſs in the Iſle of *Rhe*, and that he was as like as any to be made the Sacrifice. Which comming to his ears from two ſeveral perſons, he thought fit to acquaint his Majeſty with it; who thereupon returned this moſt gracious anſwer, *That he ſhould not trouble himſelf with ſuch reports, till he ſaw him forſake his other friends.* Had he ſtood ſtill upon that principle he had never fallen. Such Princes as forſake their Servants, will be forſaken by their Servants in their greateſt need, and neither be well ſerved at home, nor obſerved abroad. But it appeared by the event, that thoſe mutterings were not made without ſome ground, and that ſomewhat was then plotting toward his deſtruction. For *Manwaring* was no ſooner cenſured, but *Lauds* cauſe was called to the report, ſome daies before (viz. *June* 11.) they had voted the Duke of *Buckingham* to be the cauſe of all the grievances; and now they were hammering a Remonſtrance, both againſt him, and all that depended on him. In which Remonſtrance, having firſt beſprinkled the King with ſome Court *holy-water*, for granting their Petition of Right, they make bold to repreſent unto him, "That there was a general fear conceived in his people of ſome ſe- "cret working and combination to introduce into this Kingdom "*innovation* and change of holy Religion. Which fear pro- "ceeded (as they ſaid) from the encreaſe of *Popery* in this King- "dom, and the extraordinary favours and reſpects which they of "that Religion found in the Court from perſons of great quality and "power

*Previate.* p. 13.

" power there, unto whom they continually reſort, more eſpecial- LIB. III.
" ly by name from the Counteſs of *Buckingham* the Dukes Mother. *Anno Dom.*
" Secondly, From ſome Letters written by his Majeſty to ſtop all 1628.
" legal proceedings againſt *Recuſants*, and the Compoſitions which
" had been made with ſome of them for ſuch fines and penalties as
" were laid upon them by the Laws, which ſeemed in their opinion
" little leſs than a Toleration. Thirdly, From the dayly growth
" and ſpreading of the Faction of the *Arminians*, that being (as
" they thought his Majeſty knew) but a cunning way to bring in *Pe-*
" *pery*; the profeſſors of thoſe opinions being common diſturbers of
" the Proteſtant Churches, and Incendiaries of thoſe ſtates wherein
" they have gotten any head, being *Proteſtants* in ſhew, but *Jeſuites*
" in opinion and practice. Of which growing Faction *Neile* Biſhop
" of *Wincheſter*, and *Laud* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, are named par-
" ticularly for the principal Patrons. Fourthly, From ſome endea-
" vours to ſuppreſs the diligent teaching and inſtructing the people
" in the true knowledge of Almighty God by diſparaging pious,
" painful, and Orthodox Preachers. Fifthly, From the miſerable
" condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, in which without controule
" the Popiſh Religion is affirmed to be openly profeſſed, Popiſh
" Superſtition being generally exerciſed and avowed, Monaſteries,
" and Nunneries newly erected, *&c*, In the laſt place they lay before
" him their former grievances, now redreſſed; the deſign of raiſing
" moneys by the way of Exciſe, and of bringing in ſome Regiments
" of *German* horſe, though never put into execution; a Commiſſi-
" on of Lieutenancy granted to the Duke of *Buckingham*; they ſup-
" poſed decay of Trade in all parts of the Kingdom; the improvi-
" dent conſumption of the ſtock of Gunpowder; the loſs of the Re-
" gality of the Narrow Seas; the taking of many Merchants Ships
" by the Pyrates of *Dunkirk*, &c. The cauſe of all which miſchiefs is
imputed to the exceſſive power of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his abuſing of that power.

This *Remonſtrance* being thus digeſted, it was preſented to his Majeſty, together with the Bill of Subſidies, on the ſeventeenth of *June*. At the receiving thereof his Majeſty was pleaſed to uſe theſe words: " That on his Anſwer to their *Petition* of
" *Right* he expected no ſuch Declaration from them, which con-
" taineth divers points of ſtate touching the Church and Common-
" wealth, that he conceived they did believe he underſtood them
" better than themſelves: But that ſince the reading thereof, he
" perceived they underſtood thoſe things leſs than he imagined; and
" that notwithſtanding he would take them into ſuch conſideration
" as they deſerved. Nor was it long after his Majeſties receiving of this *Remonſtrance*, but that they were drawing up another to take away his right to *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. Which coming to his Majeſties knowledge, he reſolved to be beforehand with them, and diſſolve the Parliament, which was done accordingly *June* 26. At the diſ-

*Bill. Reg.* Sect. 157. Num. 3.

ſolving

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1628.

ſolving whereof his Majeſty gave this further cenſure on the ſaid *Remonſtrance*, *viz.* "That the acceptableneſs thereof unto him "every man might judge, and that he would not call in queſtion the "merit of it, becauſe he was ſure no wiſe man could juſtifie it. And poſſibly it had eſcaped without any further cenſure, if the Commons for the oſtentation of their Zeal and Piety had not cauſed it to be Printed, and diſperſed abroad, with which his Majeſty being acquainted, he commanded it to be called in by Proclamation, as tending to the defamation of his Perſon and Government.

But no ſooner was the Parliament ended, but he gave order unto *Laud* (whom he found to be much concerned in it) to return an anſwer thereunto; which he, who knew no better *Sacrifice* than obedience, did very chearfully perform; which Anſwer for ſo much as concerns Religion, the Preamble and Concluſion being laid aſide, we ſhall here ſubjoyn.

*And firſt* (ſaith he) *that* Remonſtrance *begins at Religion, and fears of innovation in it*; Innovation *by Popery*; *but we would have our Subjects of all ſorts to call to mind what difficulties and dangers we endured not many years ſince for Religions ſake*; *That we are the ſame ſtill, and our* holy Religion *is as pretious to us as it is or can be to any of them, and we will no more admit* innovation *therein than they that think they have done well in fearing it ſo much. It is true, that all effects expected have not followed upon the Petitions delivered at* Oxon, *but we are in leaſt fault for that*; *for ſupply being not afforded us, diſabled us to execute all that was deſired, and cauſed the ſtay of thoſe legal proceedings which have helped to ſwell up this* Remonſtrance: *Yet let all the Counties of* England *be examined, and* London, *with the Suburbs with them, neither is there ſuch a noted increaſe of* Papiſts, *nor ſuch cauſe of fear as is made*; *nor hath any amounted to ſuch an odious tolerating, as is charged upon it, nor near any ſuch. For that* Commiſſion *ſo much complained of, both the matter and intent of it are utterly miſtaken*; *for it doth not diſpence with any penalty, or any courſe to be taken with any* Papiſts *for the exerciſe of their Religion, no nor with the* Pecuniary Mulcts *or* non-conformity to ours; *it was adviſed for the encreaſe of our profits, and the returning of that into our Purſe, which abuſe or connivency of inferiour Miniſters might perhaps divert another way, if that or any other ſhall be abuſed in the execution, we will be ready to puniſh upon any juſt complaint. The next fear is the daily growth and ſpreading of the* Arminian Faction, *called a cunning way to bring in Popery: but we hold this Charge as great a wrong, to our Self and Government, as the former*; *For our People muſt not be taught by a Parliament* Remonſtrance, *or any other way, that we are ſo ignorant of Truth, or ſo careleſs of the profeſſion of it*; *that any opinion, or faction, or whatever it be called, ſhould thruſt it ſelf ſo far, and ſo faſt into our Kingdom without our knowledge of it: this is a meer dream of them that wake, and would make our loyal and loving*

*People*

*People think we ſleep the while. In this Charge there is great wrong done to two eminent Prelates that attend our Perſon; for they are accuſed, without producing any the leaſt ſhew or ſhadow of Proof againſt them; and ſhould they, or any other, attempt Innovation of Religion, either by that open or any cunning way, we ſhould quickly take other Order with them, and not ſtay for your Remonſtrance.*

*To keep on this, our people are made believe, That there is a reſtraint of* Books Orthodoxal: *but we are ſure ſince the late Parliament began, ſome whom the* Remonſtrance *calls* Orthodox, *have aſſumed unto themſelves an unſufferable Liberty in Printing. Our Proclamation commanded a Reſtraint on both ſides, till the Paſſions of men might ſubſide and calm; and had this been obeyed as it ought, we had not now been toſſed in this Tempeſt: And for the diſtreſſing and diſcountenancing of Good Preachers, we know there is none, if they be (as they are called)* Good. *But our People ſhall never want that Spiritual Comfort which is due unto them; and for the Preferments which we beſtow, we have ſo made it our great Care to give them, as Rewards of Deſert and Pains; but as the Preferments are ours, ſo will we be judge of the Deſert Our ſelf, and not be taught by a* Remonſtrance. *For* Ireland, *we think in caſe of* Religion, *it is not worſe than Queen* Elizabeth *left it; and for other Affairs, it is as good as we found it, nay, perhaps better; and we take it as a great diſparagement to our Government, that it ſhould be voiced, That new Monaſteries, Nunneries, and other Superſtitious Houſes, are Erected and Repleniſhed in* Dublin, *and other great Towns of that our Kingdom: For we aſſure our ſelf, our Deputy and Council there will not ſuffer God and our Government ſo to be diſhonoured, but we ſhould have ſome account of it from them; and we may not endure to have our good People thus miſled with Shews. There is likewiſe ſomewhat conſiderable, in the time when theſe Practiſes to undermine true Religion in our Kingdoms, are ſet on foot. The* Remonſtrance *tells us it is now, when Religion is oppoſed by open force in all Parts: But we muſt tell our People, There is no undermining Practice at home againſt it, if they practice not againſt it that ſeem moſt to labour for it; for while* Religion *ſeems to be contended for in ſuch a Factious way, which cannot be Gods way, the heat of that doth often melt away the Purity which it labours earneſtly (but perhaps not wiſely) to preſerve. And for Gods Judgments, which we and our People have felt, and have cauſe to fear, we ſhall prevent them beſt by a true Religious* Remonſtrance *of the amendment of our Lives,* &c.

This, and the reſt of the Anſwer to the ſaid *Remonſtrance*, is all what I find acted by *Laud* in reference to the preſent Parliament. For, That he ſhould be a chief means for the diſſolving of this, or a principal Inſtrument in the untimely breaking off of the former, I find no proof offered, though he ſtands charged with the one in the further Articles of his Impeachment, and of the other on the bare ſuſpicion of a private Perſon. As little proof I find of another Article,

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1628.

Article, in which he ſtands accuſed for ſaying, *That this Parliament was a Factious Parliament, and had caſt many Scandals upon his Majeſty, and had uſed him like a Child in his Minority*; *ſtyling them* PURITANS, *and commending the* Papiſts *for harmleſs and peaceable Subjects*: For which, if any Evidence had been brought againſt him, he might have been condemned by ſome for his Indiſcretion, but by none for Treaſon. Nor did the Parliament Act more againſt Church or Church-men, than what is formerly related? but only in receiving certain Articles againſt one *Burgeſs* Vicar of *Witney*, in the County of *Oxon.* By which it did appear, That the man was ſharp ſet againſt the *Puritans*, whom he accuſed of breaking every one of the Ten Commandments, reproach'd them with many bitter *Exaſperations*, and finally impeached *Calvin*, *Beza*, and all the Miniſters of the Reformed Churches, both in *France* and *Scotland*, for committing many Treaſons againſt thoſe Princes under whom they lived. But theſe Matters not being Actionable at the Common Law, nor puniſhable (as the times then were) in way of Parliamentary Proceedings; the poor man, after a long and chargeable Attendance, was at laſt diſmiſſed. Little or nothing done in the *Convocation* which accompanied this Parliament, but the granting of five *Subſidies*, toward the Support of his Majeſties Royal Eſtate, and the Defence of his Kingdoms: So much the more acceptable to his Majeſty, becauſe the Grant ſeemed in a manner to exceed their Abilities, and came not clogged with any ſelf-ends, or particular Intereſſes. Kings are Gods Deputies on Earth, and like him, love a *chearful Giver*, above all thoſe who either do it *grudgingly*, or upon *conſtraint*.

No ſooner was the Parliament ended, but *Laud* prepares for his Tranſlation to the See of *London*, the *Conge d' eſlire* being iſſued out on the firſt of *July*, the Election within few days returned, and publickly confirmed with the accuſtomed Formalities on St. *Swithin*'s day, being the fifteenth of that Month. *London*, the Kings Chamber, and the chief City of the Realm; equal in bigneſs unto any, but in Trade Superiour unto all in theſe Parts of *Chriſtendom*; one of the Metropolitan Sees of the Ancient *Britains*, and next in Dignity and Antiquity to the See of *Canterbury* amongſt the *Saxons*. The firſt Biſhop of it, called *Melitus*, received his Epiſcopal Conſecration *Anno* 606. from whom *Laud* was in number the 88th. as he had been the 89th. Biſhop of St. *Davids*, another of the Metropolitan Sees of the *Britains*. The Cathedral Church, beſt known by the name of St. *Pauls* in *London*, was founded firſt by *Ethelbert*, the firſt Chriſtian King of *Kent*, and the ſix Monarchs of the *Saxons*; afterwards much beautified and enlarged by *Erkenwald* the fourth Biſhop: Which Church of theirs being 500 years after deſtroyed by fire, that which now ſtands was built in the place thereof by *Maritius*, *Richardus* his Succeſſor, and certain other of the Biſhops, a great part of it at their own Charge, and the Reſidue by a general Contribution

Contribution over all the Kingdom. The Biſhops next in Place and Dignity to the Metropolitans, and alſo Deans of the Epiſcopal College for the Province of *Canterbury*; by which Office he is not only to preſide over the reſt of the Biſhops at *Synodical Meetings*, in caſe the *Metropolitan* be dead or abſent; but to receive his *Mandates* for aſſembling *Synods*, and other buſineſſes of the Church; and having ſo received them, to intimate the power and effect thereof to the Suffragan Prelates. As for the Dioceſs of *London*, it contains in it the whole Counties of *Middleſex* and *Eſſex*, ſo much of *Hertford-ſhire* as was anciently poſſeſſed by the *Eaſt-Saxons*, together with the peculiar Juriſdiction of the Church of St. *Albans*; divided into 623 Pariſhes (of which 189 are Impropriations) and thoſe diſtributed amongſt five Archdeacons, that is to ſay, of *London*, *Middleſex*, *Eſſex*, *Colcheſter*, and the Archdeacon of St. *Albans* for that Circuit only.

His own Tranſlation being paſt, his next Employment of that nature was his aſſiſting at the Conſecration of *Mountague*, nominated by his Majeſty to the See of *Chicheſter* in the place of *Carleton*, who died about the latter end of the Parliament; which Action in the King ſeemed more magnanimous than ſafe: For though there was much magnanimity in preferring the man, whom he beheld as well in his perſonal Sufferings, as his great Abilities; yet was it not held ſafe for him (as his caſe then ſtood) to give ſuch matter of Exaſperation to the Houſe of Commons, of whom he did expect a Supplement to the former Subſidies within few Months after. Nor did the buſineſs paſs ſo clearly on *Mountagues* ſide, but that he found a rub in his way, which was like to have hindred his Preferment for the preſent time, but poſſibly enough for the times to come. It is an ancient Cuſtom, that the Elections of all Biſhops in the Province of *Canterbury* be ſolemnly confirmed by the Archbiſhop, or his Vicar-general, in the Court of the *Arches*, held in St. *Maries* Church in *Cheapſide*, commonly called by the name of *Bow* Church; at and before which Confirmation, there is publick notice given to all manner of Perſons, That if they have any thing to object either againſt the Party elected, or the legality of his Election, he ſhould come and tender his Exceptions at the time appointed, or elſe for ever after to hold his peace: Which ſignification being made, as *Mountague* ſtood ready to be Confirmed, one *Jones* a Bookſeller, accompanied with a Rabble of the poorer ſort, excepted againſt him as a man unfit to be made a Biſhop, charging him with *Popery*, *Arminianiſm*, and ſome other *Heterodoxies*, for which his Books had been condemned in the former Parliament. It hapned well that *Brent* the Vicar-general, either for diſaffection to the man, or on ſome neceſſary avocation, had devolved his Office for that time on Doctor *Thomas Reives* his Majeſties Advocate, a man of better Principles in himſelf, and of more Learning in the Laws than the other was: For no ſooner had *Jones* offered his Exceptions againſt

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1628.

the Party Elected, but *Reives* had found a way to evade the danger, and fruſtrate the bold man of his deſign, for putting a preſent ſtop to the Confirmation; For neither were the Exceptions tendred in writing, ſigned by the hand of any Advocate, nor preſented by any of the Proctors authoriſed to attend that Court; all which Formalities were to have been obſerved by *Jones* in the preſent Act, but that the man was hurried on with more Zeal than Knowledg. Which Rub thus happily removed *Auguſt* 22. *Mountague* haſtens all he could to his Conſecration, which was performed on *Sunday* the 24th. at the Archbiſhops houſe in *Croyden*, *Laud* amongſt other Biſhops aſſiſting at it.

And it is poſſible enough, That if he had not made ſuch haſte as he did, he might have had a worſe rub in it than he had before. Scarce was the Conſecration finiſhed, when news came to *Croyden* of the unfortunate death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, murthered the day before at *Portſmouth* by one *John Felton* a Lieutenant, who thought himſelf neglected in the courſe of his Service. The Duke had wholly ſet his heart on the Relief of *Rochel*, then block'd up by the *French* both by Sea and Land, in hope thereby to redeem the Honour he had loſt at the Iſle of *Rhe*, and to ingratiate himſelf with the People of *England*. On the twelfth of *Auguſt* he ſet forwards from *Portſmouth*, neer which the Navy lay at Anchor, and where he had appointed the Rendezvouz for his Land-Forces to aſſemble and meet together. The interval of time betwixt that and his death he ſpent in putting all things into Readineſs, that he was almoſt at the point of going on Board, when *Felton* cut him off in the middeſt of his Glories. The wretch in ſuch a general confuſion might have ſaved himſelf, if either curioſity in attending the iſſue, or ſome conſternation in his countenance upon the horror of the Fact, had not betrayed him to a preſent diſcovery. Taken upon ſuſpicion, and queſtioned about the Murder, he made no ſcruple to avow it, as a meritorious Act, of which he had more cauſe to glory than to be aſhamed: And being afterwards more cunningly handled by one of his Majeſties Chaplains (ſent to him from the Court of purpoſe to work him to it) he confeſſed plainly and reſolvedly, That he had no other motive to commit that Murder, but the late *Remonſtrance*, in which the Duke had been accuſed for being the Cauſe of all the Grievances and Miſchiefs in the Common-wealth. This news was brought unto the King as he was at the Publick Morning-Prayers in his Preſence-Chamber, the Court being then at *Southwick*, not far from *Portſmouth*; which he received with ſuch a ſtedfaſt Countenance, ſo unmoved a Patience, that he withdrew not from the place till the Prayers were ended.

It is not to be doubted but that his Majeſty was much afflicted in the loſs of ſo dear a Servant, in whoſe boſom he had lodged ſo much of his Counſels, and to whoſe Conduct he had ſo fully recommended the Great Concernments of the Kingdom. But ſuch

was

was the conſtancy of his Temper, and the known evenneſs of his Spirit, that in the middeſt of all thoſe ſorrows he neither neglected his Affairs abroad, nor his Friends at home: For notwithſtanding this ſad accident, the Fleet ſet forwards under the Command of the Earl of *Lindſey*, whoſe coming within ſight of *Rochel* was welcom'd by thoſe in the Town with all the outward expreſſions of Hope and Joy: But his deſires to do them Service were without Succeſs: For when he came, he found the Haven ſo ſtrongly barred, that though he gallantly attempted to force his way, and give Relief to the Beſieged; yet finding nothing but impoſſibility in the Undertaking, he diſcharged his Ordnance againſt the Enemy, and went off with ſafety: Which being perceived by thoſe of the Town, who had placed their laſt hopes in this Attempt, they preſently ſet open their Gates, caſting themſelves upon the Mercy of their Natural Prince, whoſe Government and Authority they had for ſo many years before both oppoſed and ſleighted. And on the other ſide, being well aſſured of that infinite anguiſh and diſconſolation which *Laud* (his now moſt truſty Servant) muſt needs ſuffer under, by the moſt barbarous Aſſaſſination of ſo dear a Friend, he diſpatch'd *Elphiſton* his Cup-bearer with a *gracious* Meſſage to comfort him in thoſe diſquiets of his Soul; and on the neck of that, a Letter of his own hand-writing to the ſame effect. He looks upon him now as his Principal Miniſter, well practiſed in the Courſe of his Buſineſs, of whoſe fidelity to his Perſon, and perſpicacity of Judgment in Affairs of State, he had found ſuch good proof: And therefore at the firſt time that *Laud* could find himſelf in a condition to attend upon him, he uſed many gracious Speeches to him, not only to wipe off the Remembrance of that ſad Misfortune, but to put him into ſuch a Power by which he might be able to protect himſelf againſt all his Enemies. He was before but an inferiour Miniſter in the Ship of State, and had the trimming of the Sails, the ſuper-inſpection of the *Bulgings* and Leakings of it. Now he is called unto the Helm, and ſteers the Courſe thereof by his ſage Directions.

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1628.

Having obtained this heighth of Power, he caſts his eye back on his Majeſties Proclamation of the fourteenth of *June*, *Anno* 1626. Of which though he had made good uſe in ſuppreſſing ſome of thoſe Books which ſeemed to foment the preſent Controverſies; yet he ſoon found, as well by his own Obſervation, as by Intelligence from others, That no ſuch general notice had been taken of it as was firſt expected: For being only publiſhed in Market-Towns (and perhaps very few of them) the *Puritan* Miniſters in the Country did not conceive themſelves obliged to take notice of it. And much leſs could it come to the ears of Students in Univerſities, for whoſe reſtraint from medling, either by Preaching or Writing, in the Points prohibited, it might ſeem moſt neceſſary. He knew, that by the Laws of the Land all Miniſters were to read the Book of Articles audibly and diſtinctly, in the hearing of their Pariſhioners, when they

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1628.

first entred on their Cures; and that by the Canons of the Church, all that took Orders or Degrees were publickly to ſubſcribe unto them. A Declaration to the ſame effect before thoſe Articles muſt needs give ſuch a general ſignification of his Majeſties pleaſure, that no body could from thenceforth pretend ignorance of it, which muſt needs render his tranſgreſſion the more inexcuſable. Upon which prudent conſiderations he moved his Majeſty that the Book of Articles might be reprinted; and ſuch a Declaration placed before them as might preſerve them from ſuch miſconſtructions as had of late been put upon them, and keep them to their native literal and *Grammatical* ſenſe. His Majeſty approved the Counſel as both pious and profitable, and preſently gave order, that all things ſhould be done according as he had adviſed. A Declaration of great influence in the courſe of our Story, and therefore here to be ſubjoyned in its proper place.

## By the King.

*Bill. Reg.* Sect. 4. Num. 3.

*BEing by Gods Ordinance, according to Our juſt Title,* Defender of the Faith, *and Supreme Governour of the Church within theſe Our Dominions, we hold it moſt agreeable to Our Kingly Office, and Our own Religious Zeal, to conſerve and maintain the Church committed to Our charge in the* Unity *of true Religion, and in the* bond of Peace: *and not to ſuffer unneceſſary Diſputations, Alterations, and Queſtions to be raiſed which may nouriſh Faction both in the Church and Commonwealth; We have therefore upon mature deliberation, and with the Advice of ſo many of Our Biſhops as might conveniently be called together, thought fit to make this Declaration following: That the Articles of the Church of* England *(which had been allowed, and authorized heretofore, and which Our Clergy generally have ſubſcribed unto) do contain the true Doctrine of the Church of* England *agreeable to Gods Word: which We do therefore ratifie and confirm, requiring all Our loving Subjects to continue in the Uniform Profeſſion thereof, and prohibiting the leaſt difference from the ſaid Articles; which to that end We command to be reprinted, and this Our Declaration to be publiſhed therewith.*

*That We are Supreme Governour of the Church of* England, *and that if any difference ariſe about the External Policie, concerning* Injunctions, Canons, *or other Conſtitutions whatſoever, thereunto belonging; the Clergy in their Convocation is to order and ſettle them, having firſt obtained leave under Our Broad Seal ſo to do: And We approving their ſaid Ordinances and Conſtitutions, providing that none be made contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Land. That out of Our Princely care that the Church-men may do the work which is proper unto them; the Biſhops and Clergie, from time to time, in Convocation, upon their humble deſire, ſhall have licence under Our Broad Seal, to deliberate of, and to do all ſuch things, as being made plain by them, and aſſented to by Us, ſhall concern the ſettled continuance of the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the*

*Church*

*Church of* England *eſtabliſhed; from which We ſhall not endure any variation or departing in the leaſt degree. That for the preſent, though ſome differences have been ill raiſed, We take comfort in this, that all Clergie-men within Our Realm have alwaies moſt willingly ſubſcribed to the Articles eſtabliſhed, which is an Argument to Us, that they all agree in the true uſual literal meaning of the ſaid Articles, and that even in thoſe curious Points, in which the preſent differences lye, men of all ſorts take the Articles of the Church of* England *to be for them; which is an argument again, that none of them intend any deſertion of the Articles eſtabliſhed. That therefore in theſe both curious and unhappy differences which have for many hundred years, in different times and places, exerciſed the Church of Chriſt, We will that all further curious ſearch be laid aſide, and theſe diſputes be ſhut up in Gods Promiſes, as they be generally ſet forth unto Us in holy Scriptures; and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of* England *according to them. And that no man hereafter ſhall either Print or Preach to draw the Article aſide any way, but ſhall ſubmit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof: And ſhall not put his own ſenſe or Coment to be the meaning of the Article, but ſhall take it in the literal and Grammatical ſenſe. That if any Publick Reader in either Our Univerſities, or any Head or Maſter of a Colledge, or any other perſon reſpectively in either of them, ſhall affix any new ſenſe to any Article, or ſhall publickly read, determine, or hold any publick Diſputation, or ſuffer any ſuch to be held either way, in either the Univerſities or Colledges reſpectively; or if any Divine in the Univerſities ſhall Preach or Print any thing either way, other than is eſtabliſhed in Convocation with Our Royal Aſſent: He, or they, the Offenders, ſhall be liable to Our diſpleaſure, and the Churches Cenſure in Our Commiſſion* Eccleſiaſtical, *as well as any other: and We will ſee there ſhall be due execution upon them.*

No ſooner were the Articles publiſhed with this Declaration, but infinite were the clamours which were raiſed againſt it by thoſe of the *Calvinian* Party. Many exclaimed againſt it for the *depths of Satan*, ſome for a *Jeſuitical* Plot to ſubvert the Goſpel: For what elſe could it aim at (as they gave it out) but under colour of ſilencing the diſputes on either ſide, to give incouragement and opportunity to *Arminians* here to ſow their tears, and propagate their erroneous Doctrines. And what effects could it produce, but the ſuppreſſing of all Orthodox Books, the diſcouraging of all godly and painful Miniſters, thereby deterred from preaching the moſt comfortable Doctrines of mans election unto life; The *Arminians* in the mean time gathering ſtrength, and going on ſecurely to the end they aimed at. And to give the better colour to theſe ſuſpitions, a Letter is diſperſed abroad, pretended to be written to the Rector of the Jeſuites in *Bruxells* the chief City of *Brabant*. In which the Writers lets him know, with what care and cunning they had planted here that *Soveraign* drug *Arminianiſm*, which they hoped would purge the

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1628.

the Proteſtants from their *Hereſies*, and that it did begin to flouriſh and bear fruit already; That for the better preventing of the Puritans, the *Arminians* had lockt up the Dukes ears, *&c.* with much of the like impudent ſtuff, which no ſober man did otherwiſe look on than a piece of *Gullery*. Upon which grounds, a Petition was deſigned for his Sacred Majeſty, by ſome of the *Calvinian* Party in and about the City of *London*, "For the revoking of the ſaid De-
"claration, by which they were deterred (as the matter was hand-
"led) from preaching the *ſaving* Doctrines of Gods *Free Grace*
*Cant. Doom,* "in *Election* and *Predeſtination*: And this (ſay they) had brought
"them into a very great ſtraight; either of incurring Gods hea-
"vy diſpleaſure, if they did not faithfully diſcharge their Em-
"baſſage in declaring the *whole Counſel* of God; or the danger of
"being cenſured as violaters of his Majeſties ſaid Act, if they
"preacht thoſe conſtant Doctrines of our Church, and confuted
"the oppoſite *Pelagian* and *Arminian Hereſies*, both preached and
"Printed boldly without fear of cenſure. And thereupon they
"pray on their bended knees, that his gracious Majeſty would take
"into his Princely conſideration the forenamed Evils and Grievan-
"ces under which they groaned, and, as a wiſe Phyſician, pre-
"ſcribe and apply ſuch ſpeedy Remedies as may both cure the pre-
"ſent Maladies, and ſecure the peace of Church and Common-
"wealth, from all thoſe Plagues which their Neighbours had not
"a little felt, and more may fear if the Council of his Majeſties
"Father to the States of the United Provinces were not better fol-
"lowed.

But this Petition being ſtopt before it came to the King, they found more countenance from the Commons, in the next Parliamentary meeting, than they were like to have found at the hands of his Majeſty. For the Commons conceiving they had power to declare Religion as well as Law, (and they had much alike in both) they voted this Anti-Declaration to be publiſhed in the name of that
Manuſcript Narrat. of Parl. 1628. Houſe: *viz.* "We the Commons now aſſembled in Parliament, do
"claim, profeſs, and avow for truth the ſenſe of the Articles of
"Religion which were eſtabliſhed in Parliament the thirteenth year
"of Queen *Elizabeth*, which by the publick Acts of the Church
"of *England* and the general and currant expoſition of the Writers
"of our Church have been delivered to us, and we reject the ſenſe
"of the *Jeſuites*, *Arminians*, and all others wherein they differ
"from us. Which Declaration of the Commons, as it gave great animation to thoſe of the *Calvinian* Party, who entertained it with the like ardency of affection, as thoſe of *Epheſus* did the Image of *DIANA* which fell down from heaven; ſo gave it great matter of diſcourſe to moſt knowing men. The Points were intricate and weighty, ſuch as in all Ages of the Church had exerciſed the wits of the greateſt Scholars. Thoſe which had taken on them to declare for truth that which they took to be the ſenſe and meaning of

the

the Articles, in thoſe intricate Points, were at the beſt no other than a company of Lay Perſons, met together on another occaſion; who, though they might probably be ſuppoſed for the wiſeſt men, could not in reaſon be relied on as the greateſt Clerks. And therefore it muſt needs be looked on as a kind of *Prodigie*, that men unqualified, and no way authorized for any ſuch purpoſe, ſhould take upon them to determine in ſuch weighty matters, as were more proper for a National or Provincial Council: But being it proceeded from the Houſe of Commons, whoſe power began to grow more formidable every day than other, no body durſt adventure a Reply unto it; till *Laud* himſelf, by whoſe procurement his Majeſties Declaration had been publiſhed, laying aſide the Dignity of his Place and Perſon, thought fit to make ſome *Scholia's*, or ſhort notes upon it. Which not being publiſhed at that time in Print (for ought I have either heard or ſeen) but found in the rifling of his Study amongſt the reſt of his Papers, I ſhall preſent unto the Reader in theſe following words: LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1628.

*And firſt* (ſaith he) *the Publick Acts of the Church in matters of Doctrine are Canons and Acts of Councils, as well for expounding as determining; The Acts of the High Commiſſion are not in this ſenſe Publick Acts of the Church, nor the meeting of a few or more Biſhops* Extra Concilium *unleſs they be by lawful Authority called to that work, and their deciſion approved by the Church. Secondly, The currant Expoſition of Writers is a ſtrong probable argument,* De ſenſu Canonis Eccleſiæ vel Articuli; *yet but probable: The currant Expoſition of the Fathers themſelves have ſometimes miſſed* Senſum Eccleſiæ. *Thirdly, Will you reject* all *ſenſe of* Jeſuite *or* Arminian? *May not ſome be true? May not ſome be agreeable to our Writers, and yet in a way that is ſtronger than ours to confirm the Article? Fourthly, Is there by this Act any Interpretation made or declared of the Articles or not? If none, to what end the Act? If a ſenſe or interpretation be declared, what Authority have Lay-men to make it? For interpretation of an Article belongs to them only that have power to make it. Fifthly, It is manifeſt there is a ſenſe declared by the Houſe of Commons, the Act ſaies it,* (We avow the Article, and in that ſenſe, and all other that agree not with us in the aforeſaid ſenſe, we reject (*theſe, and theſe go about miſinterpretation of a ſenſe*; Ergo, *there is a Declaration of a ſenſe; yea, but it is not a new ſenſe declared by them, but they* avow *the old ſenſe declared by the Church*) the publick Authentick Acts of the Church, *&c.*) *yea, but if there be no ſuch publick Authentick Acts of the Church, then here is a* ſenſe *of their own declared under the pretexts of it. Sixthly, It ſeems againſt the Kings Declaration,* 1. *That ſays, We ſhall take the general meaning of the Articles: This Act reſtrains them to conſent of Writers.* 2. *That ſays, The Articles ſhall not be drawn aſide any way, but that we ſhall take it in the literal and Grammatical ſenſe: This Act ties us to conſent of Writers, which may, and perhaps do, go againſt the literal ſenſe; for here is no* *Cant. Doom.* p. 163.

*exception,*

PART I. Anno Dom. 1628.

*exception; ſo we ſhall be perplexed, and our conſent required to things contrary. Seventhly, All conſent in all Ages, as far as I have obſerved, to an Article or Canon, is to it ſelf as it is laid down in the body of it, and if it bear more ſenſes than one, it is lawful for any man to chuſe what ſenſe his judgment directs him to, ſo that it be a ſenſe* ſecundum Analogiam fidei, *and that he hold it peaceably without diſtracting the Church, and this till the Church that made the Article determine a ſenſe: And the wiſdom of the Church hath been in all Ages, or in moſt, to require conſent to Articles in General, as much as may be, becauſe that is the way of unity; and the Church in high points requiring aſſent to particulars, hath been rent; as* De Tranſubſtantiatione, *&c.*

It is reported of *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*, Sirnamed the *Wiſe*, that he uſed many times to ſay (never the worſe for ſo ſaying) That if he had ſtood at God Almighties Elbow when he made the world, he would have put him in mind of ſome things which had been forgotten, or otherwiſe might have been better ordered than they were. And give me leave to ſay, with as little wiſdom, (though with no ſuch blaſphemy) that if I had ſtood at his Lordſhips Elbow when he made theſe *Scholia's*, I would have put him in mind of returning an anſwer to that Clauſe of the ſaid Declaration, in which it is affirmed, *That the Articles of Religion were eſtabliſhed in Parliament in the thirteenth of Queen* Elizabeth. But I would fain know of them whether the Parliament they ſpeake of, or any other ſince or before that time, did take upon them to confirm *Articles* of Religion, agreed on by the Clergy in their Convocations, or that they appointed any *Committee for Religion* to examine the Orthodoxie of thoſe Articles, and make report unto the Houſe. All which was done in that Parliament was this, and on this occaſion. Some Miniſters of the Church ſo ſtifly wedded to their old *Mumſimus* of the Maſs; and ſome as furiouſly proſecuting their new *Sumpſimus* of *inconformity*, it was thought fit that between thoſe contending parties, the Doctrine of the Church ſhould be kept inviolate. And thereupon it was Enacted, That every perſon under the degree of a Biſhop, which did or ſhould pretend to be a Prieſt or Miniſter of Gods holy Word and Sacraments in the Church of *England*, ſhould before *Chriſtmaſs* next following, in the preſence of his Dioceſan Biſhop, teſtifie his aſſent and ſubſcribe to the ſaid Articles of the year 1562. Secondly, That after ſuch ſubſcribing before the Biſhop, he ſhould on ſome Sunday in the Forenoon in the Church or Chappel where he ſerved, in time of Divine Service read openly the ſaid Articles, on pain of being deprived of all his Eccleſiaſtical Promotions as if he were then naturally dead. Thirdly, That if any Eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhould maintain any Doctrine contrary to any of the ſaid Articles, and being Convented before his Biſhop, *&c.* and ſhould perſiſt therein, it ſhould be juſt cauſe to deprive ſuch perſon of his Eccleſiaſtical Promoti-

Promotions. Fourthly, That all perſons to be admitted to any Benefice with cure, ſhould likewiſe ſubſcribe to the ſaid Articles, and publickly read the ſame in the open Church, within two months after their Induction, with declaration of their unfeigned aſſent to the ſame, on the pain aforeſaid. In all which there was nothing done to confirm theſe Articles, but only a pious care expreſſed for reformation of ſuch diſorders as were like to riſe amongſt the Miniſters of the Church by requiring their ſubſcription and aſſent unto them under ſuch temporal puniſhments, which at that time the Canons of the Church had not laid upon them.

But it is time to leave theſe follies of my own, and return to our Biſhop, who had thus ſeaſonably manifeſted both his Zeal and Judgment in reference to the peace of the Church in general; nor ſhewed he leſs in reference to the peace of that Univerſitie, which had the happineſs and honour of his Education. The Proctorſhip had before been carried by a combination of ſome houſes againſt the reſt; the weaker ſide calling in ſtrangers and non-reſidents to give voyces for them. For remedie whereof a Letter in another year was procured from the Earl of *Pembroke*, then Chancellour of that Univerſity, by which it was declared, that only ſuch as were actually Reſidents ſhould be admitted to their Suffrages in the ſaid Elections; which Letter was proteſted againſt by the *Proctors* for the year 1627. as knowing how deſtructive it was of their plot and party: And on the other ſide, ſuch Colledges as had many Chappelries, and other places, which were removable at pleaſure, inveſted many which came out of the Country in the ſaid Offices and Places one after another, thereby admitting them for the time into actual reſidence. In which eſtate things ſtood when the great competition was, *April* 23. 1628. betwixt *Williamſon* of *Magdalens*, and *More* of *New-Colledge* on the one ſide, and *Bruch* of *Brazen-noſe*, with *Lloyd* of *Jeſus Colledge* on the other ſide. Theſe laſt pretending foul play to be offered to them (as indeed it was not very fair) made their appeal unto the King; before whom the proceedings being heard and examined, *Williamſon* and *Lloyd* were returned *Proctors* for that year, the laſt pretending Kindred to the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham*. And to prevent the like diſorders for the time to come, it was reſolved by the King, with the Advice of his Council, but of *Laud* eſpecially, that the *Proctors* ſhould from thenceforth be choſen by their ſeverall Colledges, each Colledge having more or fewer turns, according to the number and greatneſs of their Foundations. To which end a *Cycle* was deviſed, containing a perpetual Revolution of three and twenty years, within which Latitude of time, *Chriſt-Church* was to enjoy ſix Proctors, *Magdalen* five, *New-Colledge* foure, *Merton*, *All-Souls*, *Exeter*, *Brazen-Noſe*, St. *Johns*, and *Wadham* Colledges to have three a piece; *Trinity*, *Queens*, *Orial*, and *Corpus Chriſti* to have only two; the reſt, that is to ſay, *Univerſity*, *Baliol*, *Lincoln*, *Jeſus*, and *Pembroke*, but one alone; which *Cycle* was ſo

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1628.

contrived, that every Colledge knew their turn before it came, and did accordingly reſolve on the fitteſt man to ſupply the place. And for the more peaceable ordering of ſuch other matters in the Univerſity, as had relation thereunto, ſome Statutes were digeſted by *Laud*, and recommended by the King to the ſaid Univerſity, where they were chearfully received, without contradiction, and Entred on Record in the Publick Regiſters in *December* following. Yet was not this the only good turn which that Univerſity received from him in this Year: For in the two Months next enſuing, he procured no fewer than 260 *Greek Manuſcripts* to be given unto the Publick Library; that is to ſay, 240 of them by the Munificence of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and 20 by the Bounty of Sir *Thomas Row*, then newly returned from his Negotiations in the Eaſtern parts.

And now the time of the next Parliamentary Meeting, which by divers Adjournments had been put off till the twentieth of *January*, was neer at hand. And that the Meeting might be more agreeable to his Intendments, his Majeſty was adviſed to ſmooth and prepare his way unto it, firſt by removing of ſome Rubs, and after by ſome popular Acts of Place and Favour. *Savill* of *Yorkſhire*, a buſie man in the Houſe of Commons, but otherwiſe a politick and prudent Perſon, he had taken off at the end of the former Parliament, by making him one of his Privy Council, and preferring him to be Comptroller of his Houſhold, in the place of *Suckling* then deceaſed; and at the end of the laſt Seſſion had raiſed him to the honour of Lord *Savill* of *Pontfract*. Competitor with *Savill* in all his Elections for that County, had been Sir *Thomas Wentworth* of *Wentworth Woodhouſe*, a man of moſt prodigious Parts, which he had made uſe of at firſt in favour of the Popular Faction, and for refuſing of the *Loan* had been long impriſoned. He looked on the Preferments of *Savill* (his old Adverſary) with no ſmall diſdain, taking himſelf to be, as indeed he was, as much above him in Revenue, as in Parts and Power. To ſweeten and demulce this man, Sir *Richard Weſton* then Lord Treaſurer, created afterwards Earl of *Portland*, uſed his beſt endeavours; and having gained him to the King, not only procured him to be one of his Majeſties Privy Council, but to be made Lord *Preſident* of the *North*, and advanc'd unto the Title of *Viſcount Wentworth*; by which he over-topped the *Savills* both in Court and Country. Being ſo gained unto the King, he became the moſt devout Friend of the Church, the greateſt Zealot for advancing the *Monarchical* Intereſt, and the ableſt Miniſter of State both for Peace and War, that any of our former Hiſtories have afforded to us. He had not long frequented the Council-Table, when *Laud* and he, coming to a right underſtanding of one another, entred into a League of ſuch inviolable Friendſhip, that nothing but the inevitable ſtroke of Death could part them; and joining hearts and hands together, co-operated from thenceforth for advancing the Honour of the Church, and his Majeſties Service.

Theſe

Theſe Matters being carried thus, to aſſure himſelf of two ſuch Perſons, in which he very much pleaſed himſelf, his Majeſty muſt do ſomething alſo to pleaſe the People; and nothing was conceived could have pleaſed them more, than to grant them their deſires in matters which concerned Religion, and beſtow Favours upon ſuch men as were dear unto them. In purſuance of his gracious Anſwer to the Lords and Commons, touching Prieſts and Jeſuits, the growth of *Popery*, and obſtinacy of Recuſants, he had cauſed his Proclamation to be iſſued on the third of *Auguſt*, for putting the Laws and Statutes made againſt Jeſuits, Prieſts, and Popiſh Recuſants, in due Execution: And now he adds another to it, dated on the eleventh day of *December*, for the Apprehenſion of *Richard Smith* a *Popiſh Prieſt*, ſtyling and calling himſelf the Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, a dangerous man, and one who under colour of a Foreign Title, exerciſed all manner of Epiſcopal Juriſdiction in the Church of *England*. And on the other ſide, Archbiſhop *Abbot*, a great Confident of the Popular Party in the Houſe of Commons, is ſent for to the Court about *Chriſtmas*, and from out of his Barge received by the Archbiſhop of *York* and the Earl of *Dorſet*, by them accompanied to the King, who giving him his Hand to kiſs, enjoined him not to fail the *Council-Table* twice a week. And ſo far all was well, beyond all exception; but whether it were ſo in the two next alſo, hath been much diſputed. *Barnaby Potter*, *Provoſt* of *Queens Colledge* in *Oxon.* a thorow-pac'd *Calvinian* (but otherwiſe his ancient Servant) is preferr'd to the Biſhoprick of *Carliſle*, then vacant by the Tranſlation of *White* to the See of *Norwich*. *Mountague*'s Book, named *Appello Cæſarem*, muſt be called in alſo; not in regard of any falſe Doctrine contained in it: but, *for being the firſt cauſe of thoſe Diſputes and Differences which have ſince much troubled the quiet of the Church*; His Majeſty hoping, *That the occaſion being taken away, men would no longer trouble themſelves with ſuch unneceſſary Diſputations*. Whether his Majeſty did well in doing no more, if the Book contained any falſe Doctrine in it; or in doing ſo much, if it were done only to pleaſe the Parliament, I take not upon me to determine: But certainly, it never falleth out well with Chriſtian Princes, when they make Religion bend to Policy, or think to gain their ends on men by doing ſuch things as they are not plainly guided to by the Light of Conſcience, And ſo it hapned to his Majeſty at this preſent time; thoſe two laſt Actions being looked on only as Tricks of King-craft, done only out of a deſign for getting him more love in the hearts of his People than before he had. Againſt the calling in of *Mountague*'s Book, it was objected commonly to his diſadvantage, That it was not done till three years after it came out, till it had been queſtioned in three ſeveral Parliaments, till all the Copies of it were diſperſed and ſold; and then too, That it was called in without any Cenſure either of the Author or his Doctrines; That the Author had been puniſhed with a very

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1628.

*Hiſt. of* K. Charles.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1628.

good Biſhoprick, and the Book ſeemingly diſcountenanced, to no other end but to divert thoſe of contrary perſwaſion from Writing or Acting any thing againſt it in the following Parliament. And as for *Potter*, what could he have done leſs in common gratitude, than to prefer him to a Biſhoprick, for ſo many years Service as *Potter* in his time had done him both as Prince and King. So true is that of the wiſe Hiſtorian, (a) *When Princes once are in diſcredit with their Subjects, as well their good Actions as their bad are all accounted Grievances.*

(a) *Inviſo ſemel principe cuncta mala facta, cum male facta premunt* Tacit. Hiſt.

For notwithſtanding all theſe preparatory actions, the Commons were reſolved to begin at the ſame Point where before they ended. The Parliament had been Prorogued as they were hammering a Remonſtrance againſt *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, which animated *Chambers*, *Rouls*, and ſome other Merchants, to refuſe the payment; for which refuſal ſome of their Goods was ſeiſed by Order from the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*, and ſome of them committed Priſoners by the Kings Command. Theſe matters ſo poſſeſſed their thoughts, that a week was paſſed before they could reſume their old care of Religion, or think of Petitioning his Majeſty for a Publick Faſt: but at laſt they fell upon them both. To their Petition for a Faſt (not tendred to his Majeſty till the thirtieth of *January*) he returned this Anſwer the next day, *viz.* That this Cuſtom of Faſts at every Seſ-
"ſion was but lately begun; That he was not ſo fully ſatisfied of
"the neceſſity of it at this time; That notwithſtanding, for the
"avoiding of Queſtions and Jealouſies, he was pleaſed to grant them
"their Requeſt, with this *Proviſo*, That it ſhould not hereafter be
"brought into Preſident but on great occaſions: And finally, That as
"for the form and times thereof he would adviſe with his Biſhops,
"and then return unto both Houſes a particular Anſwer. But ſo long it was before that Anſwer came unto them, and ſo perverſe were they in croſſing with his Majeſties Counſels, that the Parliament was almoſt ended before the Faſt was kept in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and diſſolved many days before it was to have been kept in the reſt of the Kingdom. And for Religion, they inſiſted on it with ſuch importunity, that his Majeſty could no longer diſſemble his taking notice of it, as a meer artifice and diverſion to ſtave him off from being gratified in the Grant of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, which he ſo often preſs'd them to. And thereupon he lets them know, *That he underſtood the cauſe of their delay in his buſineſs to be* Religion, *of the preſervation whereof none of them ſhould have greater care than himſelf; and that either it muſt be an Argument he wanted Power to preſerve it (which he thought no body would affirm) or at the leaſt, That he was very ill counſelled, if it were in ſo much danger as they had reported.*

This notwithſtanding, they proceed in their former way. His Majeſty had granted ſeveral Pardons to *Mountague*, *Coſens*, *Manwairing*, and *Sibthorp*, before-mentioned. Theſe Pardons muſt be queſtioned,

ſtioned, and the men ſummoned to appear: And Information is preferred by *Jones* againſt *Mountague*'s Confirmation in the See of *Chicheſter*, which after many diſputes is referred to a Select Committee. Complaint is made againſt *Neile* Biſhop of *Winton*. for for ſaying to ſome Divines of his Dioceſs, *That they muſt not Preach againſt Papiſts now, as they had done formerly.* *Marſhall* and *Moor*, two Doctors in Divinity (but ſuch as had received ſome diſpleaſures from him) are brought in to prove it. Upon him alſo it was charged, That the Pardons of *Mountague* and *Coſens* were of his procuring: Inſomuch that *Eliot* pronounced poſitively, *That all the Dangers which they feared, were contracted in the perſon of that Biſhop*; and thereupon deſired, *That a Motion might be made to his Majeſty to leave him to the Juſtice of that Houſe.* Many Reports come flowing in to the Committee for Religion, of turning Tables into Altars, adoring towards or before them, and ſtanding up at the Goſpels and the *Gloria Patri*, which muſt be alſo taken into conſideration. The Articles of *Lambeth* are declared to be the Doctrines of this Church, and all that did oppoſe them to be called in queſtion. *Walker* delivered a Petition from the Bookſellers and Printers, in complaint of the Reſtraint of Books written againſt *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*; and the contrary allowed of, by the only means of the Biſhop of *London*; and, That divers of them had been *Purſevanted* for Printing of *Orthodox Books*; and, That the Licencing of Books was only to be reſtrained to the ſaid Biſhop and his Chaplains. Hereupon followed a Debate amongſt them about the Licencing of Books, which having taken up ſome time, was referred to the Committee alſo, as the other was. By theſe Embraceries the Committee for Religion had Work enough, more than they knew how to turn their hands to. But before they could bring any thing to perfection, his Majeſty was ſo exaſperated by their rigorous Proceedings againſt the Farmers of his Cuſtoms, the Impriſoning of *Acton* Sheriff of *London*, their Voting down his Right to *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, and their threatning Speeches againſt the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*, whom he highly favoured; That on the ſecond of *March* he Adjourned the Houſe, and on the tenth of the ſame Month Diſſolved the Parliament. At which Adjournment ſome of the Members carried themſelves in ſuch an undutiful (I muſt not ſay a ſeditious) manner, that they locked up the Doors of the Houſe, put the Keys into one of their Pockets, excluded the Kings Meſſenger from coming in to deliver his Errand, compelled the Speaker to return to his Chair, and held him there by ſtrong hand, till they had thundred out their *Anathema's*, not only againſt ſuch as ſhould dare to Levy the *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, but thoſe alſo who ſhould willingly pay it, before it had been granted by Act of Parliament; for which Contempts and Diſobediencies, the principal Sticklers were convented by the Lords of the Council, and after brought before the Juſtices of his Majeſties Bench, by whom they were not only fined,

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1628.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1628. fined, but committed unto ſeveral Priſons, notwithſtanding all they could pretend or plead from the *Petition of Right*, which they ſo much ſtood on. So hard a thing it is to finde a cord ſo ſtrong as to bind the Prerogative, when Kings have either Power or Will to make uſe thereof.

1629. During this laſt Parliament, *Leighton*, a *Scot* by birth, a Doctor of Phyſick by Profeſſion, a fiery *Puritan* in Faction, dedicated a moſt peſtilent Book unto them called *Sions Plea*: In this Book he incited them *to kill all the Biſhops, and to ſmite them under the fifth Rib*; inveighing alſo againſt the *Queen*, whom he branded by the name of an *Idolatreſs*, a *Canaanite*, and the Daughter of *Heth*. And that this general Doctrine might not be Preached without a particular Application, a Paper was caſt into the yard belonging to the Houſe of the Dean of St. *Pauls*, *March* 2. to this effect; *viz.* "*Laud* look to "thy ſelf; be aſſured thy Life is ſought, as thou art the fauterer of "all Wickedneſs: Repent thee, repent thee of thy monſtrous ſins, "before thou be taken out of the World, *&c.* And aſſure thy ſelf, "neither God nor the World can indure ſuch a vile Counſellor to "live, or ſuch a Whiſperer. Another was found at the ſame time and place againſt the Lord Treaſurer, who now is made the Scape-Goat, to bear all thoſe faults in Civil Matters which formerly had been imputed to the Duke of *Buckingham*. It was no need to bid them have a care of themſelves, after two ſuch Warnings: *Leighton* is therefore brought into the *Star-Chamber* as ſoon as he could be apprehended, where he was Sentenced to have his Ears cropp'd, his Noſe ſlit, his Forehead ſtigmatized, and to be whipped: But between the Sentence and Execution he made his eſcape out of the *Fleet*, though by better hap to the *Warden*, than to himſelf, he was retaken in *Bedfordſhire*, and underwent the puniſhment appointed for him; but this hapned not till *November* 29. 1630. The reſt of this Year (in reference to our preſent Story) was of little Action, *Laud* falling into a burning Fever on the fourteenth of *Auguſt*, at the Houſe of *Windebank* his old Friend, by which he was brought to ſuch a low and weak eſtate, that he was not able to reach to his own Houſe till *October* 20. nor to put himſelf into the Service of his Place till the end of *March*. Yet ſuch was the Activeneſs of his Spirit, that though his Body was infirm, yet his Thoughts were working. He ſaw the Church decaying both in Power and Patrimony: Her Patrimony dilapidated by the Avarice of ſeveral Biſhops, in making havock of their Woods to enrich themſelves; and more than ſo, in filling up their Grants and Leaſes to the utmoſt term, after they had been nominated to ſome other Biſhoprick, to the great wrong of their Succeſſors. Her Power he found diminiſhed partly by the Biſhops themſelves, in leaving their Dioceſſes unregarded, and living altogether about *Weſtminſter*, to be in a more ready way for the next Preferment; partly by the great increaſe of Chaplains in the Houſes of many private Gentlemen: but chiefly by the multitude

titude of Irregular Lecturers, both in City and Country, whoſe work it was to undermine as well the Doctrine as the Government of it. For the preventing of ſuch miſchiefs as might hence enſue, ſome Conference had paſſed betwixt him and *Harſnet*, who lately had ſucceeded *Mountain* (before he had half warmed his Chair) in the See of *York*; and certain Conſiderations were reſolved upon to be propounded to the King, for the peace and well-ordering of the Church; which being reduced into form, and by *Laud* preſented to his Majeſty, were firſt ſigned by his Majeſties Royal Hand, and publiſhed in *December* following by the Title of *His Majeſties Inſtructions to the moſt Reverend Father in God* George *Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *containing certain Orders to be obſerved and put in execution by the ſeveral Biſhops in his Province*: Which ſaid Inſtructions were as followeth

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1629.

# CHARLES REX.

I. *That the Lords the Biſhops be commanded to their ſeveral Sees, there to keep Reſidence; excepting thoſe which are at neceſſary Attendance at Court.*

II. *That none of them Reſide upon his Land or Leaſe that he hath Purchaſed, nor on his* Commendam, *if he hold any; but in one of his* Epiſcopal Houſes, *if he have any ſuch: And that he waſte not the Woods where any are left.*

III. *That they give Charge in their* Triennial Viſitations, *and at other convenient times, both by themſelves and their Arch-Deacons, That the Declaration for ſettling all Queſtions in difference, be ſtrictly obſerved by all Parties.*

IV. *That there be a ſpecial Care taken by them all, That their Ordinations be Solemn, and not of unworthy Perſons.*

V. *That they take great Care concerning the* Lecturers *in their ſeveral* Dioceſes, *for whom We give theſe Special Directions following.*

1. *That in all Pariſhes the afternoon Sermons be turned into Catechiſing by Queſtion and Anſwer, where and whenſoever there is not ſome great cauſe apparent to break this ancient and profitable Order.*

2. *That every Biſhop Ordain in his* Dioceſs, *That every* Lecturer *do read* Divine Service *according to the* Liturgy *Printed by Authority, in his* Surplice, *and before the* Lecture.

3. *That where a* Lecture *is ſet up in a Market-Town, it may be Read by a Company of Grave and Orthodox Divines near adjoining, and in the ſame* Dioceſs; *and that they Preach in Gowns, and not in Cloaks, as too many do uſe.*

4. *That if a Corporation do maintain a ſingle* Lecturer, *he be not ſuffered to Preach till he profeſs his willingneſs to take upon*

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1629.

*upon him a* Living *with* Cure of ſouls, *within that incorporation, and that he do actually take ſuch* Benefice *or* Cure *ſo ſoon as the ſame ſhall be fairely procured for him.*

VI. *That the Biſhops do incourage and countenance the grave and Orthodox Divines of their Clergy, and that they uſe all means by ſome of their Clergy, or others, that they have knowledge how both* Lecturers *and* Preachers *within their Dioceſſes behave themſelves in their Sermons, that ſo they may take order for any abuſe accordingly.*

VII. *That the Biſhop ſuffer none under Noblemen, and men qualified by the Law, to have any private Chaplain in his houſe.*

VIII. *That they take eſpecial care, that Divine Service be diligently frequented, as well for the Prayers and Catechiſm, as Sermons; and take particular notice of all ſuch as abſent themſelves as Recuſants, or otherwiſe.*

IX. *That every Biſhop, who by Our Grace and Favour, and good opinion of his Service, ſhall be nominated by Us to another Biſhoprick, ſhall not from that day of nomination preſume to make any Leaſe for three Lives, or one and twenty years, or* Concurrent *Leaſe, or any way renew any Eſtate, or cut any wood or timber, but meerly to receive the Rents due, and ſo quit the place; For we think it a hateful thing that any mans leaving the Biſhoprick ſhould almoſt undo his Succeſſor. And if any man ſhall preſume to break this Order, We will refuſe him at Our Royal Aſſent, and keep him at the place which he hath ſo abuſed.*

X. *And laſtly, We command you to give Us an account every year on the ſecond of* January *of the performance of theſe Our Commands.*

The Reader may think ſtrange that in the ſecond of theſe Inſtructions we ſhould find any Biſhop under a ſuppoſition of having no Epiſcopal houſe for his habitation; concerning which he is to know that the Biſhops of *Oxon* at that time had no houſe left belonging to their Epiſcopal See, either in the City, or in the Country: but dwelt at their Parſonage houſes which they held in *commendam*, as before Dr. *Bridges*, who had no *commendam* within the Dioceſs, did for the moſt part in hired houſes. For though at the foundation of the Biſhoprick of *Oxon*, in the Abbey of *Oſeney* the King appointed *Gloceſter* Hall for the Biſhops Palace; yet when that foundation was diſſolved, and the Biſhops See removed to *Chriſt Church*, the Grant of *Gloceſter* Hall was diſſolved alſo. The Biſhops thereupon retired to ſome Country houſe within the Dioceſs, which appertained unto them in the right of their See, as long as any of their Mannours, Land, and Houſes were left unſould. But they being finally made a prey to the Luſt and Sacriledge of ſome great perſons, they have ſince lived for the moſt part in hired houſes, or on their *Commendams* (if they had any ſuch) within their Dioceſſes, till the year 1632.

1632. when Dr. *John Bancroft* was made Biſhop of *Oxon*, who having at or about that time obtained of the King that the Vicaridge of *Cudſden*, about five miles from *Oxon*, being of his own proper Patronage and Donation, might be annexed for ever unto his Epiſcopal See, built there at the perſwaſion of our Biſhop of *London*, a very fair and convenient houſe, with a decent Chappel thereunto, to be the ordinary dwelling place of himſelf, and his Succeſſors. But the houſe proved almoſt as ſhort lived as the Founder, being burned down by Collonel *Leg*, during the ſhort time that he was Governour of *Oxon*, for fear it might be made a Garriſon by the Parliament Forces; though with as much reaſon, and more piety, he might have garriſoned it for the King, and preſerved the houſe. LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1629.

But to proceed, No ſooner were theſe *Inſtructions* come to the hands of Archbiſhop *Abbot*, but they were preſently diſperſed, and communicated to the Sufragan Biſhops. In this he acted only *Miniſterially*, and durſt do no otherwiſe, but when he came to act *Authoritatively*, in his own capacity he betrayed the cauſe; he neither liked the third Inſtruction for obſerving his Majeſties Declaration before the Articles, that being looked on as an Artifice to bring in *Arminianiſm*. Nor was he pleaſed with any of the Limitations concerning *Lecturers*, to whom (as the chief ſticklers in the *Puritan* Cauſe) he was alwaies favourable; which laſt affection he was ſo unable to conceal, that when the *Dean* and *Archdeacon* of *Canterbury* had ſuſpended *Palmer* and *Udnay*, two of the *Lecturers* in that Dioceſs, whom they found obſtinately inconformable to the Kings Directions; He reſtored them not long after to their ſeveral Lectures, inhibiting the Archdeacon from his Jurisdiction, and expoſing all that Acted in it to contempt and ſcorn. And if an Archbiſhop could be ſo unſatisfied for putting theſe Inſtructions into execution, as his place required, there is no queſtion to be made; but various deſcants and reports would be raiſed upon them by moſt ſorts of People. The Country Gentlemen took it ill to be deprived of the liberty of keeping Chaplains in their houſes, from which they had not been debarred by the Laws of the Land. The Laws indeed had taken order, that no perſons under the Degree of a Baron, (ſome Judges and great Offices excepted only) ſhould qualifie any of their Chaplaines for a diſpenſation to hold more than one Benefice with *Cure of Soules*, or to be diſpenſed with for not reſiding on ſuch Cures as they were preferred to. And they had taken order how many Chaplains every ſuch perſon, according to his Rank and Degree in the *Scale* of Nobility, ſhould be enabled to qualifie to thoſe ends and purpoſes: but otherwiſe all perſons had been left at liberty to keep as many as they would, and as long as they pleaſed, without any comptroll. Nor were the Chaplains better pleaſed than their Maſters were. For having lived upon hard commons, and perhaps under ſome ſmart Diſcipline alſo in their Halls and Colledges, they thought that they had ſpent their ſtudies to good purpoſe by finding *Cant. Dom.* p. 513.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1629.

eaſe and a full belly in theſe Gentlemens houſes, from whom there was ſome poſſibility of preferment alſo, which better Scholars then themſelves might have otherwiſe hoped for. Such of the Biſhops as were poſſeſſed of the poorer Biſhopricks were as much troubled as the other, and thought it the worſt kind of baniſhments to be confined unto the Country; complaining privately, that now the Court-Biſhops had ſerved their own turns upon the King, they cared not what miſeries their poor brethren were expoſed unto; who if they were conſtrained to live in their Epiſcopal houſes, or in any other place within their Dioceſſes, muſt be conſtrained alſo to keep up ſuch a Port, and maintain ſuch open Hoſpitality as their Revenues could not bear. Nor was it thought a leſs injury to them, that they could not make the beſt of their time, but were required to be good huſbands for another man, who was to enjoy the place which they were to leave; when they were fain to take it as it came to their hands, without any prevention going before, or ſatisfaction following after.

But greater were the clamours of the *Puritan* Faction, reviving all, which had been made againſt the like Inſtructions in the time of King *James*, and the late Declaration publiſhed by the King reigning. For what leſs could be aimed at in them than ſuppreſſing the Divine Ordinance of Preaching, or at the leaſt, a dreadful diminution of the number of Sermons; And what could follow thereupon, but negligence in the Prieſts, ignorance in the People, *Popery* and Superſtition in the mean time gaining ground on both. Spending the afternoons in teaching the Catechiſm was a work fitter for a *Pedagogue* than a preaching Miniſter, who rather were ordained to provide *ſtrong meats* for men, than *milk* for babes; and yet ſuch was the ſtrictneſs of the ſaid *Inſtructions*, in looking to the obſervance of the late *Declaration*, that they were not ſuffered to ſet *ſtrong meats* before the people, though men of ripe years, and ſomewhat more than children in their underſtandings. Preaching muſt be reſtrained hereafter to Gods Will *revealed*, to Faith in Chriſt, and Moral duties toward God and men: but as for his ſecret Will and Purpoſe in the unfathomable depths of *Predeſtination*, thoſe muſt be kept ſealed up under lock and key, and none but the *Arminians* have the opening of them. And yet the grief had been the leſs if *Lecturers* had been left to their former liberty, and not tied up to *Gown* and *Surplice*, or fettered with *Parochial* cures, and conſequently with Subſcriptions and Canonical Oaths; badges of Antichriſt, and profeſſed enemies to the pure Freedom of the Goſpel. Where might a man repair with comfort to hear Gods Word preached in truth and ſimplicity, the Sacraments adminiſtred in their original nakedneſs; to hear Chriſt ſpeaking in his Prophets, and the Prophets ſpeaking to the People if this world went on? But notwithſtanding theſe ſecret Murmurs on the one ſide, and the open Clamours of the other, *Laud* was reſolved to do his duty, who ſummoning all the

*Miniſters*

*Miniſters* and *Lecturers* about the City of *London* to appear before him, made a ſolemn Speech, in which he preſſed the neceſſity of his Majeſties ſaid *Inſtructions* for the good of the Church, and of their chearful obedience to them; He directed Letters alſo to every Archdeacon in his Dioceſs requiring them to ſee them publiſhed to all the Clergy, and to give him an exact account at the end of their Viſitations how they were obſerved; eſpecially inſiſting on the third Inſtruction, *For keeping the Kings Declaration, that ſo the differences and diſputes in thoſe prohibited points might be laid aſide.* The like care taken alſo by the reſt of the Biſhops, but ſlackning by degrees when the heat was over; and poſſibly in ſhort time after they had not been looked into at all, if *Abbot* had continued longer in the See of *Canterbury:* or that his Majeſty had not enjoyned the Biſhops to give him an exact account of their proceedings in the ſaid particulars, not once for all, but Annually once in every year, on the ſecond of *January.* Which care being taken for the peace and happineſs of the Church of *England*, we will lay hold upon this opportunity for croſſing over into *Ireland*, and taking a ſhort view of the ſtate of Religion in that Country; which from henceforth ſhall be lookt into more than hath been formerly.

Concerning which we are to know, that when the Reformation was advanced in the Church of *England*, the firſt care was to let the people have the Bible, the publick Liturgie, and certain godly Homilies in the Engliſh tongue; as appeareth by the Statutes 2,3. *Edw.* vi. 5,6. *Edw.* vi. and 1 *Eliz.* Secondly, The like care was taken of the *Welch*; For whoſe Inſtruction it was further ordered, partly by the Queen, and partly by Act of Parliament, in the fifth of her Reign, that as well the Bible as the Common-Prayer Book ſhould be Tranſlated, Printed, and Publiſhed in that Language; one Book of each ſort to be provided for every ſeveral Church at the Charge of the Pariſh. Which being Printed at the firſt in the large Church-Volume, was afterwards reduced to a more portable bulk for Domeſtical uſes by the coſt and charge of *Rowland Heylyn*, Citizen and Alderman of *London*, about the beginning of the Reign of this King. But for *Ireland* no ſuch care was taken. The Acts of the Supremacy, and of the Conſecrations of Archbiſhops and Biſhops were received there as before in *England*, the *Engliſh Liturgie* impoſed on them by order from hence, and confirmed by Parliament in that Kingdom. Which notwithſtanding not only the *Kernes*, or natural wild *Iriſh*, but many of the better ſort of the Nation, either remain in their old barbarous ignorance, or elſe adhere unto the Pope, or finally to their own ſuperſtitious fancies, as in former times. And to ſay truth, it is no wonder that they ſhould, there being no care taken to inſtruct them in the *Proteſtant* Religion, either by tranſlating the Bible, or the Engliſh *Liturgy*, into their own Language, as was done in *Wales*; but forcing them to come to the Engliſh Service, which they underſtood no more than they did the *Maſs*. By means

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1629.

whereof the *Iriſh* are not only kept in continual ignorance, as to the Doctrine and Devotions of the Church of *England*: but thoſe of *Rome* are furniſhed with an excellent argument for having the Service of the Church in a Language which the Common people underſtand not. And though ſomewhat may be pleaded in excuſe thereof, during the unquietneſs of that Kingdom under Queen *Elizabeth*, who had the leaſt part of it in her poſſeſſion; yet no ſufficient plea can be made in defence of it for the time ſucceeding, when the whole Country was reduced, and every part thereof lay open to the courſe of Juſtice. So that I cannot look upon it without great amazement, that none of the Biſhops of that Church ſhould take care herein, or recommend the miſerable condition of that people to the Court of *England*.

Now as Popery continued by this means in the Realm of *Ireland*, ſo *Calviniſm* was as ſtrongly rooted in that part thereof, which profeſſed the Doctrine and Religion of the Church of *England*. And touching this we are to know alſo, that the *Calvinian* Doctrines being propagated in both Univerſities by ſuch Divines as lived in exile in Queen *Maries* time; one *Peter Baroe* a Frenchman obtained to be the Lady *Margarets* Profeſſor in the Divinity Schools at *Cambridge*. This man approving better the *Melanæthonian* Doctrine of Predeſtination than that of *Calvin*, publickly taught it in thoſe Schools, and gained in ſhort time very many followers. *Whitaker* was at that time her Majeſties Profeſſor for Divinity there, and *Perkins* at the ſame time was of no ſmall note, both *Calviniſts* in theſe points of Doctrine, and both of them *ſupralapſarians* alſo. Betwixt theſe men and *Baroe* there grew ſome diſputes, which afterwards begat ſome heats, and thoſe heats brake out at laſt into open *Factions*. Hereupon *Whitaker*, *Perkins*, *Chaderton*, and others of the ſame opinion, thought it expedient to effect that by power which they were not able to obtain by Argument. And to that end Preoccupate the moſt Reverend Archbiſhop *Whitgift* with moſt ſad complaints touching the Rupture made by *Baroe* in that Vniverſity. For remedy whereof, the Archbiſhop calls unto him *Fletcher* the Lord Elect of *London*, *Vaughan* the Lord Elect of *Bangor*, *Tyndal* Dean of *Ely*, and ſuch Divines as came from *Cambridge*, who meeting at his houſe in *Lambeth* on the twenty ſixth day of *November*, *Anno* 1595. did then and there conclude upon certain Articles, for regulating diſputations in thoſe points of Controverſie. Which Articles, being nine in number, are theſe that follow:

I. *God from all eternity hath predeſtinated certain men unto life, certain men he hath reprobated.*

II. *The moving or efficient cauſe of Predeſtination unto life, is not the foreſight of Faith, or of perſeverance, or of Good-works, or of any thing that is in the perſon predeſtinated. but only the good will and pleaſure of God.*

III. *There*

III. *There is predetermined a certain number of the Predeſtinate which can neither be augmented or diminiſhed.*

IV. *Thoſe who are not predeſtinated to ſalvation, ſhall be neceſſarily damned for their ſins.*

V. *A true living and juſtifying faith, and the Spirit of God juſtifying, is not extinguiſhed, falleth not away, it vaniſheth not away in the Act either finally or totally.*

VI. *A man truly faithful, that is, ſuch a one who is endued with a juſtifying Faith, is certain with the full aſſurance of faith, of the remiſſion of his ſins, and of his everlaſting ſalvation by Chriſt.*

VII. *Saving grace is not given, is not granted, is not communicated to all men; by which they may be ſaved if they will.*

VIII. *No man can come unto Chriſt unleſs it ſhall be given unto him, and unleſs the Father ſhall draw him; and all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to the Son.*

IX. *It is not in the will or power of every one to be ſaved.*

Theſe Articles being brought to *Cambridge* ſo diſcouraged *Baroe*, that when the ordinary time of his publick readings was expired, he forſook that place, and not many years after died in *London*. His Funerall being attended (by order from Biſhop *Bancroft*) by moſt of the Eminent Divines about that City, which ſhews that both the Biſhop, and the moſt eminent Divines of *London*, were either inclinable to his opinions, or not ſo averſe from them, as not to give a ſolemn attendance at the time of his Funeral. The news of which proceedings being brought to the Queen, ſhe was exceedingly offended, conceiving it a deep intrenchment upon her Prerogative, that any ſuch Declaration ſhould be made in matter of Religion without her Authority. Once was ſhe at a point to have them all indited of a *Præmunire*, but the high eſteem ſhe had of *Whitgift*, whom ſhe commonly called her *black husband*, reprieved all the reſt from the danger of it. Howſoever ſuch a ſtrict courſe was taken for ſuppreſſing the ſaid Articles, that a Copy of them was not to be found in *Cambridge* for a long time after; though after the Queens death they began to peep abroad again, and became more publick. Nor was King *James* better conceited of them than Queen *Elizabeth* was; for when it was moved by Dr *Reynolds* at *Hampton* Court that the nine *Orthodoxal Aſſertions* (as he pleaſed to call them) which were concluded on at *Lambeth* might be admitted into the confeſſion of the Church of *England*, the King ſo much diſliked the motion, that it was preſently rejected without more ado. But that which the *Calvinians* could not get in *England* they effected at the laſt in *Ireland*; where the true and genuine Doctrines of the Church of *England* had been leſs looked after than at home. For in the year *1615*. a Parliament and Convocation being holden in *Dublin*, it was reſolved on by the Archbiſhop, Biſhops, and the reſt of the Clergy then aſſembled, that a Book of Articles ſhould be framed to be the publick

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1629. Publick Confeſſion of that Church for ſucceeding times; the drawing up whereof was committed to Doctor *James Uſher* (afterwards Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and Lord *Primate* of *Ireland*) a Rigid *Calviniſt*, but otherwiſe the ableſt Scholar of that Nation: And he accordingly faſhioning the Doctrine for that Church by his own Conceptions, inſerted into the ſaid Book of Articles the nine Concluſions made at *Lambeth*, to be the ſtanding Rule (as he thought and hoped) of that Church for ever.

*Ushers Life, p. 49.*

And yet they did not ſtay there neither. The *Sabbatarian* Doctrines had been broached by *Bownd* in the ſame year wherein the nine Articles had been made at *Lambeth*: Which being oppoſed by Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, and never admitted in this Church, were by the cunning of that Faction, and the zeal or diligence of this man, incorporated into the Body of the Articles for the Church of *Ireland*; in which it is declared for a Doctrinal Point, *That the firſt day of the Week, which is the* Lords-day, *is wholly to be dedicated to the Service of God; and therefore we are* Bound *therein to reſt from our common and daily Buſineſs, and to beſtow that leiſure upon holy Exerciſes, both Publick and Private.* And becauſe he concluded in himſelf that the *Pope* was *Antichriſt*, that alſo muſt be made an Article of this Confeſſion, in which we find it in theſe words, *viz. The Biſhop of* Rome *is ſo far from being the Supream Head of the Univerſal Church, that his works and Doctrines do plainly diſcover him to be the* Man of Sin, *foretold in the Holy Scripture, whom the Lord ſhall conſume with the Spirit of his mouth, and aboliſh with the brightneſs of his coming.* Add hereunto, That the Plantation of the *Scots* in *Ulſter* (unhappily projected in the time of King *James*) brought in ſo much *Puritaniſm*, ſuch a contempt of Biſhops, ſuch a neglect of the Publick *Liturgie*, and other Divine Offices of this Church, that there was nothing leſs to be found amongſt them than the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worſhip eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*. The *Papiſts* in the mean time encreaſing more and more, grew at the laſt to ſo great a confidence, by the claſhings here in *England* betwixt the King and his Parliaments, that they gave themſelves great hope of a *Toleration*: And poſſibly enough they might have obtained ſomewhat like it, if the *Iriſh* Biſhops had not joined together in a *Proteſtation* to the contrary, and cauſed it to be publiſhed in the Pulpit by the Biſhop of *Derry*, with infinite Acclamations of the *Proteſtant* Hearers. Howſoever, the loſt hopes had ſo far emboldened them, that they ſet up ſome Religious Houſes even in *Dublin* it ſelf, ſhewed themſelves openly in their Friars Habits, and publickly affronted not only the Mayor, but the Archbiſhop of that City. This coming to his Majeſties knowledge, he cauſed his pleaſure to be ſignified to the Lords of his Council, "That Order ſhould "be taken there, That the Houſe where the ſaid *Seminary Friars* ap- "peared in their Habits, and wherein the Reverend Archbiſhop and "the Mayor of *Dublin* received their firſt Affront, be ſpeedily de- "moliſhed,

*Bibl. Regia, p. 31.*

"moliſhed, and be the Mark of Terrour to the Reſiſters of Autho- LIB. III.
"rity; and that the reſt of the Houſes erected or employed there *Anno Dom.*
"or elſewhere, to the uſe of Superſtitious Societies, be converted 1630.
"to Houſes of Correction, and to ſet the People on work, or to
"other Publick uſes, for the Advancement of Juſtice, good Arts,
"or Trade. Which Order of the Council-Table bears date 31 *January* 1629.

That part of the *Remonſtrance* of the Houſe of Commons which related to the Affairs of *Ireland*, firſt alarm'd *Laud* to take the Buſineſs of that Church into conſideration. And that he might be the better informed in all Particulars which concerned it, he took order with Doctor *William Beadle*, deſigned unto the Biſhoprick of *Kill-* *Cant. Domi.*
*more*, to give him an exact Account of the Eſtate of that Church, as ſoon as he could make any perfect Diſcovery of it. This Order of the Council-Table reinforced that caſe, and quickned the diſpatch of *Beadle* for his ſatisfaction, from whom he received a Letter dated *April* the firſt, *Anno* 1630. In which he ſignified, "That he had
"not been unmindful of his Lordſhips commands, which he was now
"the better able to perform, becauſe (ſaith he) I have been about
"my Dioceſs, and can ſet down out of my knowledge and view
"what I ſhall relate, and ſhortly, to ſpeak much ill matter in few
"words. Which ſaid, he lets his Lordſhip know, That the Eſtate
"of his Church was very miſerable; That the Cathedral Church
"of *Ardagh* (united to the See of *Killmore*) one of the moſt ancient
"in *Ireland*, and ſaid to be built by St. *Patrick*, together with the
"Biſhops Houſe there, was down to the ground; That the Church
"at *Killmore* had been built, but without Bell or Steeple, Font or
"Chalice; That the Pariſh-Churches were all in a manner ruined,
"or unrooſed and unrepaired; That the People, ſaving a few *Bri-*
"*tiſh* Planters here and there, (which are not the tenth part of the
"Remnant) were obſtinate Recuſants; That there was a *Popiſh* Cler-
"gy, more numerous by far than the *Engliſh* Clergy; That they
"were in full Exerciſe of all Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical by their *Vi-*
"*cars-general* and *Officials*, who were ſo confident as to Excommu-
"nicate thoſe that come to the Courts of the *Proteſtant* Biſhops;
"That the *Popiſh Primate* for *Ireland* lived within two miles of his
"Houſe, and the *Biſhops* in another part of his *Dioceſs* further off;
"That every Pariſh had their *Prieſt*, and ſome two or three apiece,
"and ſo their *Maſſing-houſes* alſo; and that *Maſſes* are ſometimes
"ſaid in their Churches; That there were *Friars* in divers places,
"who went about, though not in their Habit, who by their impor-
"tunate begging did impoveriſh the People; That Poverty was
"much increaſed, as well by their paying double Tythes both to
"their own *Clergy* and the *Engliſh*, as by the dearth of Corn, and
"the death of their Cattel; That the Oppreſſions of the Courts
"Eccleſiaſtical (which was reckoned for another cauſe of the com-
"mon poverty) were not indeed to be excuſed, which for his part he

"had

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1630.

"had a purpoſe to reform; That in each Dioceſs there were ſome "ſeven or eight Miniſters of good ſufficiency; but being *Engliſh*, "they neither underſtood the Tongue of the People, nor could per- "form any Divine Offices, nor converſe with them as they ought, "and conſequently could give no ſtop to the growth and increaſe of "*Popery*; That moſt of the ſaid Miniſters held two, three, four, "or more Vicaridges apiece; and that ſometimes one man was "Clerk of three or four Pariſhes, which were ordinarily bought, "ſold, and let to Farm: And finally, That by thoſe and ſuch other "means, his majeſty was King as to the Hearts and Conſciences of "that People; but ſo, that it remained wholly at the *Popes* Diſ- "cretion.

Here was ſufficient work for a Reformation; and we ſhall ſee *Laud* taking care of it in convenient time. But firſt we muſt look back to *England*, where we ſhall find a new Honour attending on him. On *Saturday*, being the tenth of *April*, *William* Lord *Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Steward of his Majeſties Houſhold, and Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxon.* died ſuddenly at his Houſe called *Baynards-Caſtle*, having then made up the fiftieth year of his life, beyond which it had been foreſignified by ſome Learned Mathematicians that he ſhould not live. This News being brought to *Oxon.* the ſame night, or elſe betimes on *Sunday* morning, *Laud*'s friends not only in St. *Johns*, but in other Colledges, ſo beſtirred themſelves, that before noon there was a Party ſtrong enough to confer that honourable Office on him. *Frewen* of *Magdalen* Colledge being then *Vice-Chancellor*, was at that time as far as *Andover* in a Colledge-Progreſs, where hearing accidentally of the Earls deceaſe, he made ſuch haſte back again to *Oxon.* that he came thither before the end of Evening Prayer; and finding his own Colledge in ſo good a poſture, adviſed with ſome other Heads of Houſes, whom he knew to have the ſame Inclinations, to make ſure work of it; by whom it was agreed, That a *Convocation* ſhould be called the next day, to ſpeed the buſineſs before any other Competitor ſhould appear againſt him. Nor did they make more haſte than good ſpeed in it, ſome Agents coming thither before night in behalf of *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery*, Brother to the Earl deceaſed; and they ſo well diſcharged their Truſt, that thoſe of the *Welch* Nation generally, *Prideaux*, and ſome other Heads of Houſes who were of the *Calvinian* Party, and the four Colledges belonging to the Viſitation of the Biſhop of *Lincoln* (that is to ſay, *Baliol*, *Orial*, *Lincoln*, and *Brazen-noſe*) were wholly in a manner for him; that Biſhop ſtickling in the Cauſe, not ſo much out of love to him, as hate to *Laud*. But all their diligence could not carry it as they deſired, the Election paſſing clear for the Biſhop of *London*, of which he was preſently adverтiſed by the Univerſity. On his receiving of which Meſſage, he preſently addreſſed himſelf unto the King, acquainted him with what had hapned, and humbly ſubmitted the Place unto his diſpoſal. To

*Hiſt. of* K. Charles.

which

which his Majeſty moſt graciouſly returned this Anſwer, *That he knew none more worthy of it than himſelf; and that he ſhould rather ſtudy how to add further Honours to him, than take any from him.* On which incouragement, he appointed *Wedneſday* the twenty eighth of the ſame Month for the Solemnity of his Inveſtiture in that Office, which was performed in a frequent *Convocation* of that Univerſity, held at *London*-Houſe, to the great contentment of both Parties. LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1630.

To add a further Honour to him, it pleaſed his Majeſty to ſend him the joyful news, under his Royal Signature, of the Princes Birth, born at his Majeſties Houſe of St. *James*'s on *Saturday May* the twenty ninth, about one of the Clock in the afternoon. He had the happineſs of ſeeing the Royal Infant in the firſt hour of his Birth, and the honour afterwards to Baptize him. By ancient Priviledge belonging to the See of *Canterbury*, thoſe Archbiſhops are Ordinaries of the Court; his Majeſties Houſhold, whereſoever the ſame ſhall be, being reckoned to be his Parithioners, or of his peculiar. But *Abbot* being at that time infirm, or otherwiſe of no deſirable Company, this Office was devolved on *Laud*, as Dean of the Chappel; and he accordingly performed it. The Birth of this young Prince, as it gave cauſe of great Rejoycings to all good Subjects, ſo it gave no ſmall matter of diſcouragement to the *Puritan* Faction, who had laid their Line another way, and deſired not that this King ſhould have had any Children: Inſomuch that at a Feaſt in *Fryday-ſtreet*, when ſome of the Company ſhewed great joy at the news of the Queens firſt being with Child, a leading man of that Faction (whom I could name, were it worth the while) did not ſtick to ſay, *That he could ſee no ſuch cauſe of joy as the others did.* Which ſaid, he gave this Reaſon for it; *That God had already better provided for us than we had deſerved, in giving ſuch a hopeful Progeny by the Queen of* Bohemia, *brought up in the Reformed Religion; whereas it was uncertain what Religion the Kings Children would follow, being to be brought up under a Mother ſo devoted to the Church of* Rome. And I remember that being at a Town in *Gloceſterſhire*, when the news came of the Princes Birth, there was great Joy ſhewed by all the reſt of the Pariſh, in cauſing Bonfires to be made, and the Bells to be rung, and ſending Victuals unto thoſe of the younger ſort, who were moſt buſily imployed in the publick Joy: But ſo, that from the reſt of the Houſes, being of the *Presbyterian* or *Puritan* Party, there came neither Man, nor Child, nor Wood, nor Victuals; their doors being ſhut cloſe all the evening, as in a time of general mourning and diſconſolation. *Bibl. Regia*, ſect. 5. n. 15.

It was not long after the Birth of this new Prince, that the *Feoffees* for buying in *Impropriations* were called in queſtion. The Project took beginning about four years ſince, when *Preſton* Governed the Affairs of the *Puritan* Faction; at what time it was reſolved amongſt them, to ſet up ſtipendary *Lectures* in all or moſt Market-Towns, where the People had commonly leſs to do, and conſequently were

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1630. more apt to Faction and Innovation than in other places; and of all Market-Towns, to chuſe ſuch as were Priviledged for ſending Burgeſſes to the High Court of Parliament: Which that it might be done with the leſs charge to the People, who commonly love that Religion beſt which comes cheapeſt to them, it was agreed to raiſe a common Stock amongſt them, for buying in ſuch Impropriations as were remaining in the hands of the *Laity*. To this end they erected a kind of Corporation amongſt themſelves, conſiſting of twelve Perſons, Clergymen, Citizens, and Lawyers, enabling them to receive and expend ſuch Monies as their Emiſſaries ſhould bring in from their ſeveral Circuits. Their names, *Gouge*, *Offspring*, *Sibbs*, and *Davenport*, Miniſters; *Eyre*, *Brown*, *White*, and *Sherland*, Lawyers; *Geering*, *Davis*, *Harwood*, and *Bridges*, Citizens; to whom was afterwards added *Rowland Heylyn* Alderman of the City of *London*, by the name of Treaſurer to the Company, that there might be a caſting Voice amongſt them, as occaſion ſerved. Great were the Sums of Money which the Piety of the Deſign, and the Diligence of their Limitaries brought in from their ſeveral Walks; moſt men admiring, all applauding the nobleneſs of ſuch a Popular and Religious Act. But ſo it hapned, that one of the Fellows of *Magdalen* Colledge, reſorting frequently to a Town in *Gloceſterſhire*, where one of theſe new *Lectures* had been founded by them, obſerved theſe two things: Firſt, That the Impropriation of that place remained in the ſame Lay-hands as before it did; and therefore that the *Lecturer* muſt receive his Stipend from the Profits of ſome other Pariſh: And ſecondly, he obſerved, That the man there planted in that *Lecture* was one of a notorious Inconformity, found upon further ſearch to have been hunted from one Dioceſs to another, till at laſt he was Silenced upon that account by the *High-Commiſſion*. This gave him the firſt hint of making a more diligent Inquiry into that Deſign; and the more he looked into it, the worſe he liked it. He knew ſo much of ſome, and heard ſo much of all the reſt which were truſted in the Conduct of it, that he could hope for no good to the Church of *England*, from any thing of their projectment; For if ſuch publick miſchiefs be preſaged by *Aſtrologers* from the Conjunctions of *Jupiter* and *Saturn*, though the firſt of them be a *Planet* of a moſt ſweet and gentle Influence; what Dangers, what Calamities might not be feared from the Conjunction of twelve ſuch Perſons, of which there was not one that wiſhed well to the preſent Government.

Having gone thus far in the Diſcovery, it pleaſed the *Preſident* of his Colledge, being then *Vice-Chancellor*, to appoint him to Preach the Act Sermon at St. *Maries* on *Sunday* in the afternoon, *July* 11. 1630. To which appointment he ſubmitted, reſolving to deliver ſomething in that great concourſe of People from all parts of the Kingdom, which might ſerve to undeceive them in that Particular. He had choſen for his Text thoſe words in the thirteenth of St. *Matthew*,

*Matthew*, viz. *But while men ſlept, the enemy came and ſowed tares amongſt the wheat, and went his way.* Beginning to draw toward the end of his Sermon, he thus began to unfold the Arras, and ſhew the Portraicture thereof in as lively Colours as he could, "Planting, "ſaith he, alſo many Penſionary Lecturers in ſo many places where "it need not, and upon days of common labour, will at the beſt "bringing forth of fruit, appear to be a tare indeed, though now no "wheat be counted tares, *&c.* We will proceed a little on further "in the propoſal of ſome things to be conſidered. The Corporati- "on of *Feoffees* for buying in Impropriations to the Church; Doth "it not ſeem in the appearance to be an excellent piece of *wheat*? "A noble and gracious point of piety? Is not this *Templum Domini*, "*Templum Domini*? But bleſſed God, that men ſhould thus draw "near unto thee with their mouths, and yet be far from thee in their "hearts! For what are thoſe intruſted in the managing of this great "buſineſs? Are they not the moſt of them the moſt active and the "beſt affected men in the whole cauſe, and *Magna Partium momen-* "*ta*, Chief Patrons of the Faction? And what are thoſe whom they "prefer? Are they not moſt of them ſuch as muſt be ſerviceable to "their dangerous innovations? And will they not in time have "more preferments to beſtow, and therefore more dependencies than "all the Prelates in the Kingdom, *&c.* Yet all this while we ſleep "and ſlumber, and fold our hands in ſloth, and ſee perhaps, but "dare not note it.

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1630.

No ſooner were theſe words delivered, but a general conſterna- tion ſhewed it ſelf in the looks of his Auditors. Some honeſt and well meaning men ſeemed much to pitty his misfortune in being put (as it was then generally, but falſly, thought) on that odious task by ſome higher power, of purpoſe to diſcourage ſuch a pious work which good men rejoyced at. But greater was the clamour of the *Puritan* Faction, who in a meeting held that night conceived no puniſhment great enough to inflict upon him which either Law, Malice, or Revenge could expoſe him to. Being thus alarmed on the one ſide, and threatned by the other, he ſent a Copy of his Ser- mon to the Biſhop of *London*, not long before made Chancellour of that Univerſity; and ſignified in a Letter therewith ſent, that he was both able and ready to make good his charge, whenſoever it ſhould be required. This information came opportunely to his Lordſhip, with whom the King had uſed ſome Speech (as appears by his *Bre- viate* p. 12.) about reſtoring Impropriations to the Church, which this new project ſeemed to fruſtrate. And thereupon he entred it in the *Memorandum* at the end of his *Breviate*, viz. *To overthrow the* Feoffment, *dangerous both to Church and State, going under the ſpeci- ous pretence of buying in Impropriations.* The Preacher in the mean time making a further ſearch into the buſineſs, obſerved theſe parti- culars, firſt, That no Impropriation by them bought, was laid unto the Pariſh Church, and ſettled upon the preſent Incumbent, as was firſt

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1630.

expected, that being utterly deſtructive of their deſign. Secondly, That a great part of that Revenue was ſpent in maintaining a dayly Lecture in the Church of St. *Antholins* at ſix a clock in the Morning, to ſerve for a *Seminary* for the training up of ſuch *Novices* as were to be ſent into the Country. Thirdly, That another part of it was laid out, not only for the ſupport of ſilenced Miniſters, during their own lives, but of their Wives and Children alſo after their deceaſe, than which there could not be a greater tye to unite men to them, and make them ſticklers in the Cauſe. Fourthly, Theſe Penſions neither were ſo ſettled, nor their Lectures ſo well eſtabliſhed in their ſeveral places: but that the one might be withdrawn, and the other removed, at the will and pleaſure of their Patrons, if they grew ſlack and negligent in the *holy cauſe*, which faſtened a dependence on them to the very laſt. It was not long before *Noy*, that Renowned Lawyer, was made his Majeſties Atturney General, to whom the Preacher was commanded to deliver a particular of all ſuch paſſages as he had obſerved in the carrying on of this deſign; the Feoffees thereupon being called into the Court of Exchequer, the Feoffment damned, the Impropriations by them bought confiſcated to his Majeſties uſe, and the merit of the cauſe referred to a further cenſure. And though the Sentence paſt not on them in the Court of Exchequer, *Anno* 1632. yet I have laid all here together, that ſo I might proceed to the reſt of my buſineſs with the leſs diſturbance.

For whileſt the buſineſs of theſe *Feoffees* was under a more ſtrict enquiry, ſome things were acted by this Biſhop, which brought him into the like danger of an Inquiſition. St. *Catherine Creed* Church in *London* being ruinous, and in great decay, had in ſome places been taken almoſt down to the ground, and rebuilt again by the Pariſhioners at ſuch time as *Mountain* was their Biſhop, who ſuffered it to be made uſe of for Religious Offices without any new conſecration of it, which coming to the knowledge of Biſhop *Laud*, he cauſed it for a time to be ſuſpended from all Divine Service, Sermons, and Sacraments, till it was reconſecrated by himſelf. Which Office he ſolemnly performed on Sunday *January* 16. An infinite number of people of all ſorts drawing together to behold that Ceremony to which they had ſo long been ſtrangers, ignorant altogether of the Antiquity and the neceſſity of it. The like done alſo at the Church of St. *Giles* in the Fields on the Sunday after; which had been generally repaired, and for the greateſt part new built in the time of his Predeceſſor alſo; Divine Service, Preaching, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments being uſed therein, without any ſuch dedication of it, contrary to the practice of the Primitive times and the Ancient Canons. And that we may lay theſe things together, the next year after, *June* the ſeventh, he conſecrated a new Church at *Hammerſmith*, built at the charges of that Village; and the next year after that, *July* the ſeventeenth, a new Church built at *Stan-*

*more*

*more magna*, in the County of *Middleſex*, erected at the ſole coſt and charges of Sir *John Wolſtenholm*, one of the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, who made that day a ſumptuous and magnificent Feaſt for the entertainment of all ſuch perſons of quality as reſorted thither to behold the Conſecration. It was my chance to beſtow a viſit on his Lordſhip at his houſe in *Fulham*, as he was preparing to ſet forwards to this laſt Conſecration; and being one of his Chaplains was at that time abſent, and that he was of ordinary courſe to make uſe of two, he took me along with him to perform the Office of the Prieſt in the ſolemnity, in which his Chaplain *Bray* was to Act the Deacons. I obſerved all the Circumſtances and religious Ceremonies which were uſed by him in that ſacred Action from his firſt coming into the Church till his going out, but could ſee nothing in it ſavouring of that Superſtition which had raiſed ſo much talk amongſt ignorant People, and afterwards was certified by *Willingham* at the time of his trial in reference to the conſecration of St. *Katherine Creed Church*. The Antiquity of which Conſecrations hath been ſhown in our *Introduction* performed by the Fathers at ſuch times when the Church hated nothing more than ſuperſtitious vanities, or the accumulating of unneceſſary and fruitleſs Ceremonies. The form and manner of it left by our firſt *Reformers* to the care and diſcretion of the Biſhops whom it moſt concerned; Preſuming that nothing would be done by them which would not be conſiſtent with the Rules of Piety, and the ancient practiſe of the Church in the times foregoing. And ſuch a Form was that which this Biſhop now made uſe of, digeſted firſt by the learned *Andrews* for his own particular uſe, but afterwards copied out, approved and followed (though poſſibly not without ſome alterations) by moſt Biſhops elſe.

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1630.

Nor did he take care only of the Fabrick, the material Church, to make it fit and ready for Gods publick Service: but that Gods publick Service ſhould be ſo done in it, as might moſt tend to the edification of the Myſtical Church, the body aggregate of Gods People. His Majeſty had took ſpecial care, as well by his Proclamation of the fourteenth of *June*, 1626. as by his Declaration before the Articles, 1628. for the ſilencing of all diſputes touching Predeſtination, and the points depending thereupon, which had begun to threaten ſuch a general diſturbance to the peace of the Church. But neither Proclamation, nor Declaration could perſwade the *Calvinian* Party unto any ſuch ſilence, which they interpreted to be a plain betraying of Gods Cauſe into the hands of his enemies. Somewhat is to be done to conjure down theſe unruly Spirits, which otherwiſe would not be confined within their Circle. *Mady*, the Lecturer of *Chriſt-Church* near *Newgate*, muſt needs fly out upon the Point of *Election*, and the motives to it. For this contempt he is called before the Biſhop of *London*, and on ſome further misbehaviour prohibited from preaching any more within that Dioceſs.

*Burges*

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1630.

*Burges* (who afterwards pulled down the Croſs in St. *Pauls* Church-yard) muſt needs add ſcorn to his contempt; telling his Auditors, that if their Miniſter preached *Popery* or *Arminianiſm* they might change their dwellings, and not trouble the peace and order of their Church. For which about the ſame time he is queſtioned alſo. *White*, and ſome others, in that Dioceſs ſuſpended by this Biſhop on the ſame occaſion.

From the City paſs we to the Court. Where toward the end of the ſame *Month* we find *Davenant* Biſhop of *Sarum* preaching a Lent Sermon before the King, and therein falling upon ſome of thoſe prohibited points, even before his face, for which the King being much offended (as he had good reaſon) he cauſed him to be called before the Lords of his Council. The cauſe is managed againſt him by Archbiſhop *Harſnet* (*Laud* all the while walking by in ſilence) who gravely laid before him as well the Kings Piety in ſetting forth the ſaid Declaration, as the greatneſs of his, the ſaid *Davenants*, offence, in making ſo little reckoning of it. *Davenant* at firſt endeavoureth many defences to make good his Action, but at laſt wiſely caſts himſelf upon this ſubmiſſion, he tells the Lords, in anſwer to one of *Harſnets* objections, *That he was ſorry he did no ſooner underſtand his Majeſties intention, which if he had done before, he would have taken ſome other matter to treat of, which might have given none offence; and that for the time to come he would conform himſelf as readily as any other to his Majeſties Command.* *Arundel*, Earl Marſhal, bids him hold to that, as his ſafeſt plea, and that he ſhould proceed to no further defence; a bad cauſe not being made the better by two much handling. To this counſel he conforms himſelf. And being afterwards admitted to the kiſs of his Majeſties hand (which his attendance might deſerve, though his Sermon did not) his Majeſty declared to him his Reſolution, "That he would not have this high "Point meddled withal or debated, either the one way or the other, "becauſe it was too high for the Peoples underſtanding; and that "other Points which concerned Reformation and Newneſs of life, "were more needful and profitable. I hope the lower Clergy will not ſay hereafter as ſome did of old, That Laws are like the Spiders Cobwebs, which ſuffer the great flies to break through, and lay hold only upon thoſe of the ſmaller ſize.

*Ch. Hiſt.* lib. 11. p. 140.

1631. *Cant. Doom.* p. 173.

From the Court let us go to *Oxon.* where we find the next year beginning (in a manner) with a Sermon preached at St. *Maries* Church by one *Hill* of *Heart-hall*, *May* 24. point blank enough againſt his Majeſties Declaration, and more than bitter enough againſt thoſe of different perſwaſion from him, whom he charged with *handling Scriptures worſe than poor Chriſtians were by the Turk at* Tunis, *enforcing them to the vaſſallage of the fouleſt errours*, not without ſome reflection on the Higher Powers by whom they were *miſchieved into honour*. For which indiſcretion being convented before the *Vice-Chancellor*, and Heads of Houſes, (but not without the Chancellors privity)

privity) he confeſſed his fault, and craved pardon for the ſame, which he obtained on his ſubmiſſion made in the Convocation the ſixteenth of *July* following. But worſe it fared not long after with *Ford* of *Magdalen* Hall, *Hodges* of *Exeter* Colledge, and *Thorne* of *Baliol*, who in their ſeveral Sermons had not only committed the like error, but charged their *Renovation* of ſome ancient order in the Church, to be no other than plain *Innovation*. Queſtioned for this by *Smith*, then Warden of *Wadham* Colledge, and Vice-Chancellor of that Univerſity, they appeal from him to the Convocation. The Proctors, having unadviſedly received the Appeal, were at the point to have named *Delegates* when *Smith* appealed to the King: But they took their aim amiſs when they ſhot this bolt; For both his Majeſty and the Chancellor were alike concerned in it; the King, to juſtifie his Declaration; the other, to preſerve his own power and dignity; neither of which could have been done, but by defending *Smith* in his lawful acting. On the twenty third of *Auguſt* all Parties intereſſed in the Cauſe appeared before the King at *Woodſtock*, who after a full hearing of both ſides, it was ordered thus, That the three Delinquents ſhould be expelled the Univerſity; *Doughty* and *Bruch*, the two *Proctors*, ſhould be deprived of their places: *Prideaux* and *Wilkinſon* (this laſt then Principle of *Magdalen* Hall) being checked for ſtickling ſo much in it, and glad they were that they eſcaped without further cenſure. But they ſhewed not the ſame mercy which they found; for *Rainsford* of *Wadham* Colledge, preached at St. *Maries* in *Auguſt* following in defence of *Univerſal Grace*, and *Mans Election unto life, from Faith foreſeen.* No man more forward than *Prideaux* to appeach him of it, on whoſe complaint and proſecution he was ſentenced to a publick acknowledgment of his offence in a form preſcribed; which was as much as had been done in the caſe of *Hill*. So that the Rigid *Calvinians* can pretend no juſt ground for that ſo great Calumnie, that none but they were cenſured from preaching thoſe prohibited Doctrines; thoſe of the *Arminian* Party (as they commonly called them) going off unpuniſhed.

From *Oxon.* croſs we into *Ireland*, where we ſhall ſee *Lauds* care as great for preſerving the Kings Authority and the Churches peace as it was in *England*. *Uſher*, the Lord Primate of that Church, had publiſhed a Book this ſame year in the Latine Tongue, called, The Hiſtory of *Gotteſchalchus*: for which he was after much extolled by *Twiſt* of *Newbury*, as profeſſed a *Calvinian* as himſelf, in a Letter of his dated *May* 29. 1640. "For, having firſt commended him for his great "learning and various reading manifeſted in his Book *De Primodiis* "*Britannicarum Eccleſiarum*, he magnifies next his ſingular wiſdom for "taking an occaſion to inſert therein the Hiſtory of the *Pelagian Here-* "*ſie*, coming ſo opportunely in his way; and then he addeth, that "his Hiſtory of *Gotteſchalchus was a piece of the like nature, and* "*came forth moſt ſeaſonable*, ſo much the more becauſe it ſeemed to give

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1630.

give ſome check to a Book written by *Voſſius*, a right Learned man, which had been much cried up by the *Remonſtrants*. *Downham* then Biſhop of *Derry* had ſomewhat before that publiſhed a Diſcourſe about Perſeverance, wherein ſome Paſſages were found directly thwarting his Majeſties moſt pious purpoſe in the ſaid Declaration: But *Uſher*'s Book being writ in *Latin*, gave the leſs offence. Nor ſeemed it fit to put any publick diſgrace on a man to whom the Government of the whole National Church had been committed by King *James* of moſt Bleſſed Memory. By queſtioning and ſuppreſſing *Downham*'s Book, he might be made as ſenſible of his Error in writing the aforeſaid Hiſtory, as if his own had been made ſubject to the like condemnation. His Majeſty therefore gives him Order, by Letters bearing date at *Woodſtock*, *Auguſt* 24. (the next day after the ſaid Sentence of *Thorn*, *Hodges*, *&c.*) to call in Biſhop *Downham*'s Book, who thereupon ſent out Warrants, and cauſed all the Books that were unſent into *England*, to be ſeiſed on: But ſo long it was before the King had notice of it, and ſo long after that, before his Letters came to the Lord Primates hands, which was not till the fifteenth of *October* following, that almoſt all the Copies were diſperſed in *England* and *Ireland*, before the coming out of the Prohibition. And for preventing of the like for the time to come, a Command is laid on *Beadle* Biſhop of *Killmore* (which ſheweth that *Uſher* was not thought fit to be truſted in it) to have an eye unto the Preſs, and to take care that nothing hereafter ſhould be publiſhed contrary to his Majeſties ſaid Directions: So *Beadle* in his Letter to the Biſhop of *London*, dated *November* 8. 1631. Which care being taken for the Peace of that Church, and nothing elſe preſented to us on that ſide of the Sea to detain us any longer there, we will hoiſe Sail again for *England*, where we finde more Work.

More Work indeed, and far the greateſt not only of this preſent year, but the greateſt of this Biſhops Life: A Work before in project, but in project only. None had the Courage or the Power to carry it on ſo far as he: He could not reſt under the ſhade of thoſe vaſt Ruines of St. *Paul*'s Church (his own Cathedral) without continual thought, and ſome hopes withal of repairing thoſe deformities in it, which by long time had been contracted. Of the firſt Founding of this Church by *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, the firſt Chriſtian King and the ſixth Monarch of the *Saxons*; and the Enlargement of the ſame by *Erkenwald* the fourth Biſhop of it, we have ſpoke already: And now we are to know, That their old Fabrick being much waſted by Fire in the time of the Conqueror, *Mauritius* then Biſhop of *London*, *Anne* 1083. began the Foundation of that moſt magnificent Pile now ſtanding, *viz.* all the Body of the Church, with the South and North croſs Iſles. Toward which Work he made uſe of a great part of the Materials of the old *Palatine* Caſtle (ſtanding in the ſame place where the Covent of the *Black-Friars* was after built) great part whereof had periſhed by the

ſame

ſame Fire alſo. But the Foundations which this worthy Biſhop had laid, being ſutable to his mind, were ſo vaſt, as the Hiſtorian obſerves, (*a*) That though he proſecuted the Work twenty years, he left the performing thereof to the care of Poſterity: amongſt which, none more tranſcendently affected to this buſineſs, than his next Succeſſor *Richard Beaumis*, (*b*) who beſtowed the whole Revenue of his Biſhoprick upon it, ſupporting himſelf and his Family by other means. And after him (ſome other Biſhops ſucceeding between them) that *Richard*, who was Treaſurer to King *Henry* ii. being made Biſhop of *London* in the firſt year of King *Richard*, beſtowed great Sums of Money in the Reparation of this Church, and the Epiſcopal Houſes which belonged unto it. But all this Charge was principally laid out on the main Body of the Church, and the Croſſed Iſles thereof, the Choire not holding Proportion with ſo vaſt a Structure: So that reſolving to make it fairer and more capacious than before, they began with the Steeple, which was finiſhed in *Anno* 1221. (5 *Hen.* 3,) In which year the Dedication of it was celebrated with great magnificence, the King himſelf, *Otho* the *Popes Legate*, *Edmond* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Roger* ſirnamed *Niger* then Biſhop of *London* (a chief Advancer of the Work) with five other Biſhops, beſides infinite multitudes of the Nobility, Gentry, Citizens, and others of the Common People from all parts of the Land, being preſent at it.

(a) *Hujus laboriosi operis impenſam tranſmiſit ad poſteros.*

(b) *In Eccleſiæ ſuæ, & Ædificiorum ad Sedem ſuam ſpectantium Structura magnam impendit pecuniam* Godwin Catal Epiſc.

Nor is it to be thought that the Charges of that ſtately and magnificent Structure was ſupported by the Biſhops only, or iſſued out of ſuch Revenues as belonged unto the Dean and Chapter; but that the Clergy and People generally, both of *England* and *Ireland*, contributed largely to the Work; the People of thoſe Times, out of their Devotion to Gods Service, being eaſily incited to further all Works of this nature as occaſion offered. And this appears by the ſundry Letters of ſeveral Biſhops of both Nations, to the Clergy under their Jurisdiction, for recommendation of that buſineſs to their particular Congregations, many of which are extant ſtill upon Record. Nor were the People ſtirred on only by the ſollicitation of their Prieſts, or the exhortatory Letters of their ſeveral Prelates; but by the grants of ſuch Indulgences, and relaxation from their ſeveral and reſpective Penances, which in thoſe Letters were extended unto all ſorts of People, who with a chearful heart and liberal hand did promote the Service: By means whereof ſome men contributed Materials, others ſent in Money; and many Maſons, Carpenters, and other Artificers, who were to labour in the Work, beſtowed their pains and toil upon it for leſs conſideration and reward than in other Buildings. Beſides which, *Henry de Lacy* Earl of *Lincoln* is ſaid to have been a principal Benefactor to that part of it which was then called the *New-Work*, in a Chappel whereof, dedicated to St. *Dunſtan*, we find his body to be interred. And ſo was *Ralph de Baldock* alſo, both while he was Dean, and when he was Biſhop of this Church; whoſe Body was alſo buried in another part of the *New-Work*, called *Our Ladies Chappel*.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1631.

But this vaſt Pile, the Work of ſo long time, and ſo many Ages, was on the fourth of *June*, *Anno* 1561. in danger to be ſuddenly conſumed by a violent Fire, beginning in the Steeple, and occaſioned by the negligence of a Plummer, who left his pan of coals unquench'd at his going to dinner. A Fire ſo violent, that in the ſpace of few hours it conſumed not only the Steeple where it firſt began, but did ſpread it ſelf to the upper Roof of the Church and Iſles, totally burning all the Rafters, and whatſoever elſe was of combuſtible nature. The Queen knew well, as well as any, that the Revenues of that Church were ſo dilapidated, that neither the Biſhops themſelves, nor the Dean and Chapters, were able to repair the leaſt part of thoſe Ruines which the Fire had made: And thereupon out of a deep apprehenſion of that lamentable Accident, forthwith directed her Letters to the Lord Mayor of *London*, requiring him to make ſome ſpeedy Order for its repair; and to further the Work, gave out of her Purſe 1000 Marks in Gold, as alſo a Warrant for 1000 Load of Timber to be taken out of her Woods, and elſwhere. Nor were the Citizens ſlack herein; for having given a large Benevolence, they added three whole *Fifteens* to be ſpeedily paid for that purpoſe; all which amounted to three thouſand two hundred forty ſeven pound ſixteen ſhillings two pence half-peny. The Clergy of *England* within the Province of *Canterbury*, freely contributed the fortieth part of all ſuch Church Livings as were charged with Firſt-fruits, and the thirtieth part of all their Benefices not ſo charged; thoſe of *London* only excepted, who beſides the thirtieth part of ſuch as paid Firſt-fruits, gave the twentieth part of all the reſt: Which Contribution of the Clergy amounted to one thouſand four hundred ſixty one pound thirteen ſhillings and eleven pence; whereunto was added, by the benevolence of the Biſhop of *London*, at ſeveral times, coming in all to nine hundred five pound one ſhilling and eleven pence; By the Dean and Chapter one hundred thirty ſix pound thirteen ſhillings and four pence: and made of the ſurpluſage of Timber one hundred nineteen pound three ſhillings and nine pence; Given by the Juſtices and Officers of the Common Pleas thirty four pound five ſhillings; and by thoſe of the Kings Bench ſeventeen pound ſixteen ſhillings eight pence: All which together made no more than ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and two pound thirteen ſhillings and four pence. And yet with this ſmall Sum (ſuch was the cheapneſs of thoſe Times) the Work was carried on ſo proſperouſly, that before the Month of *April* 1566. all the Roofs of Timber (whereof thoſe large ones of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, framed in *Yorkſhire*, and brought by Sea) were perfectly finiſhed and covered with Lead; the adding of a new Steeple being thought unneceſſary (becauſe too chargeable) though divers Models have been made and preſented of it.

The whole Roof being thus Repaired, the Stone-work of it ſtood as before it did, ſenſibly decaying day by day, by reaſon of the corroding

roding quality of the Sea-coal ſmoke, which on every ſide annoyed it: Which being obſerved by one *Henry Farley*, about the middle of the Reign of King *James*, he never left ſolliciting the King by ſeveral Petitions and Addreſſes, to take the Ruinous Eſtate thereof into his Princely Conſideration, till at laſt it was reſolved on by the King. And to create the greater Veneration to ſo good a Work, he beſtowed that magnificent Viſit on it, deſcribed at large in the firſt Book of this Hiſtory, *Anno* 1620. The product and reſult whereof was, the iſſuing out a Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing date the ſixteenth day of *November* then next following, directed to Sir *Francis Jones* Knight, then Lord Mayor of *London*, *George* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Francis* Lord *Verulam* then Lord Chancellor of *England*, and divers others, to the number of ſixty Perſons and upwards: Which Commiſſion importing, That this Church being the greateſt and moſt eminent (as alſo one of the principal Ornaments) of the Realm, and in much decay, any ſix or more of theſe Commiſſioners, whereof three to be of the ſaid Kings Privy-Council, ſhould meet to make Particulars of the decay, and likewiſe what Houſes, Cellars, *&c.* had been built near it, either to the annoyance of it, or the Church-yard: And moreover to Inquire what Lands, Rents, *&c.* had been given towards its Repair, or Sums of Money collected to that purpoſe, and not accordingly employed: And further to conſider of the moſt fit and proper means to raiſe money to carry on the ſaid Repair: And laſtly, to appoint Surveyors and other Officers of their Work, and to make Certificate of their Proceedings therein, into the Chancery. Upon the Meeting of which Commiſſioners, and diligent ſearch made into the Particulars afore-mentioned, it was acknowledged that the Biſhop of *London* had the whole care of the Body of that Church, and the Dean and Chapter of the Choires: But that which each of them enjoyed to this purpoſe, was ſo little, that they yearly expended double as much upon the Roof and other parts decayed, to preſerve them from preſent ruine. Which being made evident to the Commiſſioners, as alſo that in former times, even from the very firſt foundation thereof, it had been ſupported partly out of the large Oblations of thoſe that viſited the Shrines and Oratories therein, and partly from Publick Contributions in all parts of the Kingdom; It was concluded to proceed in the ſame way now, as had been done formerly. And that it might proceed the better, the King himſelf, and many of the principal Nobility and Gentry, declared by their Superſcriptions (for the encouragement of others to ſo good a Work) what Sums they reſolved to give in purſuance of it: Doctor *John King*, then Biſhop of *London*, ſubſcribing for 100 *l. per Annum* as long as he ſhould continue in that See. *Mountain* who ſucceeded not long after in that Biſhoprick, procured with great charge and trouble ſome huge maſſie Stones to be brought from *Portland*, for the beginning of the Work: But money coming ſlowly in, and he being

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1631.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1631.

being a man of ſmall activity, though of good affections, the heat of this great buſineſs cooled by little and little, and ſo came to nothing.

But *Laud* ſucceeding him in the See of *London*, and having deſervedly attained unto great Authority with his Majeſty, no ſooner ſaw his Office ſettled both at home and abroad, but he poſſeſſed him with a Loyal and Religious Zeal to perſue that Work, which King *James* had ſo piouſly deſigned, though it went not much further than the bare deſign. Few words might ſerve to animate the King to a Work ſo pious, who aimed at nothing more than the Glory of God, in the Advancement of the Peace and Happineſs of the Church of *England*: And therefore following the example of his Royal Father, he beſtowed the like Viſit on St. *Pauls*, whither he was attended with the like Magnificence, and entertained at the firſt entrance into the Church with the like Solemnity. The Divine Service being done, and the Sermon ended, which tended principally unto the promoting of a Work ſo honourable both to his Majeſties Perſon, and the *Engliſh* Nation; his Majeſty took a view of the Decays of that Church, and there Religiouſly promiſed not to be wanting in the Piety of his beſt Endeavours, to the Repair of thoſe Ruines which Age, the Caſualties of Weather, or any other Accidents had brought upon it. In order whereunto, in the beginning of this year he iſſued out his Royal Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing date the tenth of *April* in the ſeventh year of his Reign, directed to Sir *Robert Ducy* Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, *George* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Coventry* Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, *&c.* *William* Lord Biſhop of *London*, *Richard* Lord Biſhop of *Winton*, *John* Lord Biſhop of *Ely*, *&c.* *Nicholas Rainton*, *Ralph Freeman*, *Rowland Heylyn*, *&c.* Aldermen of the City of *London*, *Edward Waymack*, and *Robert Bateman* Chamberlain of the ſaid City of *London*. In which Commiſſion the ſaid King taking notice of this Cathedral, as the goodlieſt Monument and moſt ancient Church of his whole Dominions, as alſo that it was the principal Monument of the City of *London*, the Imperial Seat of this his Realm; and moreover, That the Commiſſions iſſued out by his Royal Father (as heretofore had been obſerved) were ſlackned by reaſon of his death; but he reſolving to go on therewith effectually, declared as followeth: *viz.* 1. *That all Money brought in for Repair thereof, ſhould be paid into the Chamber of* London. 2. *That* William Laud *then Biſhop of* London *offered to allow* 100 l. per Annum *out of the Revenues of that Biſhoprick, during his continuance therein.* 3. *That a Regiſter-Book ſhould be made of all Subſcriptions for Contributions thereunto, as had been done in King* James *his time.* 4. *That the Judges of the Prerogative Court, and all Officials throughout the ſeveral Biſhopricks in* England *and* Wales, *upon the Deceaſe of any Perſon Inteſtate, ſhould be excited to remember this Church, out of what was proper to be given to pious uſes:* And laſtly,

*That*

*That Commiſſions ſhould be iſſued throughout the whole Kingdom.* Which Commiſſions were executed in the Country with care and diligence, and ſeconded ſo ſtrongly by the power and ſollicitation of this pious Prelate, that the money came flowing in apace; ſo much being raiſed by Legacies, by money given to pious uſes, and other free and voluntary Contributions, before the iſſuing out of thoſe Commiſſions, as enabled the grand Commiſſioners to begin the work. Inſomuch that on the ſixteenth of *December*, *Anno* 1632. they found that there had been brought into the *Chamber* of *London* the Sum of 5416 *li.* 13 *s.* 6 *d.* And in *April* next enſuing the Work was begun: The houſes adjoyning to and near the Church being compounded for, and plucked down, a great part of the Church-yard paled in for Maſons to work in, and an order given to *Inigo Jones*, Surveyor general of his Majeſties Works, on the twenty ſixth of *June* next following, to prepare Scaffolding for the ſame. Which Preparations being made, the firſt ſtone of this new Work was ſolemnly laid by our Biſhop himſelf, the ſecond by Sir *Francis Windebanke*, his Majeſties principal Secretary of State, and the third by Sir *Henry Martin* Knight, then Judge of the Prerogative Court, and the fourth by the ſaid *Inigo Jones*, chief Surveyor of that Fabrick; each of them giving money liberally amongſt the Workmen, the better to encourage them to proceed therein with all honeſt ſpeed. The Quire or Chancel being firſt finiſhed, the work was carried on to the North part of the Croſs Iſle, and ſo unto the Weſtern part or main body of the Croſs Iſle, and ſo unto the Weſtern part or main body of the Church. This worthy Prelate continuing the Piety of his endeavours towards the compleating of this ſtately and Magnificent Structure, as well when he was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (to which dignity he was promoted in *September* following) as when he was Biſhop of *London*, and was more nearly concerned in the affairs of that Church.

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1631.

And though it be affirmed by a late Hiſtorian, *that many had no fancy to the work becauſe he promoted it*; yet on the contrary it is known, that had not he promoted it there were not many would have had the fancy to a work of that nature. Some men in hope of favour and preferment from him, others to hold fair quarter with him, and not a few for fear of incurring his diſpleaſure, contributing more largely to it than they had done otherwiſe; if otherwiſe they had contributed at all. Certain I am, that the Regular Clergy were ſo forward in it, that being called together by their ſeveral Ordinaries, few of them gave ſo little as a ſingle tenth, many a double Subſidy, moſt in the middle betwixt both, to be paid in three, four, or five years, as the work continued. Which joyned together amounting to a liberal ſum, not reckoning in the Deans and Chapters, whom it more nearly did concern to ſupport that Fabrick than thoſe of the Parochial Clergy. And yet it cannot be denied, but that it met with many rubs, and mighty enemies. The *Puritan* Miniſters

*Hiſt. of K. Ch. by H. L.*

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1631. nisters and their Adherents inveighed against it as the repairing and adorning of a *Rotten Relique*; insinuating to the people (as they found occasion) that it was more agreeable to the Rules of Piety to demolish such old Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry than to keep them standing. For remedy whereof order was given to such as preached at St. *Pauls* Cross, and other publick places both in City and Country, to represent unto their hearers all those several motives which might not only serve to justifie, but endear the work; nor wanted there some zealous Patriots (or such as were desirous to be so accounted) on the other side, who gave it out to be a cheat, a mear Court device to procure money for the King without help of Parliaments; which project if it might succeed, the King (said they) would grow too absolute, and take unto himself an Arbitrary form of Government; the People for want of Parliaments being left remedilesss; which false report coming to his Majesties ears, he was compelled to make this Declaration of himself in all such following Commissions as were dispatched into the Country, that he had not only commanded, "That the work of Reparation "should begin, but had caused an entrance to be made into it, and "that he was constantly resolved to follow it till it was brought to "perfection, whereof he required the Commissioners to satisfie all "his loving Subjects of the clearness of his Royal Intention therein, "and to assure them in his Name, that all rumours and imaginati-"ons, as of diverting the money to any other purpose, was but the "fancies of men either grosly malevolent, or causelesly jealous and "distrustful.

*Bibl. Reg. St. t. 3. n. 14.*

The Subject being thus assured, the Clergy active, and the Nobility giving good example unto all the rest, the work was so followed by the care of this powerful Prelate, that before the year 1640. the whole body of it was finished, and the Tower or Steeple Scaffolded to the very top, with an intent to take it down to the very Arches, and raise it to a more stately height than it had at the present, with four great Pinacles (at each Corner one) the Arches being thought unable to support the burthen of such a Steeple as before was fired. And though the publick Contribution which was brought into the Chamber of *London* amounted to the Sum of 101330*li.* 4*s.* 8*d.* yet there was something more done in it by the Munificence of the King, and the bounty of the private Subject. His Majesty to give life to the Work had sent in first and last 10295*li.* 5*s.* 6*d.* toward the said Sum, with part whereof he caused a stately *Portico* to be erected at the *West* end of the Church, raised on *Corinthian* Pillars, where he placed the Statues of his Royal Father King *James*, and himself, for a lasting memorial of this their advancement of so glorious a work. Which *Portico* was intended to be an *Ambulatory* for such as by usual walking in the body of the Church prophaned the place, and disturbed the Divine Service in the Choire. And on the other side, Sir *Paul Pindar* Knight (sometime Embassador from King

*James*

*James* at *Conſtantinople*) firſt repaired the decaies of that goodly Partition, made at the Weſt end of the Choire, adorning the outward Front thereof with fair Pillars of black Marble, and *Statues* of thoſe *Saxon* Kings who had been Founders and Benefactors to that Church; beautified the inward part thereof with Figures of Angels, and all the Wainſcoat work with Figures and Carving, *viz.* of *Cherubins*, and other Images richly guilded; adding alſo fine ſorts of hangings for the upper end thereof, and afterwards beſtowed 4000 *li.* in repairing the South part of the *Croſs Iſle*. But as this Biſhop fell, the work fell with him; the yearly Contribution abating in the year 1641. when he was plunged into his troubles, from 15000 *li.* and upward, to little more than 1500 *li.* and after by degrees to nothing, which clearly ſhews upon what Wheel the whole Engine moved, whoſe ſoul it was, which gave both life and motion to that great deſign. A work of ſuch a vaſt Magnificence as required a large and open heart, commenſurate in ſome manner to the greatneſs of it; not to be entertained by a man of ſuch *narrow comprehenſions*, as were aſcribed unto him in a Speech made by one of the Peers, when he firſt fell into his troubles. So eaſie a thing it is to diſgrace the man whom the weight of his afflictions have once made uncapable of ſtanding up againſt ſuch reproaches as the Pens or Tongues of his Revilers ſhall accumulate on him.

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1630.

Better ſucceſs he had in another of his undertakings, though not of ſuch a publick nature, or of ſo general a concernment to the honour of the Church and State. He had received his breeding and firſt Preferments in St. *Johns* Colledge in *Oxon.* which he reſolved to gratifie for the charge of his Education, by adding a ſecond Quadrangle unto that of the firſt Foundation. The other great work he carried on by the publick Purſe, contributing little more unto it (beſides his annual penſion of 100 *li.*) but his power and diligence. But this he means to carry on at his own proper Coſts, his Majeſty moſt graciouſly contributing ſome timber towards it out of *Shotover* woods, of which the Lord *Treaſurer* endeavoured (but in vain endeavoured) to have made a ſtop. Some Benefactor had before enricht the Colledge with a Publick Library, which made one ſide to his new Building, the other three he added to it of his own. That on the North conſiſted altogether of ſeveral Chambers, for the accommodations of the Fellows and other Students. That on the Eaſt of a fair open walk below, ſupported upon curious Pillars, and bearing up a beautiful Gallery, opening out of the Library, for meditation and diſcourſe: confronted on the other ſide with the like open walk below, and a ſutable Fabrick over that raiſed up againſt the Eaſtern wall of the Ancient Buildings. The whole compoſure faſhioned in an excellent Symetry according to the exacteſt rules of Modern *Architecture*; not only graceful in it ſelf, and uſeful to that private houſe, but a great ornament alſo to the Univerſity. St. *Johns* in *Cambridge* ſhall boaſt no longer of its precedency before

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1631. before this in a double Quadrangle; In which it ſtands equalled at the leaſt, if not ſurmounted alſo by this of *Oxford*. On the twenty third of *July*, in this preſent year, he laid the firſt ſtone of this new building, not intermitting it (but only during the unſeaſonableneſs of the following Winters) till he had brought it to an end, according to his firſt deſign and propoſition. Nor did theſe publick buildings take him off in the leaſt degree from doing the Office of a Biſhop. His eye was alwaies watchfull over the Churches peace. And to preſerve his own Dioceſs both in peace and order, he beſtowed this year a perſonal Viſitation on it; beginning at *Brentwood* in *Eſſex*, on the thirtieth of *Auguſt*, and ſo went on from place to place, till he had viſited and regulated the whole Clergy of it in their ſeveral Deanries, and Precincts. And for performing of that Office he laid aſide the dignity of a Privy Counſellor, and his attendance on the perſon of his gracious Soveraign, in being an example of a careful and prudent Paſtor to the reſt of his brethren.

In the late Agitations at *Woodſtock* before the King, he let fall ſome words, which were interpreted to the diſparagement of the married Clergy. He was a ſingle man himſelf, and wiſht perhaps as St. *Paul* once did, That all men elſe (that is to ſay, all men in *holy Orders*) would remain ſo likewiſe. And ſome occaſion being offered at that time to ſpeak about the conveniencies or inconveniencies of a married Clergy, he made ſome declaration of himſelf to this effect, that in diſpoſing of all Eccleſiaſtical Promotions he would prefer the ſingle man before the married, ſuppoſing the abilities of the perſons were otherwiſe equal; which limitation notwithſtanding it gave much matter of diſcourſe, and not a little ground of ſcandal to many very honeſt and well-minded men, who began preſently to fear the ſad conſequents of it. This general murmur could not but come unto his ears, and found him very ſenſible of the Inconveniencies which might grow upon it. For he ſoon wiped off that reproach, by negotiating a Marriage between Mr *Thomas Turner*, one of his Chaplains, and a Daughter of *Windebanke* his old friend, (at whoſe houſe he had ſo long lain ſick, as before is ſaid.) And that the ſatisfaction in this point might appear the greater, he officiated the whole Service of their Marriage in his own Chappel at *London* Houſe, joyning their hands, and giving the Nuptial Benediction, and performing all other Eccleſiaſtical Rites which belonged to the ſolemnization of Matrimony by the Rules of this Church. This was the anſwer which he made to his own Objection, and indeed it was ſo full and home, that the Objection ſeemed not to require any further anſwer. Nor was it long before *Windebanke* found how well his chearfulneſs in yielding to that Match had been entertained. He was at that time one of the Clerks of the *Signet*, as his Father Sir *Thomas Windebanke* had been before him: But our Biſhop did not mean he ſhould dwell there alwaies. They had been Cotemporaries at St. *Johns* Colledge, their acquaintance from their very Childhood,

1 Cor. 7. 7.

their

their perſons much of the ſame ſtature; a like facetiouſneſs in both for wit and company. In which reſpects *Laud* had commended him to the good Graces of the Duke when he was alive. But the Duke doing nothing for him, left *Laud* in a capacity to ſupply the want; by whoſe power and favour with the King he was advanced unto the honourable Office of the principal Secretary of State, in the place of *Dudly* Lord *Carlton* Viſcount *Dorcheſter*. *Dorcheſter* died on *Aſh-Wedneſday* Morning, *Anno* 1631. And of *Windebanke* he writes thus in his *Breviate*, viz. *June* 15. 1632., *Mr.* Francis Windebanke *my old friend was ſworn Secretary of State, which Place I obtained for him of my gracious Maſter King* Charles. LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1632.

About the ſame time alſo Sir *Francis Cottington*, who ſucceeded the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton* in the place of Chancellor, was made Succeſſor unto *Nanton* in the Maſterſhip of the Wards and Liveries. No ſooner was he in this place, but ſome difference began to grow betwixt him and *Coventry*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, about the diſpoſing of ſuch Benefices as belonged to the King, in the Minority of his *Wards*: *Coventry* pleaded a joynt intereſt in it according to the Priviledge and uſage of his Predeceſſors, it ſtanding formerly for a rule, that he of the two which firſt heard of the vacancy, and preſented his Clerk unto the Biſhop, ſhould have his turn ſerved before the other. But *Cottington* was reſolved to have no Competitor, and would have either all or none. During which Competition betwixt the parties, *Laud* ends the difference by taking all unto himſelf. Many Divines had ſerved as Chaplains in his Majeſties Ships, and ventured their perſons in the Action at the Iſle of *Rhe*, during his Majeſties late engagements with *France* and *Spain*; ſome reward muſt be given them for their Service paſt, the better to encourage others on the like occaſions for the time to come. It is cold venturing in ſuch hot Services without ſome hope of Reward. And thereupon he takes occaſion to inform his Majeſty, that till this Controverſie were decided he might do well to take thoſe Livings into his own diſpoſing for the reward of ſuch Divines as had done him ſervice in his Wars, or ſhould go forth hereafter on the like imployments. Which Propoſition being approved, his Majeſty committed the ſaid Benefices unto his diſpoſal, knowing full well how faithfully he would diſcharge the truſt repoſed in him for the advancement of his Majeſties Service, the ſatisfaction of the Suitors, and the Churches peace. Neither did *Cottington* ſeem diſpleaſed at this deſignation: As being more willing that a third man ſhould carry away the prize from both, than to be overtopt by *Coventry* in his own Jurisdiction. By the acceſſion of this power as he encreaſed the number of his dependents, ſo he gained the opportunity by it to ſupply the Church with regular and conformable men, for whom he was to be reſponſal both to God and the King. Which ſerved him for a Counter-Ballance againſt the multitude of Lecturers eſtabliſhed in ſo many places, eſpecially by the *Feoffees* for impro-

PART I. priations, who came not to their doom till *February* 13. of this pre-
*Anno Dom.* ſent year, as before was ſaid.
1632. But greater were the Alterations amongſt the Biſhops in the Church than amongſt the Officers of Court, and greater his Authority in preferring the one than in diſpoſing of the other. *Buckeridge* his old Tutor, dying in the See of *Elie*, makes room for *White*, then Biſhop of *Norwich*, and Lord *Almoner*, to ſucceed in his place; A man who having ſpent the greateſt part of his life on his private Cures, grew ſuddenly into eſteem by his zealous preachings againſt the *Papiſts*, his Conferences with the Jeſuite *Fiſher*, and his Book wrote againſt him by command of King *James*. Appointed by that King to have a ſpecial eye on the Counteſs of *Denbigh* (whom the Prieſts much laboured to pervert) he was encouraged thereunto with the Deanry of *Carliſle*, advanced on that very account to the Biſhoprick thereof by the Duke her brother. The Duke being dead, his favour in the Court continued, removed to *Norwich* firſt and to *Ely* afterwards. *Corbet* of *Oxon.* one of *Lauds* fellow-ſufferers in the Univerſity, ſucceeds him in the See of *Norwich*; and *Bancroft*, Maſter of *Univerſity Colledge*, is made Biſhop of *Oxon.* Kinſman he was to ever renowned Archbiſhop *Bancroft*, by whom preferred unto that Headſhip, and looked upon for his ſake chiefly, though otherwiſe of a good ſecular living in this Succeſſion. The Biſhoprick of ſmall Revenue, and without a Houſe, but *Laud* will find a remedy for both in convenient time. The Impropriate Parſonage of *Cudeſdens* five miles from *Oxon.* belonged to the Biſhop in the right of his See, and he had the Donation of the Vicaridge in the ſame right alſo. The Impropriation was in Leaſe, but he is deſired to run it out without more renewing, that in the end it might be made an improvement to that ſlender Biſhoprick. The Vicaridge in the mean time falling, he procured himſelf to be legally inſtituted and inducted, and by the power and favour of our Biſhop of *London* obtains an annexation of it to the See Epiſcopal, (the deſign of bringing in the impropriation going forwards ſtill) and builds that beautiful houſe upon it, which before we mentioned. The See of *Briſtow* was grown poorer than that of *Oxon.* both having been dilapidated in Queen *Elizabeths* time, though by divers hands. To improve the Patrimony thereof, his Majeſty had taken order, that *Wright*, then Biſhop of that Church, ſhould ſuſpend the renewing of a Leaſe of a very good Farm, not very far diſtant from that City, well Houſed, and of a competent Revenue, to ſerve as a Demeſn to the following Biſhops; for which he was to be conſidered in ſome other Preferment. *Houſon* of *Durham* being dead, *Morton* removes from *Lichfield* thither, A man who for the greateſt part of his time had exerciſed his Pen againſt the *Papiſts*: but gave withall no ſmall contentment to King *James*, by his learned Book in defence of the three harmleſs *Ceremonies* againſt the *Puritans*. *Wright* follows him at *Lichfield*, and *Cooke* (brother to Secretary *Cooke*) follows *Wright*

at

at *Briſtoll*, tyed to the ſame conditions, and with like encouragement. The Secretary had formerly done our Biſhop ſome bad Offices. But great Courtiers muſt ſometimes pay good turnes for injuries, break and be pieced again, as occaſions vary. The like care alſo taken by him for mending the two Biſhopricks of *Aſaph* and *Cheſter*, as appears by his *Breviate*. *Breviate.* p. 28.

Nor were theſe all the Alterations which were made this year; Archbiſhop *Harſnet* having left his life the year before, care muſt be taken for a fit man to ſucceed at *York*; a man of an unſuſpected truſt, and one that muſt be able to direct himſelf in all emergencies. *Neiles* known ſufficiencies had pointed him unto the place, but he was warm at *Winton*, and perhaps might not be perſwaded to move toward the North, from whence he came not long before with ſo great contentment; Yet ſuch was the good mans deſires to ſerve his Majeſty, and the Church in what place ſoever, though to his perſonal trouble and particular loſs; that he accepted of the offer, and was accordingly tranſlated in the beginning of this year, or the end of the former. Two Offices fell void by this remove, one in the Court, which was the Clerkſhip of the Cloſet: and another in the Church of *Winton*, which was that of the Biſhop. To the Clerkſhip of the Cloſet he preferred Dr. *William Juxon*, (whom before he had made Preſident of St. *Johns* Colledge) and recommended to his Majeſty for the Deanry of *Worceſter*, to the end that he might have ſome truſty friend to be near his Majeſty, whenſoever he was forced by ſickneſs, or any other neceſſary occaſion, to abſent himſelf. So that *Windebanke* having the Kings ear on one ſide, and the Clerke of the Cloſet on the other, he might preſume to have his tale well told between them; and that his Majeſty ſhould not eaſily be poſſeſſed with any thing to his diſadvantage. To find another fit man for *Winton* muſt be his chief buſineſs, whom it concerned to plant ſuch a Biſhop in that See as might be pliant and ſubſervient unto his deſires. The Biſhop of *Winton* by his place is Viſitor of five conſiderable Colledges in the Univerſity of *Oxon.* that is to ſay, *Magdalens*, *New Colledge*, *Corpus Chriſti*, St. *Johns*, and *Trinity*; by which means he is able to draw a great party after him, and ſuch as might much curb the power of the Chancellor if they ſhould croſs with one another. Therefore to make ſure work at *Oxford* he thought it moſt conducible to his peace and power to prefer *Curle* from *Bath* and *Wells* to the See of *Winton*, which being accordingly effected, *Pierce* is removed from *Peterborough* to the Church of *Wells*, upon the like conſideration as *Wright* about the ſame time was tranſlated to *Lichfield*. There was a rich Parſonage, called *Caſtor*, which belonged to his Patronage as Biſhop of *Peterborough*, about three or four miles from that ſmall City, deſigned whenſoever it fell void to ſerve for a perpetual *commendam* to the Biſhops of it. And falling void, it was ſo ordered by the care of our Biſhop of *London*, that *Pierce* ſhould wave the preferment of a friend unto it,

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1632.

it, and take it for the preſent unto himſelf, leaving it afterwards to his Succeſſors. For his Reward therein he was preferred to *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Peterborough* procured by *Laud* for his old Friend and Fellow-Servant Doctor *Auguſtine Lyndſell*, for whom he formerly had obtained the Deanry of *Litchfeild*: And to ſay truth, the man deſerved it, being a very ſolid Divine, and a learned Linguiſt, to whom the Chriſtian World remains indebted for *Theophylact*'s Comment on the Epiſtles, and the *Catena* upon *Job*, publiſhed by him in *Greek* and *Latin*.

His Majeſties Printers, at or about this time, had committed a ſcandalous miſtake in our *Engliſh* Bibles, by leaving out the word *Not* in the Seventh Commandment. His Majeſty being made acquainted with it by the Biſhop of *London*, Order was given for calling the Printers into the *High-Commiſſion*, where upon Evidence of the Fact, the whole Impreſſion was called in, and the Printers deeply fined, as they juſtly merited. With ſome part of this Fine *Laud* cauſeth a fair Greek Character to be provided, for publiſhing ſuch Manuſcripts as Time and Induſtry ſhould make ready for the Publick view; of which ſort were the *Catena* and *Theophylact* ſet out by *Lyndſell*.

This mentioning of the *High-Commiſſion* conducts me toward the *Star-Chamber*, where we ſhall find a Cenſure paſſed on *Sherfeild* the Recorder of *Sarum*, wherein our Biſhop was as active as in that before; which becauſe it drew upon him ſome clamour, and ſuch a clamour as not only followed him to his death, but hath been ſince continued in ſundry Pamphlets, I ſhall lay down the occaſion of it, and the true Reaſons of his Earneſtneſs and Zeal in that proſecution. This *Sherfeild* being Recorder of *Sarum*, as before is ſaid, was one of the Pariſhioners of the Pariſh Church of St. *Edmonds*, in one of the Windows whereof the Story of the Creation was expreſs'd in old painted Glaſs, in which there was a Repreſentation of God the Father in the ſhape of an Old Man, after which form the Painters of thoſe Elder Times did moſt commonly draw him. This Window, which had continued in the Church without any offence from the firſt ſetting of it up, till the year 1629. or thereabouts, became a great eyeſore to this man, whom nothing would content but the defacing of thoſe Pictures, in ſuch a way as might beſt pleaſe his own humour, and affront Authority. *Davenant* at that time was Biſhop of *Sarum*, and lived for the moſt part in his Palace there; a man of known diſaffections to the Church of *Rome*, and all the Superſtitious Vanities and Corruptions of it. Had he been made acquainted with it, there is no queſtion to be made, but that he either would have gratified the man, in cauſing the ſaid window to be taken down in a peaceable way; or elſe have given him ſuch good Reaſons to the contrary, as might have qualified the peccancy of the preſent Humour. But *Sherfeild* being the Recorder, and thinking he had the Law in his hands, as well as he had it in his head, muſt go another way to work,

work, and bring the Buſineſs to be agitated in a Pariſh *Veſtry*, which *Baſtard Elderſhips* began to grow ſo much in uſe in moſt Corporate Towns, that countenance and connivence in ſhort time would have made them Legitimate. The *Elders* of the *Veſtry* being as willing to embrace the buſineſs, as he was to commend it to them, enabled him at the next *Church-Seſſion*, in the Month of *January* 1629. to eaſe his Conſcience of that burthen, by taking down the offenſive Window, and ſetting up another of plain white Glaſs in the place thereof: And yet this gave him no content, unleſs he might ſhew a more than ordinary Zeal, in defacing thoſe Images which he was ordered to take down; and did accordingly deface them, beating down the Pictures with his Staff in ſuch a violent and ſcandalous way, as was diſreliſhed by moſt moderate men of his own Perſwaſion. The noiſe of ſo foul a miſdemeanour growing lowder and lowder, it came at laſt unto the Court; whereupon an Information was exhibited againſt him in the *Star-Chamber* by the Kings Atturney, not ripened for a Hearing till the latter end of this preſent year, and then brought to Sentence. The Affront done to the *Dioceſan*, and the erecting of a new *Elderſhip* in deſpite of Authority, had been crime ſufficient to bring him under the Cenſure of the *High-Commiſſion*: But taking power unto himſelf of Reforming what he thought amiſs in the face of the Church, and proceeding to the execution of it in a way ſo dangerous, ſo full of ill example to the reſt of the Zealots, made him more properly ſubject to the Court of *Star-Chamber*, and to as heavy a Cenſure there as that Court could legally inflict for the like Diſorders. For what Security could be hoped for in Church or State, if every man ſhould be a *Sherfeild*, and without asking leave of the Prince or Prelate, proceed to ſuch a Reformation as beſt pleaſed his Phanſie? If ſuffered to go on in defacing Windows, they would be ſpirited in ſhort time to pull down Churches; there being commonly no ſtop in ſuch Tumultuary Reformations, till every man be wearied in his own confuſions. And ſomewhat there was alſo in it which was looked upon as a great diſcouragement to the moderate *Papiſts*, from thinking favourably of our Churches, or reſorting to them; and to ſome moderate *Proteſtants* alſo, in beautifying and adorning Churches after ſuch a manner, as without giving juſt offence, might draw the greater Eſtimation to thoſe ſacred Places. In which reſpect, *Laud* did not only aggravate the Crime as much as he could, in reference to the dangerous Conſequences which might follow on it: but ſhewed how far the uſe of painted Images, in the way of Ornament and Remembrance, might be retained in the Church; not juſtifying the painting of God the Father in the ſhape of an Old Man (as he was commonly miſreported) but only laying down the Reaſon which induced ſome Painters to that Repreſentation, which they grounded on *Daniel* 7. 9. where God the Father is not only called *the Ancient of Days*, to ſignifie his Eternity before all time (which was

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1632.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1632.

was ſo much inſiſted on by the Earl of *Dorſet*) but deſcribed after the ſimilitude of an Old Man, *the hair of whoſe head was like the pure wooll.* In fine, though *Sherfeild* found ſome Friends, yet they were but few, the major part concurring in this Sentence on him, that is to ſay, to be fined a thouſand pounds to the King, deprived of his Recorderſhip, bound to his good behaviour for the time to come, as alſo to make a publick Acknowledgment of his Offence, not only in the Pariſh Church of St. *Edmonds*, where it was committed; but in the Cathedral Church it ſelf; that the Biſhop, in contempt of whoſe Authority he had plaid this *Pageant*, might have Reparation.

This Cenſure being paſt on *Sherfeild* on the eighth of *February*, Order is given to *Noy* the Atturney-General to make preparation for another, but of greater conſequence. We ſhew'd before how buſie *Prynne* had made himſelf in ſome preſent Controverſies, and with what inſolence he carried himſelf from the *High-Commiſſion*. Prepared with confidence and ſucceſs for a further Calamity, he publiſhes a ſmall Pamphlet called *Lame GILES his Halting*, An *Appendix* againſt *Bowing at the Name of JESUS*, a larger Book called *Anti-Arminianiſm*, and notably beſtirs himſelf in diſcovering a miſtake (an *Impoſture* it muſt needs be called) in the *Hiſtorical Narration* publiſhed 1631. againſt which he never left exclaiming, till he had procured Archbiſhop *Abbot* (with whom he was grown very gracious) to call it in: But not contented with that Triumph, he prepares another *Pageant* for us in the end of *Michaelmas* Term this year, known by the name of *Hiſtrio-Maſtyx*, in which he ſeemed to breath nothing but Diſgrace to the Nation, Infamy to the Church, Reproaches to the Court, Diſhonour to the Queen, and ſome things which were thought to be tending to the deſtruction of his Majeſties Perſon. Neither the Hoſpitality of the Gentry in the time of *Chriſtmas*, nor the Muſick in Cathedrals and the Chappels Royal, nor the Pomps and Gallantries of the Court, nor the Queens harmleſs Recreations, nor the Kings ſolacing himſelf ſometimes in Maſques and Dances, could eſcape the venom of his Pen; expreſſed for the moſt part in ſuch bitter Language, and frequently interlaced with ſuch dangerous Aggravations and Inſinuations, that it was not poſſible for the Author to eſcape uncenſured. This Book being brought before the Lords of the Council toward the end of *January*, and found too tedious for their Lordſhips to be troubled with it, it pleaſed his Majeſty to give order, that the Book ſhould be committed to the Reading of one of the *Prebends* of *Weſtminſter*, with command to draw out of it and digeſt ſuch particular Paſſages as tended to the danger or diſhonour of the King or State. On the finiſhing and return of which Collection, *Prynne* is committed to the Tower on *Sunday* being *Candlemas* day, and on the morrow after the Collector received a further Order to review his Notes, and deduct out of them ſuch Logical Inferences and Concluſions as might and did naturally ariſe on thoſe dangerous Premiſes: One Copy of the ſame to be

left

left for the Lords of the Council, and another with *Noy* the Attorney-General, and the reſt of his Majeſties Council-Learned in the Laws of this Realm; which Papers gave ſuch ſatisfaction to the one, and ſuch help to the other, that when the Cauſe was brought to hearing in the *Star-Chamber*, *they repeated his Inſtructions only*, as (a) *Prynne* himſelf informed againſt him to the Houſe of Commons. What was done further in this buſineſs, we ſhall ſee hereafter.

(a) *Diſcovery of the Prelates Tryal*, p. 129.

This buſineſs being put into a courſe, our Biſhop offereth ſome Conſiderations to the Lords of the Council, concerning the Diſhonour done to the Church of *England* by the wilful negligence of ſome Chaplains and other Miniſters, both in our Factories and Regiments beyond the Seas; together with the Inconveniencies which redounded to it from the *French* and *Dutch* Congregations ſettled in many places amongſt our ſelves. He had long *teemed* with this Deſign, but was not willing to be his own *Midwife* when it came to the *Birth*; and therefore it was ſo contrived, that *Windebank* ſhould make the Propoſition at the Council-Table, and put the Buſineſs on ſo far, that the Biſhop might be moved by the whole Board to conſider of the ſeveral Points in that weighty Buſineſs: who being thus warranted to the execution of his own deſires, preſented two *Memorials* to their Lordſhips, at the end of this year, *March* 22. The one relating to the Factories and Regiments beyond the Seas; the other to the *French* and *Dutch* Plantations in *London*, *Kent*, *Norfolk*, *Yorkſhire*, *Hampſhire*, and the Iſle of *Axholme*. He had obſerved, not without great indignation, how Tenacious the *French* and *Dutch* Churches were of their own received Forms, both in Worſhip and Government; as on the other ſide, how ignoble and degenerous the *Engliſh* had ſhown themſelves, in neglecting the Divine Service of this Church in their ſeveral Factories, where they were licenced to make uſe of it by the Power and Countenance of that State in which they Traded. The Earl of *Leiceſter* being ſent this year to negotiate ſome Affairs with the King of *Denmark*, and *Anſtrother* ready to come from the Court of the Emperour, they were appointed by his Majeſty to meet at *Hamborough*, there to expect the coming of *Pennington* with ſome Ships to conduct them home. The *Engliſh* driving a great Trade in that Town, were by the Magiſtrates thereof indulged all the Priviledges of an *Engliſh* Church: but they retained nothing of a Church of *England*, governing themſelves wholly by *Calvin*'s Plat-form, which they had taken up in *England*. The two Embaſſadors being met, but the Ships not come, the *Elders* of the Church humbly deſired their Lordſhips to do them ſo much honour in the eyes of the People, as to vouchſafe their preſence at the *Engliſh* Church; and that their Lordſhips Chaplains might be ordered to Exerciſe in the Congregation. This Motion being chearfully embraced by both, the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Chaplain firſt mounts the Pulpit, and after a ſhort Pſalm, according to the *Genevian* faſhion, betakes himſelf unto his Sermon. The like

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1632.

like was done by *Johnſon*, *Anſtrothers* Chaplain, (for I remember not the name of the other) when it came to his turn. The Ships being come, and ſtaying for a change of wind, the like curteſie was deſired of *Pennington*, Admiral of that little Fleet for the preſent Service. *Pennington* told them that he had no Chaplain, that there was in the Ship one Dr. *Ambroſe* his Friend and Kinſman, who had borne him company in that Voyage; and that he doubted not but that he would readily hearken to them, if they made the motion. The motion being made and granted, *Ambroſe* attends his Admiral to the place of Exerciſe, where he took up his ſtand very near the Pulpit. The Congregation being filled, and the Pſalm half done, a *Deacon* is ſent to put him in mind of going into the Pulpit; of whom he deſires to be accommodated with a Bible, and a *Common-Prayer* Book; The *Deacon* offered him a Bible, but told him that they had no ſuch thing as a *Common-Prayer* Book, and that the Common Prayers were not uſed amongſt them: Why then, ſaid *Ambroſe*, the beſt is, that I have one of my own; which being preſently taken out of his pocket, he began with the Sentences, and invitation, and was ſcarce entred into the Confeſſion, when all the Church was in an uproar. The Elders thereupon in a great amaze ſent back the *Deacon*, to deſire him to go into the Pulpit, and not to trouble them with that which they were not uſed to. *Ambroſe* replied, That if they were an *Engliſh* Church they were obliged to ſerve God by the Engliſh *Liturgie*; and that if they would have no Prayers they ſhould have no Sermon, and ſo proceeded on with the reſt of the Liturgy; which Meſſage being delivered to the *Elders*, the *Deacon* was ſent back the third time, requiring him to deſiſt from that unneceſſary Service. On the receiving of which Meſſage he puts the book into his pocket, and goes out of the Church, the two Embaſſadours following him, and the Admiral them; to the great honour of himſelf, and the confuſion of *Johnſon* (from whoſe mouth I received the ſtory) and the other Chaplain, being thus ſhewed their errour in not doing the like.

That our Biſhop was ever made acquainted by the ſaid *Johnſon* with this paſſage, I am not able to ſay; but whether he were or not, he had too much ground for what he did, in offering to their Lordſhips his conſiderations for regulating Divine Service in that and all other Factories, Imployments, and Commands of the Engliſh Nation. That is to ſay, "Firſt, That the Colonels of the Engliſh "Regiments in the *Low-Countries* ſhould entertain no Miniſter as "Preacher to their Regiments but ſuch as ſhould conform in all "things to the Church of *England*, to be commended to them by "their Lordſhips, the Advice of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and "*York* being taken in it. Secondly, That the Company of Merchants "there reſiding, or in any other parts, ſhall admit no Miniſter as "Preacher to them but ſuch as are ſo qualified, and ſo commended, "as aforeſaid. Thirdly, That if any Miniſter hath gotten himſelf by

"indirect

" indirect means to be ſo commended, and ſhould be afterwards
" found to be unconformable, and ſhould not conform himſelf with-
" in three months, upon warning giving him by the ſaid Colonels
" or Deputy Governour of the Factors under whom he liveth, he
" ſhall be diſmiſt from his imployment, and a more orderly man
" recommended to it. Fourthly, That every Miniſter or Chaplain
" in any Factory, or Regiment, whether of *Engliſh* or *Scots*, ſhall
" read the Common Prayers, Adminiſter the Sacraments, Cate-
" chiſe the Children, and perform all other publick Miniſterial du-
" ties, according to the Rules or *Rubricks* of the *Engliſh* Liturgie,
" and not otherwiſe. Fifthly, That if any Miniſter or Preacher,
" being the Kings born Subject, ſhould with any bitter words, or
" writings, in Print or otherwiſe, defame the Church of *England*
" by Law eſtabliſhed, notice thereof is to be given to the Ambaſſa-
" dor there, and by him to this State, by whom the party ſo offend-
" ing ſhould be commanded over again to anſwer for his ſaid offen-
" ces; the like to be done alſo in derogating from the Doctrine and
" Diſcipline of the Church, and in Preaching, Writing or Printing
" any thing prejudicial to the Temporal State and Government of the
" Realm of *England*. Sixthly, That no Colonel or Deputy Go-
" vernour ſhould permit their Miniſter or Preacher, in the caſe of
" ſickneſs, or neceſſary abſence, to bring in any to preach or officiate
" for him, but ſuch an one for whoſe conformity he would be
" accountable. Seventhly, That no Deputy Governours ſhould be
" ſent to *Delfe*, or any other place of Reſidence for the *Engliſh* Mer-
" chants, but one that, being conformable to the Church of *Eng-*
" *land* both in Doctrine and Diſcipline, would take care alſo, that
" ſuch as be under him, ſhall perform all Church duties before
" expreſſed; that the party ſo deſigned ſhall be preſented to their
" Lordſhips by the Merchant *Adventurers*, giving aſſurance of his
" fitneſs and ſufficiency for that charge, and that ſome of the chief
" of the Merchants be ſent for to the board, and made acquainted
" with this order. Eightly, That as often as the ſaid Merchants
" ſhall renew their Patents, a clauſe for the due obſervation of
" theſe Inſtructions (or ſo many of them at the leaſt as ſhould
" ſeem neceſſary to their Lordſhips) to be inſerted in the ſame.
" Ninthly, That all his Majeſties Agents there from time to time
" have theſe Inſtructions given them in Charge, and that once a
" year they be required to give the Board an account of the Pro-
" greſs of the buſineſs, that further order might be taken if occaſion
" be. Tenthly, That the *Engliſh* Miniſters in *Holland*, being his Ma-
" jeſties born Subjects, be not ſuffered to hold any *Claſſical* meet-
" ings, but howſoever not to aſſume the power of *Ordination*; from
" which if they ſhould not be reſtrained, there would be a per-
" petual Seminary for breeding up men in Schiſm and Faction, to the
" diſturbance of this Kingdom.

In reference to the *French* and *Dutch* Churches here in *England* he

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1632.

proceeded in another method; firſt, repreſenting the occaſion of their ſettling here, their ſeveral abuſes of that Favour, together with the manifold dangers and inconveniencies which might thence ariſe; and next adviſing ſuch agreeable remedies as he thought moſt proper for the cure. "And firſt he repreſented to them the great piety "of this State in giving liberty to thoſe Nations to enjoy the free- "dom of their own Religion, at *London* and elſewhere in this King- "dom; when being under perſecution in their own Countries they "could not enjoy the ſame at home. Secondly, That it was not the "meaning of this State then, or at any other time ſince, that the firſt "Generation being worn out, their Children, and Childrens Chil- "dren, being naturally born Subjects of this Realm, ſhould ſtill re- "main divided from the reſt of the Church, which muſt needs ali- "enate them from the State, and make them apt to any innovation "which may ſort better with their humour. Thirdly, That they "ſtill keep themſelves as a diſtinct body of themſelves, marrying "only in their own Tribe with one another; by means whereof it "muſt needs follow, that as they are now a Church within a "Church, ſo in ſhort time they might grow to be a Common- "wealth in the middeſt of a Kingdom. Fourthly, That theſe bo- "dies ſtanding thus divided from the Church and State are planted "for the moſt part in ſuch Haven Towns as lay fitteſt for *France* and "the *Low-Countries*; which may be a ſhrewd temptation to them "to take ſuch advantages to themſelves, or to make uſe thereof for "others as occaſion offereth. Fifthly, That the example is of ill "conſequence in Church-affairs to the Subjects of *England*, many "being confirmed by it in their ſtubborn waies, and inconformities, "but in *London* chiefly. Sixthly, That neither *French* nor *Dutch* "Church be longer tolerated in this Kingdom than the Subjects of "this Kingdom be ſuffered to enjoy the Doctrine and Diſcipline of "the Church of *England* in thoſe ſeveral parts beyond the Seas "where they have their abode. The dangers and inconveniencies being thus laid down, he proceeds to the Remedies. And firſt he doth adviſe, "That the number of them in all places of the King- "dom be fully known, to the end a better Judgment might be "made of the way by which they are to be reduced to the reſt of the "Kingdom. Secondly, That a Command be iſſued to this purpoſe "from the State it ſelf, and that it be avowedly (and not perfun- "ctorily) taken in all places where they do reſide, and a Certificate "returned of the men of moſt credit and wealth amongſt them. "Thirdly, That if they will continue as a diſtinct body both from "State and Church, they ſhould pay all duties double as ſtrangers "uſed to do in this Realm, and not be capable of ſuch immunities "as the Natives have, as long as they continue ſo divided from "them. Fourthly, That when it ſhall be thought convenient to "reduce them to the ſame condition with the reſt of the Subjects, "they ſhould then be warned in an Eccleſiaſtical way (excepting

"ſuch

"ſuch as be new Commers) to repair diligently to their Pariſh "Churches, and to conform themſelves to their Prayers and *Sacra-* "*ments*; which if they ſhould refuſe to do, then to proceed againſt "them by Excommunication, and ſo unto the Writ *de Excommuni-* "*cato capiendo*, for a terror to others. Fifthly, and laſtly, That if "this courſe prevaile not with them, a Declaration to be made by "the State to this effect, That if they will be as natives, and take "the benefit of Subjects they muſt conform themſelves to the Laws "of the Kingdom, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal; That being "the likelieſt way to make them capable of the inconveniencies they "ſhould run unto by their refuſal and perverſeneſs. Such were the conſiderations offered by him to the Lords of the Council, for advancing the peace and honour of this Church both at home, and abroad. But long it will not be before we ſhall behold him ſitting in the Chair of *Canterbury*, acting his own counſels, bringing theſe *Conceptions* to the *birth*, and putting the deſign into execution, of which more hereafter.

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1632.

These matters ſtanding in this ſtate, we muſt at laſt look toward *Scotland*; for the receiving of which Crown his Majeſty and the Court prepare the beginning of this year. But beſides the Pomp and Splendor of a Coronation, which the people with great importunity had long preſt upon him, there were ſome other *Loadſtones* which made the *Needle* of his *Compaſs* point ſo much to the *North*. Concerning which the Reader may be pleaſed to know, that at the firſt Alteration of Religion in the Kirk of *Scotland*, the *Scots* petitioning for aide from Queen *Elizabeth* to expell the *French*, (*a*) obliged themſelves by the ſubſcription of their hands to embrace the *Liturgie*, *Rites*, and *Ceremonies* of the Church of *England*. According whereunto, an Ordinance was made by their *Reformers*, that in all Pariſhes of that *Realm* (*b*) the Common-Prayer ſhould be read weekly on Sundaies, and other Feſtival daies, with the Leſſons of the Old and New Teſtament, conform to the order of the Book of Common-Prayer of the Church of *England*; it being well known, that for divers years after, they had no other order for Common-Prayer but that which they received from hence. But as *Presbytery* prevailed, ſo the Liturgie fell: the fancy of *Extemporary* Prayers growing up ſo faſt in the minority of King *James*, that it ſoon thruſt all Publick Forms out of uſe and credit. In which confuſed eſtate it ſtood till the coming of that King to the Crown of *England*, where he much pleaſed himſelf with the Sobriety and Piety of the publick *Liturgie*. This made him caſt his eyes more ſadly on the Kirk of *Scotland*, where for want of ſome ſuch publick *Forms* of *Prayers* the Miniſters prayed ſo ignorantly, that it was a ſhame to all Religion to have God ſpoke to in that barbarous manner, and ſometimes ſo ſeditiouſly that their Prayers were plain Libells againſt Authority, or ſtuft with lies made up of all the falſe reports in the Kingdom. For remedy whereof, after he had reſtored, and ſettled

1633.

(*a*) *Religionis cultui & ritibus cum Anglis communibus ſubſcripſerunt.* *Bach.* H. R. *Scot.* l. 19.

(*b*) Preface to the Scots Liturgie.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

the *Epiſcopal* Government, he procured the *General Aſſembly* of that *Kirk*, held at *Aberdeen*, *Anno* 1616. to paſs an Act for Authoriſing ſome of the Biſhops, and divers others, to compile a Publick *Liturgie* for the uſe of that *Kirk*; which being preſented unto the King, and by him approved, ſhould be univerſally received over all the Kingdom. To prepare the way unto them, his Majeſty gave order the next Spring after, That the *Engliſh Liturgie* ſhould be Officiated day by day in his Chappel-Royal in the City of *Edenborough*; and in the year following 1618. obtained the five Articles before-mentioned (as ſo many chief Ingredients for the Common-Prayer-Book) to be paſſed at *Perth*: by which Encouragements, the Commiſſioners which were appointed to compile the Book, went ſo luckily forwards, that it was not long before they brought it to an end, and ſent it to King *James* by Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*; who not only carefully peruſed every Paſſage in it, but cauſed it to be reviſed by ſome of the Biſhops of that Kingdom, which were then in *England*, in whoſe Judgments he repoſed eſpecial confidence. Fitted according to his mind, he ſent it back again to thoſe from whoſe hands he received it, to be by them commended to the uſe of the Church; which undoubtedly had took effect, if the Breach with *Spain*, and the Death of that King, which followed not long after, had not unfortunately interrupted the Succeſs of the buſineſs.

In this condition of Affairs King *Charles* ſucceeded in the Crown, ingaged in a War with the King of *Spain*, and ſtanding upon no good terms with his People at home; ſo that the buſineſs of the *Liturgie* ſeemed to be laid aſleep, if not quite extinct. But in the year 1629. having agreed his differences with the Crown of *France*, and being in a good way towards an Accommodation with the King of *Spain*, the *Scottiſh* Biſhops were again remembred of their Duty in it, who diſpatch'd *Maxwell*, then one of the Preachers of *Edenborough*, to the Court about it: *Maxwell* applying himſelf to *Laud*, then Biſhop of *London*, from whom he received this poſitive Anſwer, *That if his Majeſty would have a* Liturgie *ſetled there, different from what they had already, it was beſt to take the* Engliſh Liturgie, *without any variation from it; that ſo the ſame* Service-Book *might paſs through all his Majeſties Dominions.* *Maxwell* replying, *That the* Scottiſh *Biſhops would be better pleaſed to have a* Liturgie *of their own, but ſuch as ſhould come near the* Engliſh *both in Form and Matter*, the Cauſe was brought before the King, who on a ſerious conſideration of all Particulars, concurred in Judgment for the *Engliſh*. And on theſe terms it ſtood till this preſent year, *Laud* ſtanding hard for admitting the *Engliſh Liturgie* without alteration; the *Scottiſh* Biſhops pleading on the other ſide, *That a* Liturgie *made by themſelves, and in ſome things different from the* Engliſh Service, *would beſt pleaſe their Countrymen, whom they found very jealous of the leaſt dependence on the Church of* England. But becauſe Letters writtten in the time of Action, are commonly conceived to carry more truth

*Hist. Troub.* p. 155.

in

in them, than Relations made upon the *poſt-fact* for particular ends; take here this ſhort Remembrance in one of his Letters to the Earl of *Traquaire*, dated *September* 11. 1637. where we find this Paſſage: *And ſince* (ſaith he) *I hear from others, That ſome exception is taken, becauſe there is more in that* Liturgie *in ſome few particulars, than is in the* Liturgie *of* England, *Why did they not admit the* Liturgie *of* England *without more ado? But by their refuſal of that, and the diſlike of this, 'tis more than manifeſt they would have neither, and perhaps none at all, were they left to themſelves.* *Ibid.* p. 169.

But beſides this, there was another Invitation which wrought much upon him in order to the preſent Journey: At his firſt coming to the Crown, the great Engagements then upon him, want of Supply from *England*, and ſmall help from *Scotland*, forced him to have recourſe to ſuch other ways of aſſiſtances as were offered to him; of which this was one. In the Minority of King *James*, the Lands of all Cathedral Churches and Religious Houſes which had been ſetled on the Crown by Act of Parliament, were ſhared amongſt the Lords and great men of that Kingdom (by the connivence of the Earl of *Murrey*, and ſome other of the Regents) to make them ſure unto that ſide: And they being thus poſſeſſed of the ſame Lands, with the Regalities and Tythes belonging to thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Corporations, Lorded it with Pride and Inſolence enough in their ſeveral Territories, holding the Clergy to ſmall Stipends, and the poor *Peaſant* under a miſerable Vaſſalage and ſubjection to them, not ſuffering them to carry away their nine parts, till the Lord had carried off his Tenth; which many times was neglected out of pride and malice, thoſe Tyrants not caring to loſe their Tythe, ſo that the poor mans Crop might be left unto ſpoil and hazard. King *James* had once a purpoſe to revoke thoſe Grants; but growing into years and troubles, he left the following of that Project to his Son and Succeſſor: Having but little help from thence to maintain his Wars, by the Advice of ſome of the Council of that Kingdom, he was put upon a courſe of reſuming thoſe Lands, Tythes, and Regalities into his own hand, to which the preſent Occupants could pretend no other Title than the unjuſt Uſurpation of their Predeceſſors. This to effect, he reſolves upon an Act of *Revocation*, Commiſſionating for that purpoſe the Earl of *Annandale*, and the Lord *Maxwell* (afterwards Earl of *Niddiſdale*) to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*, for Contribution of Money and Ships againſt the *Duynkirkers*; and arming *Maxwell* alſo with ſome ſecret Inſtructions for paſſing the ſaid Act of *Revocation*, if he found it feaſible. Being on the way as far as *Barwick*, *Maxwell* was there informed, That his chief errand being made known, had put all at *Edenborough* into Tumult; That a rich Coach which he had ſent before to *Dalkeith* was cut in pieces, the poor Horſes killed, the People ſeeming only ſorry that they could not do ſo much to the Lord himſelf. Things being brought unto this ſtand, the King was put to a neceſſity of ſome ſecond Counſels,

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

Counſels, amongſt which none ſeemed more plauſible and expedient to him, than that of Mr. *Archibald Achiſon*, who from a puiſne Judge in *Ireland*, was made his Majeſties *Procurator* or Solicitor-General in the Kingdom of *Scotland*; who having told his Majeſty, *That ſuch as were Eſtated in the Lands in queſtion, had ſerved themſelves ſo well by the bare naming of an Act of* Revocation, *as to poſſeſs the People, (whom they found apt to be inflamed on ſuch Suggeſtions), That the true intendment of that Act was to revoke all former Laws for ſuppreſſing of* Popery, *and ſettling the* Reformed Religion *in the Kirk of* Scotland: *And therefore, That it would be unſafe for his Majeſty to proceed that way.* Next he adviſed, *That inſtead of ſuch a General* Revocation *as the Act imported, a Commiſſion ſhould be iſſued out under the Great Seal of that Kingdom, for taking the* Surrendries *of all ſuch* Superiorities *and* Tythes *within the Kingdom, at his Majeſties Pleaſure: And that ſuch as ſhould refuſe to ſubmit unto it, ſhould be Impleaded one by one; to begin firſt with thoſe whom he thought leaſt able to ſtand out, or elſe moſt willing to conform to his Majeſties Pleaſure:* Aſſuring him, *That having the Laws upon his ſide, the Courts of Juſtice muſt and would paſs Judgment for him.*

The King reſolved upon this courſe, ſends home the Gentleman, not only with Thanks and Knighthood (which he had moſt worthily deſerved) but with Inſtructions and Power to proceed therein; and he proceeded in it ſo effectually to the Kings Advantage, that ſome of the impleaded Parties being caſt in the Suit; and the reſt ſeeing, that though they could raiſe the People againſt the King, they could not raiſe them againſt the *Laws*, it was thought the beſt and ſafeſt way to compound the buſineſs. Hereupon, in the year 1630. Commiſſioners are ſent to the Court of *England*, and amongſt others, the Learned and right Noble Lord of *Marcheſton* (from whoſe mouth I had this whole Relation) who after a long Treaty with the King, did at laſt agree, That the ſaid Commiſſion ſhould proceed as formerly; and, That all ſuch *Superiorities* and *Tythes* as had been or ſhould be ſurrendred, ſhould be re-granted by the King on theſe Conditions: Firſt, *That all ſuch as held Hereditary Sheriffdoms, or had the Power of Life and Death over ſuch as lived within their Juriſdiction, ſhould quit thoſe Royalties to the King.* Secondly, *That they ſhould make unto their Tenants in their ſeveral Lands, ſome permanent Eſtates, either for their Lives, or one and twenty years, or ſome ſuch like Term; that ſo the Tenants might be encouraged to Build and Plant, and improve the Patrimony of that Kingdom.* Thirdly, *That ſome Proviſions ſhould be made for augmenting the Stipends of the Clergy.* Fourthly, *That they ſhould double the yearly Rents which were reſerved unto the Crown, by their former Grants.* And finally, *That theſe Conditions being performed on their parts, the King ſhould ſettle their Eſtates by Act of Parliament.* Home went the Commiſſioners with joy for their good ſucceſs, expecting to be entertained with *Bells* and *Bonfires:* but they found the contrary; the proud *Scots* being generally

rally reſolved, rather to put all to hazard, than to quit that Power and Tyranny which they had over their poor *Vaſſals*, by which name (after the manner of the *French*) they called their Tenants. And hereunto they were encouraged under-hand by a Party in *England*, who feared that by this Agreement the King would be ſo abſolute in thoſe Northern Regions, that no Aid could be hoped from thence, when the neceſſity of their deſigns might moſt require it: Juſt as the *Caſtilians* were diſpleaſed with the Conqueſt of *Portugal* by King *Philip* the Second, becauſe thereby they had no place left to retire unto, when either the Kings diſpleaſure, or their diſobedience, ſhould make their own Country to hot for them. LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

Such was the face of Church and State when his Majeſty began his Journey for *Scotland* to receive the Crown; a Journey of great expence on both ſides, but of ſmall profit unto either. On the thirteenth day of *May* he advanced toward the North; but by ſuch leiſurely Removes, that he recovered not the City of *York* till the twenty fourth, into which he made a Solemn and Magnificent Entrance, attended by the Flower of the *Engliſh* Nobility, the principal Officers of his Court, and ſome of the Lords of his Privy Council. He was received at his firſt entrance into *Scotland* with a gallant body of that Nation, conſiſting for the moſt part of the like Ingredients, and ſo conducted into *Edenborough* on the tenth of *June*. *Edenborough*, the chief City of the Realm of *Scotland*, and indeed the *Summa totalis* of that Kingdom, extended a whole mile in length from the *Palace-Royal* of *Holy-Rood*-Houſe, lying at the foot of the Hill, to a fair and ancient Caſtle mounted on the top thereof. From this Caſtle the King was to deſcend the Street in a Royal Pomp, till he came to his Palace (as the Kings of *England* commonly on the like occaſion ride from the *Tower* thorow *London* to the Court of *Whitehall*) where the Solemnities of the Coronation were to be perform'd. The day deſigned for it was the eighteenth of *June*, the concourſe of People beyond expreſſion, and the expreſſions of their Joy in gallantry of Apparel, ſumptuous Feaſtings, and Acclamations of all ſorts, nothing inferiour to that concourſe. But this was only the *Hoſanna* of his firſt Reception; they had a *Crucifige* for him when he came to his Parliament. It was conceived at his Majeſties firſt going toward the *North*, that he would have ſettled the *Engliſh Liturgie* in that Church, at his being there: but he either carried no ſuch thoughts with him, or, if he did, he kept them to himſelf as no more than thoughts, never diſcovering any ſuch thing in his words or actions. The *Scots* were of another temper, than to be eaſily won to any thing which they had no mind to; and a leſs mind they could have to nothing than the *Engliſh Liturgie*. King *James* had taken order at his being in *Scotland*, *Anno* 1617. That it ſhould conſtantly be read twice every day in his Chappel-Royal for that City; and gave command that the Lords of his Privy-Council, and the Lords of *Seſſion*, ſhould be preſent at it on the *Sundays*, and there receive

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

receive the Holy Communion, according to the form preſcribed in the Common-Prayer-Book: And this he did unto this end, That as well the Citizens of *Edenborough*, as ſuch as came thither upon Buſineſs, might by degrees be made acquainted with the *Engliſh* Forms, and conſequently be prepared for the receiving of ſuch a *Liturgie* as the King, with the Advice of his Biſhops, and other Learned Men (according to the Act of the *Aſſembly* at *Aberdeen*) ſhould commend unto them: But theſe Directions being either diſcontinued, or careleſly followed after his deceaſe, and the five Articles of *Perth* not preſs'd ſo diligently on the People as they might have been, the *Scots* were generally as great Strangers to the *Liturgie* of the Church of *England*, as when King *James* firſt came amongſt us.

His Majeſty could not be ſo ill ſerved, as not to be well enough informed how things went in *Scotland*; and therefore was not to venture raſhly upon ſuch a buſineſs, wherein he might receive a foil. He thereupon reſolves to proceed no further in Matters which concerned the Church, than to paſs an Act of *Ratification*, an Act Confirmatory of ſuch Laws and Statutes, relating unto Church-concernments, as by King *James* had been obtained with great charge and cunning. And though he carried this Act at laſt, yet was it not without a far greater oppoſition than he had reaſon to expect from that *Convention*: But the Commiſſion of *Surrendry* did ſo ſtick in their ſtomacks, that they could not chuſe but vent their diſaffections on the firſt occaſion. Nor would they ſuffer him to enjoy the benefit of that Act, ſo hardly gotten, with Peace and Honour; but followed him into *England* with a peſtilent *Libel*, in which they charged him to have carried that Act by corrupting ſome, and a plain down-right buying of the Voices of others. This was the firſt taſte which they gave the King of their malevolency towards his Perſon and Government; but it ſhall not prove to be the laſt. His Majeſty had another buſineſs to effect at his being there, for which he needed not their Aſſiſtance, and for that reaſon did not ask it: This was the raiſing of the City of *Edenborough* to a See Epiſcopal, which before was only a Borough Town, belonging anciently to the Dioceſs and Juriſdiction of St. *Andrews*. The *Metropolitan* of St. *Andrews* was willing for the common good to yield unto this diminution of his Power and Profit; and that the whole County of *Lothian*, extending from *Edenborough-Fryth* to the Town of *Barwick*, ſhould be diſmembred from his own Dioceſs, to ſerve as a Dioceſs to this Biſhop of new Election. And on the other ſide, the Duke of *Lenox*, whoſe Anceſtors had long enjoyed the *Priory* of St. *Andrews*, with a great part of the Lands belonging to it, was willing to let his Majeſty have a good penyworth of ſome part of thoſe Lands, to ſerve as a Patrimony to this new Epiſcopal See, and the Biſhop of it: Which Proviſion being thus made and ſettled, *Forbeſſe* a right grave and ſolid Divine, is made the firſt Biſhop of this City, his Cathedral fixed

fixed in the Church of St. *Giles* (being the faireſt in the Town), a Dean appointed for that Church, ſome Miniſters of *Edenborough* and the Parts adjoining, being nominated for the *Canons* or *Prebends* of it. A deſign pious in it ſelf, and purpoſely intended to inure the *Edenburghers* to the Fatherly Government of a Biſhop, who by tempering the exorbitancies of the Miniſters there, might by degrees prepare the People to ſuch impreſſions of Conformity as his Majeſty, by the Council and Conſent of the reſt of the Biſhops, ſhould graciouſly be pleaſed to imprint upon them. But ſuch ill luck his Majeſty had with that ſtubborn Nation, that this was look'd upon alſo as a general Grievance, and muſt be thought to aim at no other end than Tyranny and *Popery*, and what elſe they pleaſed. LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

We have almoſt done our work in *Scotland*, and yet hear nothing all this while of the Biſhop of *London*; not that he did not go the Journey, but that there was little to be done at his being there, but to ſee and be ſeen: And yet it was a Journey which brought him ſome acceſs of Honour, and gave him opportunity of making himſelf known to thoſe of beſt Quality of that Kingdom. He had been in *Scotland* with King *James*; but then he waited only as a private Chaplain. He is now looked upon as the third Biſhop of *England* in Place, and the greateſt in Power; a *Counſellor* of *State*, and the Kings great Favorite. He entred *Scotland* as a Privy-Counſellor of *England* only; but returned thence as a Counſellor for that Kingdom alſo: to which Office he was ſworn on the fifteenth of *June*. Nor did he ſhew himſelf leſs able in that Church, than in the Council-Chamber; being appointed by his Majeſty to Preach before him on the laſt of that Month: in which ſome queſtion may be made how he pleaſed the *Scots*, although it be out of queſtion that he pleaſed the King. The greateſt part of the following *July* was ſpent in viſiting the Country, and taking a view of the chief Cities, and moſt remarkable Parts and Places of it: Which having ſeen, he made a Poſting Journey to the Queen at *Greenwich*, whither he came on *Saturday* the twentieth of *July*, croſſing the Water at *Blackwall*, and looking towards *London* from no nearer diſtance: But in this Act he laid aſide the Majeſty of his Predeceſſors, eſpecially of Queen *Elizabeth* of Famous Memory, of whom it was obſerved, That ſhe did very ſeldom end any of her *Summer Progreſſes*, but ſhe would wheel about to ſome end of *London*, to make her paſſage to *Whitehall* thorow ſome part of the City; not only requiring the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in their Scarlet Robes and Chains of Gold, to come forth to meet her: but the ſeveral Companies of the City to attend ſolemnly in their Formalities as ſhe went along. By means whereof ſhe did not only preſerve that Majeſty which did belong to a Queen of *England*; but kept the *Citizens* (and conſequently all the Subjects) in a reverent Eſtimation and Opinion of her. She uſed the like Arts alſo in keeping up the Majeſty of the Crown, and Service of the City, in the Reception and bringing in of Foreign *Embaſſadors*;

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

who if they came to *London* by Water, were met at *Graveſend* by the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and Companies in their ſeveral Barges, and in that Solemn manner conducted unto ſuch Stairs by the Water ſide, as were neareſt to the Lodgings provided for them: But if they were to come by Land, they were met in the like ſort at *Shooters-Hill*, by the Mayor and Aldermen, and thence conducted to their Lodgings, the Companies waiting in the Streets in their ſeveral Habits. The like ſhe uſed alſo in celebrating the *Obſequies* of all Chriſtian Kings, whether *Popiſh* or *Proteſtant*, with whom ſhe was in Correſpondence; performed in ſuch a Solemn and Magnificent manner, that it preſerved her in the eſtimation of all Foreign Princes, though differing in Religion from her, beſides the great contentment which the People took in thoſe Royal Pomps. Some other Arts ſhe had of preſerving Majeſty, and keeping diſtance with her People; yet was ſo popular withal, when ſhe ſaw her time, that never *Majeſty* and *Popularity* were ſo matched together. But theſe being laid aſide by King *James*, who brooked neither of them; and not reſumed by King *Charles*, who loved them not much more than his Father did; there followed firſt a neglect of their Perſons, which *Majeſty* would have made more Sacred; and afterwards a miſlike of their Government, which a little *Popularity* would have made more grateful.

*Laud* having no ſuch cauſe of haſtning homewards, returned not to his Houſe at *Fulham* till the twenty ſixth of the ſame Month: But he came time enough to hear the news of *Abbot*'s Sickneſs, and within few days after, of his Death, which hapned on *Sunday* morning the fourth of *Auguſt*, and was preſently ſignified to the King, being then at *Greenwich*. A man he was that had taſted both of good and ill Fortune in extremes; affirmed by the Church Hiſtorian (for I ſhall only ſpeak him in the words of others) to be a grave man in his Converſation, and unblameable in his Life: but ſaid withal to have been carried with *non amavit gentem noſtram*, forſaking the Birds of his own feather, to fly with others; and generally favouring the *Laity* above the *Clergie*, in all Caſes which were brought before him: Conceived by one of our State Hiſtorians, to be too facil and yielding in the exerciſing of his Function; by whom it alſo affirmed, *That his extraordinary remiſneſs, in not exacting ſtrict Conformity to the preſcribed Orders of the Church in point of Ceremony, ſeemed to reſolve thoſe legal Determinations to their firſt Principle of Indifferency, and to lead in ſuch an habit of Inconformity, as the future reduction of thoſe tender-conſcienc'd men to long diſcontinued Obedience, was interpreted an* Innovation. By the firſt Character we find what made him acceptable amongſt the Gentry; by the laſt, what made him grateful to the *Puritan*, in favour of which men he took ſo little care of the great Truſt committed to him, and gave them ſo many opportunities of increaſing both in Power and Numbers, that to ſtop them in their full career, it was found neceſſary to ſuſpend him from his *Metropolitical* Juriſdiction, as before was noted. It

Ch. Hiſt. B. 11. p. 128.

*Hiſt. of* K. Charles. p. 131.

It is reported, That as Prince *Henry*, his Majeſty, then Duke of *Yorke*, Archbiſhop *Abbot*, with many of the Nobility were waiting in the Privy Chamber for the coming out of King *James*; the Prince, to put a jeſt on the Duke his Brother, took the Archbiſhops Square Cap out of his hands, and put it on his Brothers head, telling him, that if he continued a good Boy, and followed his Book, he would one day make him Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Which the Child took in ſuch diſdain, that he threw the Cap upon the ground, and trampled it under his feet, not being without much difficulty and ſome force taken off from that eagerneſs. This though firſt it was not otherwiſe beheld than as an Act of Childiſh Paſſion, yet when his Brother Prince *Henry* died, and that he was Heir apparent to the Crown, it was taken up by many zealous Church-men for ſome ill preſage unto the *Hierarchy* of Biſhops; the overthrow whereof by his Act and Power did ſeem to be fore-ſignified by it. But as their fears in that were groundleſs, ſo their conjectures were no better grounded than their fears, (there never being a greater Patron of the Epiſcopal order than he lived and died) but whether there might not be ſome preſage in it in reference to the Archbiſhops perſon, the diminution of his Dignity and fall of his Power, may be beſt judged by this ſuſpenſion and the conſequents which followed on it: And though he lived not long under the diſgrace, yet in the interval of time he ſaw ſo much of his Authority devolved on *Laud*, that he grew more and more diſcontented, and was ready in a manner to have made himſelf the head of the *Puritan* Faction. LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

It is related by a late Writer, That towards his death he was not only diſcontented himſelf, but that his houſe was the Rendezvouz of all the Malecontents in Church and State, that he turned Midnight to Noonday-by conſtant keeping of Candles lighted in his Chamber and Study; as alſo that ſuch Viſitants as repaired unto him called themſelves *Nicodemites*, becauſe of their ſecret coming to him by night. I know how much that Author hath been miſtaken in other things, but I ſee nothing in this which may not be conſiſtent with the truth of Hiſtory. Certain I am, his Chaplains were ſucceſſively declared *Calvinians*, his Secretary a profeſſed Patron of the Puritan Faction, his doors continually open to the Chiefs of that party, and ſuch as ſtickled in that cauſe; and amongſt others to him by whoſe Suggeſtion (if we may take his own report) the *Hiſtorical Narration* was called in, for the great danger which it threatned to the grounds of *Calviniſm*.

For his compliance with the Gentry againſt the Clergie, this reaſon is alledged from his own mouth, *That he was ſo ſevere to the Clergy on purpoſe to reſcue them from the ſeverity of others, and to prevent the puniſhment of them by lay Judges to their greater ſhames*; which leaves the poor Clergy under a greater obloquy than any which their enemies had laid upon them. But the truer reaſon of it was, that having never been Parſon, Vicar, nor Curate, he was altogether *Ch. Hiſt.* B. 11. p. 128.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

together ignorant of thoſe afflictions which the Clergy do too often ſuffer by the pride of ſome, and the Avarice of others of their Country Neighbours, and conſequently ſhewed the leaſt compaſſion towards them when any of them had the hard fortune to be brought before him. And for his compliance with the *Puritans* againſt the Church this reaſon is alledged by others, *viz.* That he ſhewed the greater favour to them, to keep the ballance even betwixt them and the *Papiſts*; as *Laud* was thought to be indulgent to the Papiſts, the better to keep down the pride and prevalency of the Puritan Faction. But the truer reaſon of it was, That he had been alwaies inclinable to them from his firſt beginnings; inſomuch that when he went *Chaplain* into *Scotland* with the Earl of *Dunbar*, (imployed by King *James* in ſome negotiation about that Church) he was upon the point of betraying the cauſe, if *Hodgskins*, (afterwards one of the *Reſidentiaries* of *York*) who went Chaplain with him, had not preacquainted the Earl with his tergiverſation.

And as he laboured to be Popular upon both accounts, ſo he endeavoured a more particular correſpondence with the Gentry of *Kent*, but moſt eſpecially of his own Dioceſs. It had been formerly the cuſtom of his Predeceſſors to ſpend the greateſt part of the long vacations in the Palace of *Canterbury*; met at the firſt entrance into the Dioceſs with a body of five hundred horſe, conducting them to *Canterbury* with great love and duty; feaſting the Gentry, relieving the poor City, entertaining their Tenants, and by them liberally furniſhed on the other ſide with all ſorts of proviſions. *Abbot* affected not this way, and therefore never beſtowed any ſuch viſit upon his Dioceſs, but when he was confined to his houſe at *Ford* by the Kings appointment; and yet reſolved upon a courſe which carried ſome equivalence with it towards his deſign. For once or twice in every year (and ſometimes oftner) at the end of the term he would cauſe enquiry to be made in *Weſtminſter* Hall, the common Rendezvouz in St. *Pauls* Church, and the Royal Exchange, for all ſuch Gentlemen of his Dioceſs as lodged in and about the City of *London*, diſperſing ſeveral Tickets from one to another, by which they were invited to a general entertainment at his houſe in *Lambeth*, the next day after the end of the preſent term, where he feaſted them with great bounty and familiarity. A courſe as acceptable to the *Kentiſh* Gentry as if he had kept open Hoſpitality in his Palace at *Canterbury*; becauſe it ſaved them both the trouble of attending on him, and the charge of ſending Preſents to him, both which had been expected if he had ſpent any part of the year amongſt them. But this he diſcontinued alſo for three or four years, or more, before his death, fearing (as his affairs then ſtood) that it might render him obnoxious to ſome miſconſtructions, which he was willing to avoid.

To bring his Story to an end, I ſhall ſay no more, but that he had his Birth at *Guilford*, the chief Town of *Surrey*, and the beſt part of his

his breeding in *Baliol* Colledge in *Oxon.* whereof he was Fellow, and from thence preferred to be Maſter of *Univerſity Colledge*, and Dean of *Winton*. Other preferments he had none till he came to *Lichfield*, of which he was conſecrated Biſhop on the third of *December*, *Anno* 1609. from thence tranſlated unto *London* within few Months after, and within twelve Months after that to the See of *Canterbury*. Marks of his Benefaction we find none, in places of his Breeding, and Preferments; but a fair Hoſpital, well built, and liberally endowed in the place of his Birth. To which the woful man retired in the firſt extremity of thoſe afflictions which his miſfortune at *Bramzill* had drawn upon him; and to this place he deſigned his body whenſoever it ſhould pleaſe God to tranſlate him out of the Church *Militant* to the Church *Triumphant*, which hapned on the fourth of *Auguſt*, as before was ſaid.

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

*The End of the Firſt Part.*

# *CYPRIANUS ANGLICUS:*

OR, THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# Life and Death,

OF

The most Reverend and Renowned PRELATE

# WILLIAM

By Divine Providence,

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *ENGLAND*, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of the Universities of *Oxon.* and *Dublin*, and one of the Lords of the Privy Council to His late most SACRED MAJESTY

## King CHARLES

Second MONARCH of *Great-Brittain.*

---

PART. II.

*Carrying on the History from his Nomination to the Metropolitical See of* Canterbury, Auguſt 6. 1633. *to the day of his Death and Burial,* Jan. 10. 1644.

---

*LONDON:*

Printed by *E. Cotes* for *A. Seile*, 1668.

# THE LIFE OF The most Reverend FATHER in GOD WILLIAM Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

## LIB. IV.

*Extending from his being made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *to the end of the Parliament and Convocation,* Anno 1640.

*Anno Dom.* 1633.

CANTERBURY was anciently the principal City of the Kingdom, and afterwards of the County of *Kent*, ſituate about ſeven miles from the Sea, and neighboured by a little River, capable only of ſmall boats, and conſequently of no great uſe for the wealth and trading of the place. It was made an *Archiepiſcopal See* at the firſt planting of the Goſpel amongſt the *Engliſh*, *Auguſtine* the Monk who firſt preacht the one, being the firſt Archbiſhop of the other. For though that Dignity was by Pope *Gregory* the Great deſigned for *London*, yet *Auguſtine* the Monk (whom he ſent hither on that Errand) having received this City in gift from the King, reſolved to fix himſelf upon it without going further. *Merlin* had propheſied as much, if thoſe Propheſies be of any credit, ſignifying, that the (*a*) Metropolitan dignity which was then at *London*, ſhould in the following times be transferred to *Canterbury*. *Ethelbert*; then King of *Kent*, having thus given away the Regal City, retires himſelf unto *Reculver*, where he built his Palace for himſelf and his Succeſſors in that Kingdom, leaving his former Royal Seat to be the

(a) *Dignitas Londiniæ adornabit Dorobernias.* Math. Weſt. in Hiſt. Flor.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

Archiepiſcopal Palace for the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*. The Cathedral, having been a Church before in the *Britains* time, was by the ſaid Archbiſhop *Auguſtine* repaired, Conſecrated and Dedicated to the name of *Chriſt*, which it ſtill retains, though for a long time together it was called St *Thomas*, in honour of *Thomas Becket*, one of the Archbiſhops hereof, who was murthered in it. The preſent Fabrick was begun by Archbiſhop *Lanfranck* and *William Corboyle*; and by degrees made perfect by their Succeſſors. Take *Canterbury* as the Seat of the *Metropolitan*, it hath under it twenty one *Suffragan* Biſhops, of which ſeventeen are in *England*, and four in *Wales*: But take it as the Seat of a *Dioceſan*, and it containeth only ſome part of *Kent*, to the number of 257 Pariſhes, (the reſidue being in the Dioceſs of *Rocheſter*) together with ſome few particular Pariſhes diſperſed here and there in ſeveral Dioceſſes; it being an ancient priviledge of this See, that whereſoever the Archbiſhops had their Mannors or Advouſons, the place forthwith became exempt from the *Ordinary*, and was reputed of the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*. The other Priviledges of this See are, that the Archbiſhop is accounted *Primate and Metropolitan of ALL England*, and is the firſt *Peer of the Realm*: having precedency of all *Dukes*, not being of the *Royal blood*, and all the great Officers of the State. He hath the Title of *Grace* afforded him in common ſpeech, and writes himſelf *Divina Providentia*, where other Biſhops only uſe *Divina Permiſſione*. The Coronation of the King hath anciently belonged unto him: It being alſo formerly reſolved, that whereſoever the Court was, the King and Queen were (*b*) the proper and Domeſtical Pariſhioners of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. It alſo did belong unto him in former times to take unto himſelf the Offerings made at the holy Altar by the King and Queen, whereſoever the Court was, if he were preſent at the ſame; and to appoint the *Lent Preachers*: but theſe time hath altered, and the King otherwiſe diſpoſed of. Abroad in *General Councils* he had place at the Popes Right foot: At home this Royal Priviledge, That thoſe which held Lands of him were liable for Wardſhip to him, and to compound with him for the ſame, though they held other Lands in *chief* of our Lord the King. And for the more increaſe of his power and honour it was Enacted, 25 *Hen.* viii. and 21. "That all Licences and Diſpenſati-
"ons (not repugnant to the Law of God) which heretofore were
"ſued for in the Court of *Rome*, ſhould be hereafter granted by the
"Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and his Succeſſors. As alſo in the
"1 *Eliz.* and 2. That by the Advice of the *Metropolitan* or *Eccleſi-*
"*aſtical* Commiſſioners, the Queens Majeſty might ordain and
"publiſh ſuch *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, as may be moſt for the Advance-
"ment of Gods glory, the Edifying of his Church, and the due
"Reverence of Chriſts holy Sacraments. To this high dignity *Laud* ſucceedeth on the death of *Abbot*, nominated unto it by the King on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, the Election returned and preſented to his Majeſty

(b) *Speciales, & Domeſtici Parochiam Domini Archiepiſcopi.*

Majeſty from the *Dean* and *Chapter*, on the twenty fifth of the ſame, and the tranſlation fully perfected on the nineteenth of *September* then next following, on which day he kept a ſolemn and magnificent Feaſt at his houſe in *Lambeth*, his State being ſet out in the great Chamber of that houſe, and all perſons ſtanding bare before it after the accuſtomed manner; his Steward, Treaſurer, and Comptroller, attending with their white ſtaves in their ſeveral Offices. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

Thus have we brought him to his height, and from that height we may take as good a proſpect into the Church under his direction, as the advantage of the place can preſent unto us. And if we look into the Church as it ſtood under his direction, we ſhall find the Prelates generally more intent upon the work committed to them, more earneſt to reduce this Church to the ancient Orders, than in former times; the Clergy more obedient to the Commands of their *Ordinaries*, joyning together to advance the work of *Uniformity* recommended to them, the Liturgie more punctually executed in all the parts and offices of it; the Word more diligently preacht, the Sacraments more reverendly adminiſtred, than in ſome ſcores of years before; the people more conformable to thoſe Reverend Geſtures in the Houſe of God, which, though preſcribed before, were but little practiſed; more coſt laid out upon the beautifying and adorning of Parochial Churches, in furniſhing and repairing Parſonage houſes, than at or in all the times ſince the Reformation; the Clergy grown to ſuch eſteem, for parts and power, that the Gentry thought none of their Daughters, to be better diſpoſed of than ſuch as they had lodged in the Arms of a Church-man; and the Nobility grown ſo well affected to the State of the Church, that ſome of them deſigned their younger Sons to the Order of Prieſthood, to make them capable of riſing in the ſame *Aſcendent*. Next, if we look into the Doctrine, we ſhall find her to be no leſs glorious within, than beautified and adorned to the outward eye; the Doctrines of it publickly avowed and taught, in the literal and Grammatical ſenſe, according to the true intent and meaning of the firſt *Reformers*; the Dictates and Authorities of private men (which before had carried all before them) ſubjected to the ſenſe of the Church; and the Church hearkening to no other voice than that of their great *Shepherd* ſpeaking to them in his holy Scriptures; all bitterneſſes of ſpirit ſo compoſed and qualified on every ſide, that the advancement of the great work of Unity and Uniformity between the parties went forwards like the building of *Solomons* Temple without the noiſe of Axe or Hammer. If you will take her Character from the mouth of a (*c*) Proteſtant he will give it thus: "He that deſires to pourtray *England* (ſaith he) in her full ſtructure of external glory, let "him behold the *Church* ſhining in tranſcendent Empyreal brightneſs, "and purity of Evangelical Truths. Her Religious Performances, "her holy Offices, ordered and regulated agreeable to the ſtrict expedient of ſuch Sacred Actions. Her Diſcipline, Model, ſutable

(*c*) *H. of K. Ch. by H. L.* p. 242.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

" to the Apoſtolick Form. The ſet and ſuit of her whole Tribe, re-
" nowned for Piety and Learning, are all thoſe in ſo ſuper-eminent a
" degree, that no Church on this ſide of the Apoſtolick, can or could
" compare with her in any one: All Arts and Sciences highly ho-
" noured, and conſequently their Academies to flouriſh. To which
laſt part of the Character let me add thus much, That the Univer-
ſities never had ſuch a flouriſhing time for number of Students, ci-
vility of Converſation, and eminence in all parts of Learning, as
when the influences of his Power and Government did direct their
Studies.

(d) *Preface to Charity maintained*, ſect. 20.

If you will take her Character from the Pen of a (d) *Jeſuit*, you
ſhall find him ſpeaking, amongſt many falſhoods, theſe undoubted
Truths; *viz.* " That the Profeſſors of it, they eſpecially of
" greateſt Worth, Learning and Authority, love Temper and
" Moderation; That the Doctrines are altered in many things; as
" for example, the Pope not *Antichriſt*, *Pictures*, *Free-will*, *Pre-*
" *deſtination*, *Univerſal Grace*, *Inherent Righteouſneſs*, *the preferring*
" *of Charity before Knowledge*, *the Merit* (*or Reward rather*) *of good*
" *Works*; the 39 *Articles* ſeeming patient, if not ambitious alſo
" of ſome Catholick ſenſe; That their Churches begin to look with
" a new face, their Walls to ſpeak a new Language, and ſome of
" their Divines to teach, *That the Church hath Authority in determi-*
" *ning Controverſies of Faith, and interpreting the Scriptures*; That
" men in talk and writing uſe willingly the once fearful names of
" *Prieſts* and *Altars*, and are now put in mind, That for Expoſition
" of Scripture they are by Canon bound to follow the Fathers.
So far the *Jeſuit* may be thought to ſpeak nothing but truth; but had
he tarried there, he had been no *Jeſuit*: And therefore to preſerve
the Credit of his Order, he muſt fly out further, and tell us this,
*viz.* " That *Proteſtantiſm* waxeth weary of it ſelf; That we are at
" this time more unreſolved where to faſten, than in the infancy of
" our Church; That our Doctrine is altered in many things, for
" which our Progenitors forſook the then viſible Church of Chriſt,
" amongſt which he reckons *Limbus Patrum*, *Prayer for the Dead*,
" *Juſtification not by Faith alone*, *The poſſibility of keeping Gods Com-*
" *mandments*, *and the accounting of* Calviniſm *to be* Hereſie *at the*
" *leaſt*, *if not alſo* Treaſon. Which Points the *Jeſuit* cannot prove
to have been poſitively maintained by any one Divine in the Church
of *England*; and yet thoſe fooliſh men began to phancy ſuch a miſ-
conſtruction of that Ingenuity and Moderation which they found in
ſome Profeſſors of our Religion, whom they affirmed to be of great-
eſt *Worth*, *Learning*, *and Authority*, as to conceive that we were
coming towards an Agreement with them, even in thoſe Superſtiti-
ons and Idolatries which made the firſt Wall of Separation between
the Churches. Upon which hope (as weak and fooliſh as it was)
the late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was no ſooner dead, but one of
their Party came to *Laud*, whom they looked upon as his Succeſſor,
ſeriouſly

ſeriouſly tendred him the offer of a *Cardinals Cap*, and avowed Ability to perform it; to whom he preſently returned this Anſwer, *That ſomewhat dwelt within him which would not ſuffer him to accept the Offer, till* Rome *were otherwiſe than it was:* And this being ſaid, he went immediately to his Majeſty, acquainting him both with the Man, and with his Meſſage, together with the Anſwer which he made unto it. The like he alſo did when the ſame Offer was reinforced a fornight after; upon which ſecond Refuſal, *the Tempter left him*, and that not only for that time, but for ever after. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1633. *Breviate*, p. 18.

But to proceed: To welcom him to his new great Charge, he received Letters from his Majeſty, dated upon the very day of his Confirmation, upon this occaſion. It had been ordered by the ancient Canons of the Church, "That none ſhould be admitted Dea-"con or Prieſt, who had not firſt ſome certain place where he might "uſe his Function. And it was ordered by the Canons of the year 1603. in purſuance of the ſaid old Canons, "That no perſon ſhould *Can.* 33. "be admitted into Sacred Orders, except he ſhall at that time exhi-"bit to the Biſhop, of whom he deſireth Impoſition of Hands, a "Preſentation of himſelf to ſome Eccleſiaſtical Preferment then "void in that Dioceſs; or ſhall bring unto the ſaid Biſhop a true "and undoubted Certificate, That either he is provided of ſome "Church within the ſaid Dioceſs, where he may attend the Cure "of Souls, or of ſome Miniſters Place vacant, either in the Cathe-"dral Church of that Dioceſs, or of ſome other Collegiat Church "therein alſo ſcituate, where he may execute his Miniſtry; or that "he is a Fellow, or in right as a Fellow, or to be a Conduct or "Chaplain in ſome Colledge in either of the Univerſities; or ex-"cept he be a Maſter of Arts of five years ſtanding, that liveth in "either of them at his own charge. And hereunto was added this Commination, "That if any Biſhop ſhall admit any perſon into the "Miniſtry, that hath none of theſe Titles as is aforeſaid, then he "ſhall keep and maintain him with all things neceſſary, till he do "prefer him to ſome Eccleſiaſtical Living; and on his refuſal ſo to "do, he ſhall be ſuſpended by the Archbiſhop, being aſſiſted with "another Biſhop, from giving of Orders by the ſpace of a year. Which ſevere Canon notwithſtanding, ſome Biſhops of the poorer Sees, for their private benefit, admitted many men promiſcuouſly to Holy Orders, ſo far from having any *Title*, that they had no *Merit*: By means whereof the Church was filled with indigent Clerks, which either thruſt themſelves into Gentlemens Houſes to teach their Children, and ſometimes to officiate Divine Service at the Tables end; or otherwiſe to undertake ſome Stipendary Lecture, whereſoever they could find entertainment, to the great fomenting of Faction in the State, the Danger of Schiſm in the Church, and ruine of both. It had been formerly ordered by his Majeſties Inſtructions of the year 1629. "That no private Gentleman, not qualified by Law, ſhould keep any Chaplain in his Houſe: Which though

it

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

it were ſomewhat ſtrictly inquired into at the firſt, yet not a few of them retained their Chaplains, as before: For remedy whereof for the time to come, it was thought fit to tie the Biſhops from giving Orders unto any which were not qualified according to the foreſaid *Canon*; which was conceived to be the only probable means of diminiſhing the number both of ſuch petit Lecturers, and ſuch Trencher-Chaplains; the *Engliſh* Gentry not being then come to ſuch wild extremities, as to believe that any man might exerciſe the Prieſts Office, in miniſtring the Sacraments, Praying, Preaching, *&c.* which was not lawfully Ordained by ſome Biſhop or other. Now his Majeſties Letter to this purpoſe was as followeth.

## CHARLES REX.

*MOſt Reverend Father in God, Right Truſty and Right Entirely-beloved Counſellor, We greet you well. There is nothing more dear to us than the preſervation of true Religion, as it is now ſetled and eſtabliſhed in this Our Kingdom, to the Honour of God, the great Comfort of Our Self and Our Loyal People: and there can nothing more conduce to the Advancement thereof, than the ſtrict obſervations of ſuch* Canons *of the Church as concern thoſe who are to take Orders in their ſeveral Times; more eſpecially of keeping that particular* Canon *which enjoins, That no man be made a* Prieſt *without a* Title: *For We find, that many not ſo qualified, do by favour or other means procure themſelves to be Ordained, and afterwards for want of Means wander up and down, to the ſcandal of their Calling; or to get Maintenance, fall upon ſuch Courſes as were moſt unfit for them, both by humouring their Auditors, and other ways altogether unſufferable. We have therefore thought fit, and We do hereby ſtraightly command, require, and charge you, to call ſuch Biſhops to you as are now preſent in or near Our City of* London, *and to acquaint them with this Our Reſolution. And further, That you fail not in the beginning of the next Term, to give notice of this Our Will and Pleaſure openly in Our* High-Commiſſion *Court; and that you call into your ſaid Court every Biſhop reſpectively, that ſhall preſume to give Orders to any man that hath not a* Title, *and there to cenſure him as the* Canon *aforeſaid doth enjoin (which is, to maintain the Party ſo* Ordered *till he give him a* Title) *and with what other Cenſure you in Juſtice ſhall think fit. And Our further Will is, That nothing ſhall be reputed a* Title *to enable a man for* Orders, *but that which is ſo by the Ancient Courſe of the Church, and the* Canon-Law, *ſo far forth as that Law is received in this our Church of* England. *And as you muſt not fail in theſe our Directions, nor in any part of them; ſo We expect that you give us from time to time a ſtrict Account of your Proceedings in the ſame.*

Given under Our *Signet* at Our Palace of *Weſtminſter, Septemb.* 19. in the ninth year of Our Reign. 1633.

On

On the Receipt of theſe Letters, which himſelf had both adviſed and digeſted, he called ſuch of his Suffragan Biſhops who were then about *London* to come before him, acquaints them with the great ſcandal which was given the Church, the danger of Schiſm and Faction which might thence ariſe, and the more than ordinary diſpleaſure which had been taken by his Majeſty and the Lords of his Council, at ſuch unlawful and uncanonical *Ordinations*; he required them therefore to be more careful for the time to come, and not to give the like offence to his Sacred Majeſty, who was reſolved to ſee the Canons of the Church in that particular more punctually obſerved than they had been formerly, and to call all ſuch to an account who ſhould preſume hereafter to tranſgreſs therein: Which ſaid, he gave to each of them a Copy of his Majeſties Letters, and ſent the like Copies unto all the reſt of his Suffragan Biſhops, incloſed in Letters of his own; in which Letters having declared unto them as much as he ſpake unto the reſt, touching his Majeſties pious Care to redreſs that Miſchief, he requires them and every one of them, "That at all times of *Ordination* they be very careful to admit none into *Holy Orders*, but ſuch men as for Life and Learning are fit, and which have a *Title* for their maintenance, according to the Laws and the ancient Practice of the Church, aſſuring them that his Majeſty had commanded him to let them know, That he would not fail to call for an account of thoſe his Letters, both from him and them; and therefore, That he did not doubt but that they would have a ſpecial care both of the good of the Church, and his Majeſties Contentment in it. The like Letters were ſent from his Majeſty, by his procurement, to the Archbiſhop of *York*, who was as ſenſible of the inconvenience as himſelf could be. And though nothing was required in either of the ſaid Letters, but what had been provided for in the Canon of 1603. yet was it as much inveighed againſt as if it had been a new device, never heard of formerly. The reaſon was, becauſe that neither any Lecture, nor any poſſibility of being entertained as a Chaplain in the Houſes of Noblemen, or others of the inferiour Gentry, could be allowed of for a *Title*, and conſequently no *Orders* to be given hereafter under thoſe Capacities. But notwithſtanding thoſe Reproaches, the Archbiſhops ſo beſtirred themſelves, and kept ſuch a ſtrict eye on their ſeveral Suffragans, that from henceforth we hear but little of ſuch vagrant Miniſters and Trencher-Chaplains (the old brood being once worn out) as had peſtred and annoyed the Church in thoſe latter Times.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

*Bibl. Regia*, ſect. 3. c. 11. p. 332.

It is to be obſerved, That the Archbiſhops Letter to his ſeveral Suffragans bears date on the eighteenth of *October*, which day gives date alſo to his Majeſties Declaration about *Lawful Sports*, concerning which we are to know, That the Commons in the firſt Parliament of his Majeſties Reign had gained an Act, That from thenceforth there ſhould be no Aſſembly or Concourſe of People out of their own

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

own Pariſhes on the Lords day, or any Bull-baiting, Bear-baiting, Enterludes, Common Plays, or any other unlawful Exerciſes or Paſtimes in their own Pariſhes on the ſame: Which being gained, they obtained another in the third Parliament, for inhibiting all Carriers, Waggoners, Drovers, Pack-men, for Travelling on the ſaid day with their Horſes, Waggons, Packs, *&c.* As alſo, That no Butcher ſhould from thenceforth kill or ſell any Victual upon that day, either by himſelf or any other, under the ſeveral Penalties therein contained. And though it was not his Majeſties purpoſe in thoſe Acts to debar any of his good Subjects from any honeſt and harmleſs Recreations, which had not been prohibited by the Laws of the Land; or that it ſhould not be lawful for them, in caſe of neceſſity, to buy a piece of Meat for the uſe of their Families, the Butchers Shop not being ſet open as on other days: yet preſently ſome Publick Miniſters of Juſtice began to put another ſenſe upon thoſe Acts, than ever came within the compaſs of his meaning. For at the Summer Aſſizes held in *Exon*, *Anno* 1627. an Order was made by *Walter* then Chief Baron, and *Denham* one of the puiſne Barons of the Court of Exchequer, for ſuppreſſing all Revels, Church-Ales, Clerk-Ales, which had been uſed upon that day; requiring the Juſtices of the Peace within the ſaid County to ſee the ſame put in execution; and that every Miniſter in his Pariſh-Church ſhould publiſh the ſaid Order yearly, on the firſt *Sunday* in *February*. The like Order made in the ſame year alſo for the Counties of *Somerſet* and *Dorſet*, and probably enough for ſome of the other Counties of that *Weſtern Circuit*; none of them in thoſe ſqueaſie and unſettled Times being queſtioned for it. And then in reference to the Statute of the Third of this King, a Warrant is granted in the Month of *April* 1629. by *Richard Dean* then Lord Mayor of *London*, for apprehending all Porters carrying Burthens, or Water-men plying at their Oars, all Tankerd-bearers carrying Water to their Maſters Houſes, all Chandlers and Huckſters which bought any Victuals on that day of the Country-Carriers, all Vinteners, Alehouſe-keepers, Strongwater-men, and Tobacco-ſellers, which ſuffered any Perſon to ſit drinking on that day (though poſſibly they might do it only for their honeſt neceſſities). In which as *Dean* out-went the Statute, ſo *Raynton* in the ſame Office, *Anno* 1633. over-acted *Dean*, prohibiting a poor woman from ſelling Apples on that day in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, within which place he could pretend no Juriſdiction, and for that cauſe was queſtioned and reproved by *Laud* then Biſhop of *London*.

*Cont. Dom.*, p. 153.

p. 132.

But none ſo luſtily laid about him in this kind, as *Richardſon* the Chief Juſtice of his Majeſties Bench, who in the *Lent*-Aſſizes for the County of *Somerſet*, *Anno* 1631. publiſhed the like Order to that which had been made by *Walter* for the County of *Devon*; not only requiring that the Juſtices of the Peace in the ſaid County ſhould ſee the ſame to be duly put in execution: but alſo (as the other had done before) that publication ſhould be made thereof in the

the Pariſh-Churches by all ſuch Miniſters as did Officiate in the ſame; with which encroachment upon the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, in impoſing upon men in Holy Orders the publiſhing of Warrants and Commands from the Secular Judges, *Laud*, being then Biſhop of *London*, and finding his Majeſties Affairs in a quieter condition than they had been formerly, was not meanly offended, as he had good reaſon ſo to be, and made complaint of it to the King, who thereupon commanded *Richardſon* to revoke the ſaid Order at the next Aſſizes. But *Richardſon* was ſo far from obeying his Majeſties Command in that particular, that on the contrary he not only confirmed his former Order, but made it more peremptory than before: Upon complaint whereof by Sir *Robert Philips*, and other chief Gentlemen of that County, his Majeſty ſeemed to be very much moved, and gave Command to the Biſhop of *London* to require an Account from the Biſhop of *Bath* nnd *Wells* then being, how the ſaid *Feaſt-days*, *Church-Ales*, *Wakes*, or *Revels*, were for the moſt part celebrated and obſerved in his Dioceſs. On the Receipt of which Letters the Biſhop calls before him 72 of the moſt Orthodox and ableſt Clergy-men amongſt them, who certified under their ſeveral hands, "That on the *Feaſt-days* (which commonly fell upon the *Sunday*) the "Service of God was more ſolemnly performed, and the Church "was better frequented both in the forenoon and afternoon, than "upon any *Sunday* in the year; That the People very much deſired "the continuance of them; That the Miniſters in moſt Places did "the like, for theſe Reaſons ſpecially; *viz.* For preſerving the me- "morial of the Dedication of their ſeveral Churches; For civili- "zing the People; For compoſing Differences, by the mediation "and meeting of Friends; For encreaſe of Love and Unity, by "thoſe Feaſts of Charity; For Relief and Comfort of the Poor "(the Richer part in a manner keeping open Houſe), *&c.* On the Return of which Certificate, ſo ſeaſonably ſeconding the Complaint and Information of the Gentry, *Richardſon* was again convented at the Council-Table, and peremptorily commanded to reverſe his former Orders at the next Aſſizes for that County; withal receiving ſuch a rattle for his former Contempt by the Biſhop of *London*, that he came out blubbering and complaining, *That he had been almoſt choaked with a pair of Lawn Sleeves.*

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

*Cant. Doom*, p. 142.

Whilſt theſe things were thus in agitation, one *Brabourne* a poor School-maſter in the Dioceſs of *Norfolk*, being ſeduced and miſguided by the continual inculcating of the Morality of the Lords-day-*Sabboth* from the Preſs and Pulpit, publiſhed a Book in maintenance of the Seventh-day-*Sabboth*, as it was kept amongſt the *Jews*, and preſcribed by *Moſes*, according to Gods Will and Pleaſure ſignified in the Fourth Commandment. This Book at the firſt not daring to behold the Light, went abroad by ſtealth; but afterwards appeared in publick with an open confidence, an Epiſtle Dedicatory to his Majeſty being placed before it. His Majeſty ex-

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

tremely moved with ſo lewd an impudence, and fearing to be thought the Patron of a Doctrine ſo abhorrent from all Chriſtian Piety, gave Order for the Author to be Cenſured in the *High-Commiſſion*. *Brabourne* being thereupon called into that Court, and the Cauſe made ready for an Hearing, his Errour was ſo learnedly confuted by the Biſhops and other judicious Divines then preſent, that he began to ſtagger in his former Opinion; which hint being taken by their Lordſhips, he was admoniſhed in a grave and Fatherly manner to ſubmit himſelf unto a Conference with ſuch Learned men as ſhould be appointed thereunto; to which he chearfully conſented, and found ſuch benefit by that Meeting, that by Gods Bleſſing he became a Convert, and freely conformed himſelf to the Orthodoxal Doctrine of the Church of *England*, concerning the *Sabboth* and *Lords-day*: Which Tendences of ſome of the People to downright *Judaiſm*, grounded upon the Practices and Poſitions of the *Sabbatarians*, and ſeconded by the petulancy of ſome Publick Miniſters of Juſtice, in debarring his good Subjects in keeping the ancient Dedication-Feaſt of their ſeveral Churches, occaſioned his Majeſty to think of the reviving of his Royal Fathers Declaration about *Lawful Sports*; To which end he gave Order to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to cauſe the ſame to be re-printed, word for word, as it had iſſued from the Preſs in the time of his late Royal Father, *Anno* 1618. at the end whereof he cauſed this Declaration of his own ſenſe to be ſuper-added; that is to ſay:

*Now out of a like Pious Care* (ſaith his Sacred Majeſty) *for the Service of God, and for ſuppreſſing of any humours that oppoſe the Truth, and for the eaſe, and comfort, and recreation of Our well-deſerving People, We do Ratifie and Publiſh this Our Bleſſed Fathers Declaration; the rather, becauſe of late in ſome Counties of Our Kingdom we find, that under pretence of taking away Abuſes, there hath been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary Meetings, but of the Feaſts of the Dedication of Churches, commonly called* Wakes. *Now Our expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, That theſe Feaſts with others ſhall be obſerved, and that our Juſtices of the Peace in their ſeveral Diviſions ſhall look to it, both that all Diſorders there may be prevented or puniſhed; and that all neighbourhood and freedom, with manlike and lawful exerciſes be uſed. And We further command Our Juſtices of Aſſize in their ſeveral Circuits, to ſee that no man do trouble or moleſt any of Our loyal and dutiful People, in or for their Lawful Recreations, having firſt done their Duty to God, and continuing in Obedience to Us and Our Laws. And of this We command all Our Judges, Juſtices of the Peace as well within Liberties as without, Mayors, Bayliffs, Conſtables, and other Officers, to take notice, and to ſee obſerved as they tender Our diſpleaſure. And We further Will, That Publication of this Our Command be made by Order from the Biſhops, thorow all the Pariſh Churches of their ſeveral Dioceſſes reſpectively.* Given at our Palace at *Weſtminſter*, *Oct.* 18. in the ninth year of Our Reign, 1633.

His

His Majeſty had ſcarce dried his Pen, when he dipt it in the Ink again, upon this occaſion: The Pariſhioners of St. *Gregories* in St. *Pauls* Church-yard had beſtowed much coſt in beautifying and adorning their Pariſh Church; and having prepared a decent and convenient Table for the holy Sacrament, were ordered by the Dean and Chapter of St. *Pauls*, as being *Ordinaries* of the place, to diſpoſe of it in ſuch a Poſture, in the Eaſt end of the Chancel, as anciently it had ſtood, and did then ſtand in the Mother Cathedral. Againſt this ſome of the Pariſhioners (not above five in number) appeal unto the Dean of the Arches, and the Dean and Chapter to the King. The third day of *November* is appointed for debating the Point in controverſie before the Lords of the Council; his Majeſty ſitting as chief Judge, accompanied with *Laud Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*, Lord *Keeper*, Lord *Archbiſhop* of *Yorke*, Lord *Treaſurer*, Lord *Privy Seal*, Lord Duke of *Lenox*, Lord High *Chamberlaine*, Earle *Marſhal*, Lord *Chamberlaine*, Earle of *Bridgewater*, Earle of *Carliſle*, Lord *Cottington*, Mr. *Treaſurer*, Mr. *Comptroller*, Mr. Secretary *Cooke*, Mr. Secretary *Windebanke*. The cauſe being heard, and all the Allegations on both ſides exactly pondered, his Majeſty firſt declared *his diſlike of all Innovations, and receding from ancient Conſtitutions, grounded upon juſt and warrantable reaſons*, &c. And afterwards gave Sentence in behalf of the Dean and Chapter. But becauſe this Order of his Majeſty in the caſe of St. *Gregories* was made the Rule, by which all other *Ordinaries* did proceed, in cauſing the Communion Table to be placed *Altarwiſe* in the Churches of their ſeveral and reſpective Dioceſſes, I will ſubjoyn it here *verbatim* as it lies before me.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

## At *Whitehall*, Novem. 3. 1633.

*This day, was debated before his Majeſty ſitting in* Council *the queſtion and difference which grew about the removing of the Communion Table in St.* Gregories *Church, near the Cathedral Church of St.* Paul, *from the middle of the Chancel to the upper end, and there placed* Altarwiſe *in ſuch manner as it ſtandeth in the ſaid Cathedral and Mother-Church, (as alſo in other Cathedrals, and in his Majeſties own Chappel) and as is conſonant to the practice of approved Antiquity; which removing and placing of it in that ſort was done by order of the* Dean *and* Chapter *of St.* Pauls, *who are* Ordinaries *thereof, as was avowed before his Majeſty by Doctor* King, *and Doctor* Montfort, *two of the* Prebends *there. Yet ſome few of the Pariſhioners, being but five in number, did complain of this act by appeal to the Court of* Arches, *pretending that the Book of Common Prayer, and the* 82 *Canon, do give permiſſion to place the* Communion Table *where it may ſtand with moſt fitneſs and* convenience. *Now his Majeſty having heard a particular relation, made by the Counſell of both parties, of all the carriage and proceedings in this cauſe, was pleaſed to declare his diſlike of all in-*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

*novation and receding from ancient Conſtitutions, grounded upon juſt and warrantable reaſons, eſpecially in matters concerning Eccleſiaſtical Orders and Government, knowing how eaſily men are drawn to affect Novelties, and how ſoon weak Judgments in ſuch caſes may be overtaken and abuſed. And he was alſo pleaſed to obſerve, that if thoſe few Pariſhioners might have their wills, the difference thereby from the foreſaid* Cathedral Mother-Church, *by which all other Churches depending thereon ought to be guided, would be the more notorious, and give more ſubject of diſcours and diſputes that might be ſpared, by reaſon of the nearneſs of St.* Gregories *ſtanding cloſe to the Wall thereof. And likewiſe, for ſo much as concerns the Liberty by the ſaid* Common Book *or* Canon, *for placing the* Communion Table *in any Church or Chappel with moſt conveniency, that liberty is not ſo to be underſtood, as if it were ever left to the diſcretion of the Pariſh, much leſs to the particular fancy of any humorous perſon, but to the judgment of the* Ordinary, *to whoſe place and Function it doth properly belong to give direction in that point, both for the thing it ſelf, and for the time, when, and how long, as he may find cauſe. Upon which conſideration his Majeſty declared himſelf, that he well approved and confirmed the Act of the ſaid* Ordinary, *and alſo gave commandment, that if thoſe few Pariſhioners before mentioned, do proceed in their ſaid Appeal, then the* Dean of the Arches (*who was then attending at the hearing of the cauſe*) *ſhould confirm the ſaid Order of the aforeſaid* Dean *and* Chapter.

Of this laſt Declaration there was no great notice took at firſt, the danger being remote, the caſe particular, and no neceſſity impoſed of conforming to it. But the other was no ſooner publiſhed then it was followed and purſued with ſuch loud outcries as either the Tongues or Pens of the *Sabbatarians* could raiſe againſt it. Some fell directly on the King, and could find out no better names for this *Declaration*, than a *Profane Edict, a maintaining of his own honour, and a Sacrilegious robbing of God. A Toleration for prophaning the Lords day.* Affirming, That it was *impoſſible that a ſpot of ſo deep a dye ſhould be emblanched, though ſomewhat might be urged to qualifie and alleviate the blame thereof.* Others, and thoſe the greateſt part, impute the Republiſhing of this Declaration to the new Archbiſhop, and make it the firſt remarkable thing which was done preſently after he took poſſeſſion of his *Graceſhip*, as *Burton* doth pretend to wit it in his Pulpit Libell. And though theſe Books came not out in Print till ſome years after, yet was the clamour raiſed on both at the very firſt, encreaſing every day more and more as the reading of it in their Churches had been preſſed upon them. To ſtop the current of theſe clamours, till ſome better courſe might be deviſed, one who wiſht well both to the Parties and the Cauſe, fell on a fancy of Tranſlating into the *Engliſh* Tongue a *Lecture* or *Oration* made by Dr. *Prideaux* at the Act in *Oxon. Anno* 1622. In which he ſolidly diſcourſed both of the *Sabbath* and *Sunday*, according to the judgment of the ancient

ancient Fathers, and the moſt approved Writers of the Proteſtant and Reformed Churches. This Lecture thus tranſlated was uſhered alſo with a *Preface:* In which there was proof offered in theſe three Propoſitions, Firſt, *That the keeping holy of one day of ſeven is not the moral part of the fourth Commandment.* Secondly, *That the alteration of the day is only an humane and Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution.* Thirdly, *That ſtill the Church hath power to change the day, and to transfer it to ſome other.* Which as they are the general *Tendries* of the *Proteſtant*, *Lutheran*, and *Calvinian* Writers beyond the Seas, ſo were they briefly touched at and maintained in the Doctors Lecture; which came out thus tranſlated in the next *Candlemas* Term, under the Title of *The Doctrine of the Sabbath, delivered in the Act at* Oxon. An. 1622. *By D.* Prideaux, *his Majeſties Profeſſor for Divinity in that Univerſity.* The name of *Prideaux* was ſo Sacred that the Book was greedily bought up by thoſe of the *Puritan* Faction, preſuming they ſhould find in it ſome invincible Arguments to confirm both the Party and the Cauſe. But when they found how much they had deceived themſelves in that expectation, and that nothing could be writ more ſmartly againſt them and their *Lords-day-Sabbath*; as it did very much cool their courage, and abate their clamours: ſo did it no leſs tend to the diminution of that high eſteem and veneration which before they had harboured of the man. What followed afterwards, when the reading of the book was preſſed, and the clamours multiplied by ſuch as refuſed to read it, future time ſhall ſhew. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

Theſe paſſages concerning *England* being laid together, we muſt look back into the North, which ſtill took up a great part of his Majeſties thoughts. He had obſerved how much his Fathers Pious Order for officiating by the *Engliſh Liturgie* in the Chappel Royal of that Kingdom, had been diſcontinued and neglected, imputing thereunto the oppoſition which he found amongſt them at his late being there. And being reſolved to purſue his ſaid Fathers moſt Religious purpoſe of ſettling an uniformity of Divine Worſhip in all the Churches of theſe Kingdoms, he thought it moſt expedient to purſue the ſame Method alſo, to the end that the people being prepared by little and little might the more willingly admit of that, or ſome other Liturgie like unto it, when he ſhould think it reaſonable to commend it to them. In order whereunto he ſends to *Ballentine*, then Biſhop of *Dumblaine*, and Dean of the Chappel of that Kingdom, theſe Inſtructions following, to be obſerved in the *Chappel Royal* of *Holy Rood* houſe in the City of *Edenburgh*.

## CHARLES REX,

I. *Our expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, That the Dean of Our Chappel that now is, and his Succeſſors ſhall be aſſiſtant to the Right Reverend Father in God the Archbiſhop of St.* Andrews *at the Coronation ſo often as it ſhall happen.* *Bibl. Regia.* fol. 11 n. 2.

II. *That*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

II. *That the Book of the Form of Our Coronation, lately uſed, be put in a little Box, and laid into a* Standard, *and committed to the care of the Dean of the Chappel ſucceſſively.*

III. *That there be Prayers twice a day with the Choires as well in Our abſence as otherwiſe, according to the Engliſh Liturgy, till ſome other courſe be taken for making one that may fit the Cuſtomes and Conſtitutions of that Church.*

IV. *That the Dean of the Chappel look carefully, that all that receive the bleſſed* Sacrament *there, receive it kneeling; and that there be a Communion held in that Our Chappel the firſt Sunday of every Month.*

V. *That the Dean of Our Chappel that now is, and ſo ſucceſſively, come duly thither to Prayers upon Sundaies, and ſuch Holidaies as the Church obſerves, in his Whites, and preach ſo whenſoever he preach there; and that he be not abſent thence but upon neceſſary occaſion of his Dioceſſes or otherwiſe according to the courſe of his preferment.*

VI. *That theſe Orders ſhall be Our warrant to the Dean of Our Chappel, that the Lords of Our* Privy Council, *the Lords of the* Seſſion, *the Advocate, Clerk, Writers to the* Signet, *and Members of Our Colledge of Juſtice, be commanded to receive the holy Communion once every year at the leaſt in that Our Chappel Royal, and kneeling, for example ſake to the Kingdom; and we likewiſe command the Dean aforeſaid, to make report yearly to Us how We are obeyed therein, and by whom, as alſo if any man ſhall refuſe, in what manner he doth ſo, and why.*

VII. *That the* Copes *which are conſecrated for the uſe of Our Chappel be delivered to the Dean to be kept upon Inventory by him, and in a Standard provided for that purpoſe, and to be uſed at the Celebration of the* Sacrament *in Our* Chappel Royal. *To theſe Orders we ſhall hereafter add others, if we find others more neceſſary for the Service of God there.*

Together with theſe directions, bearing date the eighth of *October*, he ſends a Letter of the ſame Date, to the ſaid Biſhop of *Dumblaine*, requiring him to put them ſpeedily in execution, and all things to be carefully performed by him as he was directed; commanding alſo that he ſhould certifie the Lords of the Council there, if any perſon, who had been formerly appointed to communicate in the ſaid Chappel Royal, ſhould either neglect or refuſe conformity to his Majeſties pleaſure, to the end that the Council might take ſuch further order in it, as had been directed by his Majeſty in ſome former Letters. But knowing, or at the leaſt ſuſpecting, that *Ballentine* might have ſomewhat more of the *Preſbyter* than the Biſhop in him (as indeed he had) he gave a Warrant under his hand to his *Grace* of *Canterbury*, "Requiring him to hold correſponden-
*Ibid.* nu. 4. "cy with the ſaid Biſhop of *Dumblaine*, that the ſaid Biſhop might "from time to time receive his Majeſties directions for ordering of "ſuch

" ſuch things as concerned his Service in that Chappel. He had before a *Primacy* in the Church of *England*, and a ſtrong influence on the Government of the Church of *Ireland*. This Warrant gives him ſome juſt ground of a ſuperintendency over the Kirk of *Scotland* alſo, which from henceforth was much directed by his power and wiſdome, as will appear by that which follows in its proper place. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

Mean while we will behold ſuch alterations as by his power were made in the Preferments of the Church of *England*; which in the beginning of this year lamented the death of Biſhop *Godwin*, made Biſhop of *Landaff* in the year 1601. from thence tranſlated unto *Hereford*, *Anno* 1617. A man whoſe memory ſhall be precious in ſucceeding times for his indefatigable pains and travel in collecting the Catalogue of Succeſſion of all the Biſhops of this Church ſince the firſt planting of the Goſpel amongſt the *Saxons*, not pretermitting ſuch of the *Britiſh* Church as by the care and diligence of preceding Writers, or any old Monument and Record, had been kept in memory. For his Succeſſor in that See *Juxon*, then Dean of *Worceſter*, and Clerk of his Majeſties Cloſet, as before was ſaid, is recommended and elected. But before the buſineſs had proceeded to confirmation there was a *Superſedeas* to it by *Lauds* preferment to the Metropolitan See of *Canterbury*; who having a great confidence in him, and no leſs affection to his Perſon than confidence of his Wiſdom and Moderation, commended him ſo efficaciouſly to his Majeſties Favour, that he made him not only Biſhop of *London*, but Dean of the Chappel Royal alſo. It had been *Lauds* great care, as he grew into credit with his Majeſty, to give a ſtop to ſuch corruptions as had been uſed too frequently in the Court, about Church Preferments, which made him the leſs acceptable to many which were near the King in Place and Service, who formerly had been on the taking hand, and made a market of the Church as they had occaſion. *Goodman* of *Glocester* having ſtaid in that Dioceſs long enough to be as weary of them as they were of him, affected a remove to the See of *Hereford*, and had ſo far prevailed with ſome great Officer of State, that his Money was taken, his *Conge d' eſlire* iſſued out, his Election paſſed. But the Archbiſhop coming opportunely to the knowledge of it, and being aſhamed of ſo much baſeneſs in the man, who could pretend no other merit than his money, ſo laboured the buſineſs with the King, and the King ſo rattled up the Biſhop, that he was glad to make his peace, not only with the Reſignation of his Election, but the loſs of his Bribe. At laſt, that Church a third time vacant, that is to ſay, by the death of *Godwin*, the promotion of *Juxon* and the Reſignation of *Goodman*, was recommended to the Government of Dr. *Auguſtine Lindſel*, not long before made Biſhop of *Peterborough*, and now ſucceeded in that See by *Francis Dee*, Doctor in Divinity, and Dean of *Chicheſter*. Now begins *Wren* to come in play, Chaplain to his Majeſty when Prince of *Wales*, and

choſen

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

choſen by King *James* to be one of the two which were to follow him into *Spain* amongſt the reſt of his Retinue, as before was ſaid. He had ſeen *Maw*, who went Chaplain with him into *Spain*, to be preferred firſt to the Maſterſhip of *Trinity* Colledge, and afterwards to the Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Anno* 1628. himſelf remaining in his place in *Peterhouſe* as his higheſt dignity. In the year 1628. he was at the laſt made Dean of *Windſor*, and Regiſter of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, in the place of *Beaumont*. And on that place he dwelt ſo long, that his well-willers gave it out, that *Laud* was afraid of his abilities, and would not ſuffer him to riſe, for fear that he might riſe too high both in power and favour, and overtop him in the Court. But theſe ſurmiſes proved as groundleſs as they were unjuſt: For this year he was made Succeſſor unto *Juxon* as Clerk of the Cloſet, a place of great nearneſs to the King, and being once on the *Aſcendent* he went up apace, ſucceeding *Lindſel* in the See of *Hereford*, *Anno* 1634. and *Corbet* in the Church of *Norwich*, *Anno* 1635. When *Juxon* was advanced to the *Treaſurers* Staff, he was made Dean of the Chappel in his place, *Anno* 1636. Succeſſor unto *White* in the See of *Ely*, *Anno* 1638. and queſtionleſs had mounted higher had the times been favourable. Nor was he leſs fortunate in his Succeſſors, leaving the Deanry of *Windſor* to Dr. *Chriſtopher Wren* his younger brother; his Clerkſhip of the Cloſet to Dr. *Richard Steward*, Dean of *Chicheſter*; and the Maſterſhip of *Peterhouſe* to *John Coſens* of *Durham*.

We muſt conclude this year, and begin the next with ſome proceedings againſt *Prynne*, the Preparations to whoſe cenſure we have heard before. *Candlemas* Term brings him at laſt unto his tryal in the Court of *Star-Chamber*, being firſt pre-condemned by the Gentlemen of his own Profeſſion, and afterwards ſentenced by that Court. The Gentlemen of the four Societies preſented their Majeſties with a Pompous and Magnificent *Maſque*, to let them ſee that *Prynnes* leaven had not ſowred them all, and that they were not poyſoned with the ſame infection. In which as they all joyned together to perform that Service, ſo gave they ſuch contentment to his Sacred Majeſty, that he deſired them to make a Repreſentation of it to the City of *London*: Which they accordingly performed with no leſs honour to themſelves, and delight to the People, than ſhame and ſorrow unto him who had given the occaſion. But greater ſhame and ſorrow fell upon him when he came to his Cenſure. *Richardſon*, Chief Juſtice of his Majeſties *Bench*, highly extolled his Majeſties mercy in bringing him rather unto his triall in a *Criminal* than a *Capital* way; declaring openly, that if he had been turned over to his *Tribunal*, he muſt have put himſelf upon a *Jury*, of whom no mercy could be hoped for ſo great an Offendor. The Earl of *Dorſet*, being Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, aggravated his offence in aſperſing with ſuch foul reproaches a Lady of ſuch eminent Vertue and exemplary Piety, that her very dreams were more in heaven

heaven than moſt womens Prayers. The Archbiſhop having been bred in St. *Johns Colledge* in *Oxon.* where the younger Students uſed yearly to preſent ſome ſhew or other *Dramatick* Exerciſe to the Univerſity, ſpake much in commendation of *Academical Enterludes*, and the great benefit which redounded to the Actors in them, by training them in an Art of ſpeaking, a modeſt confidence of Behaviour, the ſtrengthening of the Memory in the repeating of their parts, and the enriching them with a ſtock of Latine Verſes, out of one approved Author or other, which were their own for ever after. In fine, they generally concurred in this Cenſure of him, *viz.* "To be fined "five thouſand pound to the King; expelled the Univerſity of *Oxon.* "and *Lincolns-Inn*; degraded and diſabled from his Profeſſion in "the Laws; to ſtand in the Pillory, firſt in the *Palace yard* in *Weſt-* "*minſter*, and three daies after in *Cheapſide*, and in each place to "loſe an Ear, (though this laſt part of his Cenſure was much mo- "derated in the execution;) to have his Book, called *Hiſtrio-Ma-* "*ſtyx*, publickly burnt before his face by the hand of the Hangman, "and remain priſoner during life.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

*Diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny*, p. 119.

But all this was ſo far from working any remorſe in him, that it rather hardened him in his waies. For in *June* following, as ſoon as he could provide himſelf of Pen, Ink and Paper, he writes a moſt ſharp and Libellous Letter to the Lord Archbiſhop, touching his Cenſure in that Court, and that which the Archbiſhop in particular had declared againſt him. With this Letter the Archbiſhop acquaints his Majeſty, and his Majeſty commands him to refer it to Atturney *Noy*. *Noy* ſends for *Prynne*, and demands of him whether the Letter were of his own hand-writing or not; to which *Prynne* cunningly replied, That he could make no anſwer to that demand, unleſs he ſaw the Letter, and might read the ſame. No ſooner was the Letter put into his hands, and *Noys* back turned a little toward him, but preſently he tore it all to pieces, and flung the pieces out of the window, to the end it might not riſe in judgment againſt him if the Atturney ſhould proceed to an *Ore tenus*, as he meant to do. With this affront, and the principal paſſages of the Letter, the Atturney acquaints their Lordſhips in open Court, but there was no remedy. For being there was no proof of the miſdemeanour but the Letter it ſelf, and that the Letter could not be brought in evidence as it ſhould have been, the Archbiſhop thought it a more noble Act to remit the crime than to trouble the Court, or any of his Majeſties Miniſters in the proſecution. But herein *Prynne* ſped better than ſome others who had before been ſnarling at him, and laboured to expoſe him both to ſcorn and danger. No ſooner had he mounted the Chair of *Canterbury*, but one *Boyer*, who not long before had broke priſon, to which he had been committed for felony, moſt groſly abuſed him to his face, accuſing him of no leſs than *High Treaſon*. For which being brought into the *Star-Chamber*, the next *Michaelmas* Term he was there cenſured by their Lordſhips as

1634.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

the Crime deſerved. And preſently on the neck of this, one *Greene* a poor decayed Printer, for whom his Grace then Biſhop of *London* had procured a Penſion of five pound *per Annum*, to be paid by the Company of *Stationers* yearly as long as he lived, adventured into the Court of St. *James*'s with a great Sword by his ſide, deſperately ſwearing, That if the King did not do him Juſtice againſt the Archbiſhop, he would take another courſe with him. For this committed unto *Newgate*; but how long he ſtaid there, and what other Puniſhment he ſuffered, or whether he ſuffered any other, or not, let them ſeek that liſt.

And that the other Sex might whet their tongues upon him alſo, the Lady *Davies*, the Widow of Sir *John Davies* Atturney-General for King *James* in the Realm of *Ireland*, ſcatters a Propheſie againſt him. This Lady had before ſpoken ſomething unluckily of the Duke of *Buckingham*, importing, that he ſhould not live till the end of *Auguſt*, which raiſed her to the Reputation of a *Cunning Woman* amongſt the ignorant people: and now ſhe Propheſies of the new Archbiſhop, That he ſhould live but few days after the fifth of *November*; for which, and other Propheſies of a more miſchievous nature, ſhe was after brought into the Court of *High-Commiſſion*; the Woman being grown ſo mad, that ſhe phancied the Spirit of the Prophet *Daniel* to have been infuſed into her Body: And this ſhe grounded on an *Anagram* which ſhe made of her Name, *viz.* *ELEANOR DAVIES, REVEAL O DANIEL*: And though the *Anagram* had too much by an *L*, and too little by an *S*; yet ſhe found *Daniel* and *Reveal* in it, and that ſerved her turn. Much pains was taken by the Court to diſpoſſeſs her of this Spirit; but all would not do, till *Lamb* then Dean of the *Arches* ſhot her through and through, with an Arrow borrowed from her own Quiver: For whilſt the Biſhops and Divines were reaſoning the Point with her out of Holy Scripture, he took a Pen into his hand, and at laſt hit upon this excellent *Anagram*, viz. *DAME ELEANOR DAVIES, NEVER SO MAD A LADIE*: Which having proved to be true by the Rules of Art, *Madam*, ſaid he, *I ſee you build much on* Anagrams, *and I have found out one which I hope will fit you*; This ſaid, and reading it aloud, he put it into her hands in Writing, which happy Phanſie brought that grave Court into ſuch a laughter, and the poor Woman thereupon into ſuch a confuſion, that afterwards ſhe grew either wiſer, or was leſs regarded. This ended as ſucceſsfully as he could deſire: but he ſped worſe with another of his Female Adverſaries. The Lady *Purbeck*, Wife of *John Villers* Viſcount *Purbeck*, the elder Brother by the ſame *Venter* to the Duke of *Buckingham*, had been brought into the *High-Commiſſion*, *Anno* 1627. for living openly in Adultery with Sir *Robert Howard*, one of the younger Sons of *Thomas* the firſt Earl of *Suffolk* of that Family. Sentenced among other things to do Penance at St. *Paul*'s Croſs, ſhe eſcaped her Keepers, took Sanctuary in the *Savoy*, and was from thence

thence conveyed away by the *French* Embaſſador. The Duke *being* dead, all further proſecution againſt her died alſo with him; which notwithſtanding, the proud woman being more terrified with the fear of the Puniſhment, than the ſenſe of the Sin, vented her malice and diſpleaſure againſt the Archbiſhop (who had been very ſevere againſt her at the time of her Trial) when he was come unto his Greatneſs; ſpending her tongue upon him in words ſo full of deep diſgrace and reproach unto him, that he could do no leſs than cauſe her to be laid in the *Gatehouſe*: But being not long after delivered thence by the Practiſe of *Howard* afore-mentioned, *Howard* was ſeiſed upon, and laid up in her place; which Puniſhment (though it was the leaſt that could be looked for) he ſo highly ſtomach'd, that as ſoon as the Archbiſhop was impeach'd by the Houſe of Commons, and committed to Cuſtody by the Lords (which hapned on *Fryday December* 18.1640.) he petitioned for Relief againſt the Archbiſhop, and ſome other of the *High Commiſſioners* by whom the Warrant had been ſigned. The Lords upon the reading of it impoſed a Fine of 500 *l.* on the Archbiſhop himſelf, and 250 *l.* apiece upon *Lamb* and *Duck*, and preſſed it with ſuch cruel rigour, that they forced him to ſell his Plate to make payment of it; the Fine being ſet on *Munday* the 21. of *December*, and ordered to be paid on the *Wedneſday* after.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1634. *Hiſt. K. C.* p. 141.

But theſe Particulars have carried me beyond my year: I return therefore back again; and having ſhewed what Actings had been ſet on foot both in *England* and *Scotland*, muſt now croſs over into *Ireland*, where we find *Wentworth* made Lord Deputy in the place of *Faulkland*. We told you formerly of ſome dearneſs which was growing between him and *Laud* then Biſhop of *London*, at his firſt Admiſſion to the place of a Privy-Counſellor. Toward the latter end of *January*, *Anno* 1630. *Wentworth* being then Lord Preſident of the Council eſtabliſhed for the Northern Parts, beſtowed a Viſit on him at *London*-Houſe, where they had ſome private Conference touching the better Settlement of Affairs both in *England* and *Ireland*, of which Kingdom *Wentworth* not long after was Created Lord Deputy. He ſtaid ſomewhat longer from his Charge than he would have done, to be preſent at the Cenſure of *Williams* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, informed againſt in the *Star-Chamber* by his Majeſties *Atturney-General*, for ſome dangerous and diſgraceful words which he was reported to have ſpoken of his Majeſties Government, and revealing ſome Secrets which his Majeſty had formerly committed to his Truſt as a Privy-Counſellor: But *Williams* found ſo many ſhifts to put off the Trial, that the Deputy was fain to leave him in the ſame eſtate in which he found him, and hoiſed Sail for *Ireland*. Scarce was he ſetled in his Power, but he began to reform ſome things which he beheld as blemiſhes in the face of that Church. In the Chappel of the Caſtle of *Dublin*, the chief Seat of his Reſidence, he found a fair large Pue atthe end of the Choire, erected for the

*Cant. Doom*, p. 82.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

uſe of his Predeceſſors in that place; the Communion-Table in the mean time being thruſt out of doors. This Pue he commands to be taken down, and the Holy Table to be reſtored to its ancient place, where the Altar formerly had ſtood. In *Chriſt-Church* the Cathedral of that City, to which the Lord Deputies repair on *Sundays* and *Holydays* for Gods Publick Worſhip, he found the Holy Table ſcituated in the middle of the Choire or Chancel, and day by day profaned by Boys and Girles, who ſate upon it: This Table he cauſed to be removed alſo, as he did the other. And whereas the Earl of *Cork* had built a ſtately Monument for his Wife and ſome of her Anceſtors, but chiefly for himſelf and his own Poſterity, at the Eaſt end of the Choire in St. *Patrick*'s Church, being the ſecond of that City, the Lord Deputy required him to take it down, or otherwiſe to ſatisfie the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the ſtanding of it.

Of all theſe things he gave Order to his Chaplain *Bramhall* to give the Archbiſhop an Account, which *Bramhall* did accordingly in his Letters of the tenth of *Auguſt* 1633. In which Letters he gave this teſtimony alſo of the Deputies Care, *That it was not poſſible for the Intentions of a mortal Man, to be more ſerious and ſincere in thoſe things that concerned the good of the* Iriſh *Church, than his Lordſhips were.* And that he might lay a ſure foundation to proceed upon, he procured the Univerſity of *Dublin* to make choice of *Laud*, then being Lord Elect of *Canterbury*, for their Lord and *Chancellor*. To this they chearfully aſſented, paſſed the Election on the fourteenth of *September*, *Anno* 1633. being but ſix days before his actual Confirmation into the Metropolitical and Supream Dignity of the Church of *England*. Nor was it long before they found on what a gracious Benefactor they had placed that Honour: He had been told by *Ryves*, his Majeſties Advocate (who formerly had exerciſed that Office in the Realm of *Ireland*) of the deplorable condition of that Church in the reſpect of Maintenance. Moſt of the Tythes had been appropriated to Monaſteries and Religious Houſes, afterwards veſted in the Crown, or ſold to private Subjects, and made *Lay-Fees*; The Vicaridges for the moſt part Stipendary, and their Stipends ſo miſerable ſordid, that in the whole Province of *Connaught* moſt of the Vicars Penſions came but to 40 *s. per Annum*, and in many places but 16. The Biſhopricks at that time were many in number, but of ſmall Revenue, having been much dilapidated in the change of Religion, ſome of them utterly unable to maintain a Biſhop, and no good Benefice near them to be held *in Commendam*. This had been certified unto him by Letters from the Lord *Primate* about three years ſince; and it had been certified alſo by *Beadle* Biſhop of *Killmore*, That the Churches were in great decay, and that ſome men of better quality than the reſt were poſſeſſed of three, four, five, or more of thoſe Vicaridges, to the great diſſervice of the Church, and reproach to themſelves.

*Cant. Doom*, p. 104.

Theſe

Theſe things he could not chuſe but look on as great diſcouragements to Learning, and ſuch as could produce no other effects than Ignorance in the Prieſt, and Barbariſm in the People. Scandalous Benefices make for the moſt part ſcandalous Miniſters, as naked Walls are ſaid in the *Engliſh* Proverb to make giddy Houſwifes. Where there is neither Means nor Maintenance for a Learned Miniſtry, what a groſs night of Ignorance muſt befal thoſe men who were to hold forth the Light to others? And if the Light it ſelf be Darkneſs, how great a Darkneſs muſt it be, which doth follow after it? That Obſervation of (e) *Panormitan*, *That poor Churches will be filled with none but ignorant Prieſts*, being as true as old, and as old as lamentable. For remedy whereof, he took an opportunity to move his Majeſty to reſtore all ſuch Impropriations to the Church of *Ireland*, as were then veſted in the Crown. The Exchequer was at that time empty, the Revenue low, which might ſeem to make the Propoſition the more unſeaſonable: But ſo great was his Majeſties Piety on the one ſide, the Reaſons ſo forcible on the other, and the Lord Deputy of that Kingdom ſo cordially affected to advance the Work, that his Majeſty graciouſly condeſcended to it, and found his Miniſters there as ready to ſpeed the buſineſs, as either of them could deſire. Encouraged by which Royal Example, the Earl of *Cork*, who from a very ſmall beginning had raiſed himſelf to a vaſt Revenue in that Kingdom, Re-built ſome Churches, and Repaired others; reſtored ſome of his Impropriations to thoſe ſeveral Churches; and doubtleſs had proceeded further, if a difference had not hapned betwixt the Lord Deputy and him, about the removing of the Monument which he had erected for himſelf and his Poſterity, in one of the principal Churches of the City of *Dublin*, as before was ſaid. And as for the improving of the Biſhopricks, as *Oſſory* and *Kilkenny*, *Killmore* and *Ardagh*, *Down* and *Connor*, and poſſibly ſome others had before this been joined together; ſo was it adviſed by the *Primate*, That *Kilfenore* ſhould be joined unto that of *Killalow*, lying contiguous to each other; Both which being joined by a perpetual union, were thought ſufficient to make an indifferent Competency for an *Iriſh* Biſhop.

(e) *Ad tenuitatem beneficiorum neceſſario ſequitur ignorantia Sacerdotum.* Panor.

But all this Care had been to little or no purpoſe, if ſome courſe were not alſo taken to preſerve Religion, endangered on this ſide by *Popery*, and on that by *Calviniſm*; each ſide unwillingly contributing to the growth of the other. The perverſe oppoſitions of the *Calviniſt*, made the *Papiſt* obſtinate; and the inſolencies of the *Papiſts*, did both vex and confirm the *Calviniſts*. Betwixt them both, the Church of *England* was ſo loſt, that there was little of her genuine and native Doctrine to be found in the Clergy of that Kingdom. The *Papiſts* being firſt ſuppreſſed, it was conceived to be no hard matter to reduce the *Calvinians* to Conformity; and to ſuppreſs the *Papiſts*, it was found expedient, That the ſtanding Army ſhould be kept in continual Pay, and that Monies ſhould be levied on the

*Papiſts*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

*Papiſts* themſelves for the payment of it: In order whereunto, the Biſhop of *Killmore* before-mentioned, had given an Account unto his Grace then Biſhop of *London*, touching the dangerous condition of that Church by the growth of *Popery*; and now he finds it neceſſary to give the like Account unto the new Lord Deputy. Him therefore he informs by Letters dated *November* 5. 1633. (which was not long after he had perſonally aſſumed the Government, and received the Sword) to this effect; *viz.* "That in that Crown the "Pope had a far greater Kingdom than his Majeſty had; That the "ſaid Kingdom of the Pope was governed by the new Congregation "*de propaganda Fide*, eſtabliſhed not long ſince at *Rome*; That the "Pope had there a Clergy depending on him, double in number to "the *Engliſh*, the Heads of which were bound by a corporal Oath "to maintain his Power and Greatneſs againſt all Perſons whatſoe-"ver; That for the moulding of the People to the Popes Obedi-"ence, there was a great rabble of *Irregular* Regulars, moſt of "them the younger Sons of Noble Houſes, which made them the "more inſolent and uncontrollable; That the Pope had erected an "Univerſity in *Dublin*, to confront his Majeſties Colledge there, "and breed up the Youth of the Kingdom to his Devotion, one "*Harris* being Dean thereof, who had diſperſed a Scandalous "Pamphlet againſt the Lord *Primates* Sermon preach'd at *Wanſteed* "(one of the beſt Pieces that ever came from him) *Anno* 1629. That "ſince the Diſſolving of their new *Frieries* in the City of *Dublin*, "they had Erected them in the Country, and had brought the Peo-"ple to ſuch a ſottiſh negligence, that they cared not to learn the "Commandments as God ſpake and left them; but flocked in "Multitudes to the hearing of ſuch Superſtitious Doctrines as ſome "of their own Prieſts were aſhamed of; That a *Synodical* Meeting of "their Clergy had been held lately at *Drogheda* in the Province of *Ul-*"*ſter*, in which it was decreed, *That it was not lawful to take the Oath* "*of Allegiance*; And therefore, That in ſuch a conjuncture of Affairs "to think that the bridle of the Army might be taken away, muſt be "the thought not of a Brain-ſick, but of a Brainleſs man: which "whoſoever did endeavour, not only would oppoſe his Majeſties "Service, but expoſe his own neck to the Skeanes of thoſe *Iriſh* cut-"throats. All which he humbly refers to his Lordſhips ſeaſonable Care and Conſideration. Upon this Information, the Deputy obtains his Majeſties leave to hold a Parliament in that Kingdom, which he managed with ſuch notable dexterity, that he made himſelf Maſter of a Power ſufficient to ſuppreſs the Inſolencies of the *Papiſts*, and yet exceedingly prevailed upon their Affections. From which time forwards the *Popiſh Recuſants* in that Kingdom were kept in ſtricter duty, and held cloſer to loyal Obedience, for fear of irritating ſo ſevere a Magiſtrate, than ever they had been by any of his Predeceſſors.

*Cant. Dom.* P. 437.

This Parliament brought with it a Convocation, as a thing of courſe;

courſe; and in that ſomewhat muſt be done to check the ſpreading of *Calviniſm* in all parts of that Church. The Articles of Religion agreed upon in Convocation *Anno* 1615. were ſo contrived by *Uſher* the now Lord *Primate*, "That all the *Sabbatarian* and *Calvinian* Ri-"gours were declared therein to be the Doctrines of that Church; "Moſt grievous Torments immediately in his Soul affirmed to be "endured by Chriſt, which *Calvin* makes to be the ſame with his "*deſcent into Hell*; The abſtenencies from eating Fleſh upon certain "days, declared not to be Religious Faſts: but to be grounded on-"ly upon Politick Ends and Conſiderations; All Miniſters adjudg-"ed to be Lawfully called, who are called unto the Work of the "Miniſtry by thoſe that have Publick Authority given them in the "Church (but whether they be Biſhops or not, it makes no matter, "ſo that he be Authorized unto it by their ſeveral Churches): The "Sacerdotal Power of Abſolution made *declarative* only, and con-"ſequently quite ſubverted; No Power aſcribed unto the Church "in Ordaining *Canons*, or cenſuring any of thoſe who either careleſly "or maliciouſly do infringe the ſame; the *Pope* made *Antichriſt*, "according to the like Determination of the *French Hugonots* made "at *Gappe* in *Dolphine*: And finally, ſuch a ſilence concerning the "Conſecration of Archbiſhops and Biſhops (expreſly juſtified and "avowed in the *Engliſh* Book) as if there were not a different Order "from the Common *Presbyters*. All which, being *Uſher*'s own Opinions, were diſperſed in ſeveral places of theſe Articles for the Church of *Ireland*, approved of in that Convocation, and finally confirmed by the Lord Deputy *Chicheſter* in the Name of King *James*. By means whereof theſe two great miſchiefs did enſue; Firſt, A great matter of diviſion which it cauſed to the *Prieſts* and *Papiſts* of the Realm, that in three Kingdoms, under the Obedience of one Sovereign Prince, there ſhould be three diſtinct and contrary Profeſſions, and yet pretending every one to the ſame Religion. And ſecondly, Whenſoever the Points were agitated here in *England* againſt the *Sabbatarian* and *Calvinian* Rigours, the Diſputants were forthwith choaked by the Authority of theſe Articles, and the infallible Judgment of King *James*, who confirmed the ſame. If therefore the Archbiſhop meant to have Peace in *England*, the Church of *Ireland* muſt be won to deſert thoſe Articles, and receive ours in *England* in the place thereof.

This to effect, it was not thought expedient by ſuch as had the managing of that deſign, to propoſe any abrogation or repealing of the former Articles, which had ſo many Friends and Patrons in that Convocation, that it was moved ſeverally both in the Houſe of the Biſhops, and in that of the Clergy, to have them ratified and confirmed in the preſent Meeting. And queſtionleſs it had been carried in that way, if it had not ſeaſonably been diverted by telling the Promoters of it, That thoſe Articles had already received as much Authority as that Church could give them, and that by ſeeking to procure

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

procure any ſuch Confirmation, they would weaken the Original Power by which they ſtood. This blow being thus handſomly broken, their next work was to move the *Primate*, That for the avoiding of ſuch ſcandal which was given the *Papiſts*, and to declare the Unity in Judgment and Affections between the Churches, a *Canon* might be paſſed in approbation of the Articles of the Church of *England*. To this the Prelate being gained, the *Canon* was drawn up and preſented to him; and being by him propounded, was accordingly paſſed, one only man diſſenting when it came to the Vote, who had pierced deeper into the bottom of the Project than the others did. It was deſired alſo by *Bramhall*, not long before the Lord Deputies Chaplain, but then Biſhop of *Derrie*, That the whole Body of *Canons* made in the year 1603. might be admitted in that Church: But the *Primate* was ever ſo afraid of *bowing* at the Name of JESUS, and ſome other Reverences required in them, which he neither practiſed nor approved, that he would by no means hearken to it, which bred ſome heats between him and *Bramhall*, ending at laſt in this Temperament, That ſome ſelect *Canons* ſhould be taken out of that Book, and intermingled with ſome others of their own compoſing. But for the *Canon* which approved and received the Articles of the Church of *England*, it was this that followeth; *viz.*

## *Of the Agreement of the Church of* England *and* Ireland *in the Profeſſion of the ſame* Chriſtian Faith.

*FOr the manifeſtation of our Agreement with the Church of* England, *in the Confeſſion of the ſame* Chriſtian Faith, *and Doctrine of the* Sacraments, *We do receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and the whole Clergie, in whole Convocation holden at* London, Anno Dom. 1562. *for the avoiding of diverſities of Opinions, and for the eſtabliſhing of Conſent touching true Religion. And therefore if any hereafter ſhall affirm, That any of thoſe Articles are in any part Superſtitious and Erroneous, or ſuch as he may not with a good Conſcience Subſcribe unto, Let him be Excommunicated, and not Abſolved before he make a publick Revocation of his Error.*

Such was the *Canon* paſſed in this Convocation, for the approbation and reception of the Articles of the Church of *England:* Which *Canon* was no ſooner paſſed, confirmed, and publiſhed, but the *Primate* and his Party ſaw the danger which they had caſt themſelves into by their inadvertency; and found too late, That by receiving and approving the *Engliſh* Articles, they had abrogated and repealed the *Iriſh*. To ſalve this ſore, it concerned them to beſtir themſelves with their utmoſt diligence, and ſo accordingly they did.

For

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

For firſt the *Primate*, and ſome Biſhops of his opinions, required *ſubſcription* to the Articles of both Churches of all ſuch as came to be *ordained* at the next *Ordination*. But it went no further than the next, for if the Papiſts made it a matter of Deriſion to have three Confeſſions in the three Churches of his Majeſties Kingdoms; How much more matter muſt it give them of ſcorn and laughter, that there ſhould be two different Confeſſions in the ſame Church, and both ſubſcribed unto, but as one and the ſame.

Judgment of the Lord Primate, *p* 121.

The Primate next applies himſelf to the Lord Deputy, beſeeching him that the former Articles might receive a new Ratification by Act of Parliament for preventing all innovations in the Religion there eſtabliſhed: But he found but little comfort there, the Lord Deputy threatning to cauſe the ſaid Confeſſion to be burnt by the hand of the hangman; if at the leaſt the *Scots* Commiſſioners may be believed; amongſt whoſe Articles againſt him I find this for one. Finding no better hopes on that ſide of the Sea, he diſpatcheth his Letters of Advice to his Friends in *England*, one to an Honourable Perſon amongſt the reſt, aſſuring them that though by a Canon paſſed in that Convocation they had received and approved the Articles of *England*; yet that the Articlers of *Ireland* were ever called in, might well be reckoned for a fancy. The like affirmed in a Certificate made by *Bernard*, and *Pullen*, two Members of the Lower Houſe in this Convocation, where it is ſaid, *That whoſoever do aver that the ſaid Articles were aboliſhed, are groſly miſtaken and have abuſed the ſaid Convocation in delivering ſo manifeſt an untruth.* And to back this, another Certificate muſt be gained from one who comes commended to us under the Title of *a moſt eminent, judicious, and learned perſon*, who having conſidered of the matter, *Conceives that both Confeſſions were conſiſtent*; *and that the Act of the Synod was not a Revocation of the Iriſh Articles, but an approbation of the Engliſh, as agreeing with them.*

Judg. L. Pri. *Ibid.* 112.

*Olſ. obſerv.* p. 42.

Judg. of L. Pri *p.* 121.

But all this would not ſerve the turn, or ſave thoſe Articles from being brought under a *Repeal* by the preſent Canon. For firſt, it appeareth by the Canon, *That they did not only approve, but receive the Articles of the Church of* England. Their *approbation* of them, had they gone no further, had been a ſufficient manifeſtation of their agreement with the Church of *England* in the Confeſſion of the ſame Proteſtant Religion: But their *receiving* of the ſame doth intimate a ſuperinducing of them upon the other, and is equivalent both in Fact and Law to the *Repealing* of the old. For otherwiſe St. *Paul* muſt needs be out in the Rules of *Logick* when he proved the *Abrogating* of the old *Covenant* by the ſuperinduction of a new; For having affirmed, that God by ſpeaking of a *New* Covenant, had (*d*) antiquated and made void the firſt, (or made the firſt old as our Engliſh read it;) he adds immediatly, *That that which is old, decayeth, and is ready to vaniſh away*; that is to ſay, as *Diodati* deſcants on it, The old being diſanulled by the new, there muſt neceſſarily follow

(d) *Dicendo autem novum, veteravit priùs*, &c. Heb. 8 13.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

the abolishment of its use and practice. Nor find they any other abrogation of the *Jewish Sabbath* then by the superinducing of the *Lords day for the day of worship*. By means whereof the Sabbath was lessened in authority and reputation by little and little, and in short time was absolutely laid aside in the Church of Christ; the fourth Commandement, by which it was at first ordained, being still in force. So then according to these grounds the Articles of *Ireland* were *virtually*, though not formally, abrogated; or else it must be granted, that there were two Confessions in the same one Church, different both in form and matter, and contrary in some points unto one another, which would have been so far from creating an uniformity between the Churches in the concernments of Religion, that it would have raised a greater disagreement within *Ireland* it self than was before between the Churches of both Kingdoms. And certainly the gaining of this point did much advantage the Archbishop, conducing visibly to the promotion of his ends and Counsels in making the Irish Clergy subject to the two Declarations, and accountable for their breaking and neglect thereof, that is to say, his Majesties Declaration about Lawful Sports, and that prefixt before the book of Articles for appeasing Controversies. Take for a farewell this acknowledgment of a late Historian, speaking as well the sense of others as his own, "A *Convocation* (concurrent with a *Parliament*) was called (saith he) and kept at *Dublin* in *Ireland*, where-"in the thirty nine Articles of the Church of *England* were recei-"ved in *Ireland*, for all to subscribe unto. It was adjudged fit, seeing "that Kingdom complies with *England* in the Civil Government, it "should also conform thereunto in matters of Religion. And thereupon he thus concludes, "That in the mean time the "*Irish* Articles concluded formerly in a *Synod*, 1616. (mistaken for 1615.) (wherein *Arminianism* was condemned *in terminis termi-*"*nantibus*, and the observation of the *Lords day* resolved *Jure divi-*"*no*) were utterly excluded.

*Ch. Hist.* B. 11. p. 128.

But leaving *Ireland* to the care of the Lord Deputy, and the Bishop of *Derry*, who under him had the chief managing of the affairs of that Church; let us see how the new Archbishop proceeds in *England*, where he had so many plows going at once, too many, as it after proved, to work well together. For not thinking he had done enough in order to the peace and uniformity of the Church of *England*, by taking care for it here at home, his thoughts transported him with the like affection to preserve it from neglect abroad. To which end he had offered some considerations to the Lords of the Council, as before was said, *Anno* 1622. relating to the regulation of Gods publick Worship amongst the *English Factories*, and Regiments beyond the Seas, and the reducing of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches, settled in divers parts of this Realm, unto some conformity. In reference to the first, he had not sate long in the Chaire of *Canterbury* when he procured an Order from the Lords of the Coun-

Council, bearing date *Octob.* 1. 1633. By which their *Engliſh* Churches and Regiments in *Holland* (and afterwards by degrees in all other Foreign parts and plantations) were required ſtrictly to obſerve the *Engliſh* Liturgie with all the Rites and Ceremonies preſcribed in it. Which Order contained the ſum and ſubſtance of thoſe conſiderations which he had offered to the Board touching that particular. With which the Merchant Adventurers being made acquainted, with joynt conſent they made choice of one *Beaumont* (reputed for a learned, ſober, and conformable man) to be Preacher to their Factory reſiding at *Delf*, *Forbes*, a *Scot* by birth, who formerly had been Preacher to the Society, being either dead, or otherwiſe departed to avoid conformity. And that this man might be received with the better welcome a Letter is ſent with him to the Deputy Governour, ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhop himſelf, in which he ſignifieth both to him and the reſt in his Majeſties name, "That they *Cant. Doom*, "were to receive him with all decent and courteous uſage fitting his p. 407. "perſon and calling, allowing him the ancient Penſion which formerly had been paid to his Predeceſſors. Which ſaid in reference to "the man, he lets them know that it was his Majeſties expreſs command, that both he, the Deputy, and all and every other Merchant, that is or ſhall be reſiding in thoſe parts beyond the Seas, "do conform themſelves to the Doctrine and Diſcipline ſettled in "the Church of *England*: and that they Frequent the Common-"Prayer with all Religious duty and reverence at all times required, "as well as they do Sermons; and that out of their company they "ſhould yearly about *Eaſter*, as the Canons preſcribe, name two "Church-Wardens, and two Sides-men, which may look to the "Orders of the Church, and give an account according to their "office. It was alſo required that theſe preſent Letters ſhould be "regiſtred and kept by them, that they which come after might "take notice what care his Majeſty had taken for the well ordering "of the ſaid Company in Church affairs; and that a Copy of the "ſame ſhould be delivered to the ſaid *Beaumont*, and to every Suc-"ceſſor of his reſpectively, that he and they might know what his "Majeſty expected of them, and be the more inexcuſable if they "diſobey it. With this Diſpatch, bearing date the ſeventeenth of *June*, this preſent year 1634. away goes *Beaumont* into *Holland*, taking with him theſe Inſtructions for his own proceedings; that is to ſay, "That he ſhould punctually keep and obſerve all the Orders "of the Church of *England*, as they are preſcribed in the *Canons* "and the *Rubricks* of the *Liturgie*; and that if any perſon of that "Company ſhall ſhew himſelf refractory to that Ordinance of his "Majeſty, he ſhould certifie the name of any ſuch offender, and his "offence to the Lord Biſhop of *London* for the time being, who was "to take order and give remedy accordingly. Which Order and Inſtructions given to *Beaumont* in private, were incorporated alſo in the Letter, leaſt otherwiſe he might be thought to act any thing in

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

it without good Authority. And he accordingly proceeded with ſuch honeſt zeal, and was ſo punctual in obſerving his Majeſties pleaſure and commands, that for a reward of his good ſervice he was preferred unto a Prebends place in the Church of *Canterbury*, though by the unhappy change of times, it brought more reputation than advantage with it.

And now at laſt we have the face of an *Engliſh* Church in *Holland*, reſponſal to the Biſhops of *London* for the time being, as a part of their Dioceſs, directly and immediately ſubject to their Juriſdiction. The like courſe alſo was preſcribed for our Factories in *Hamborough*, and thoſe further off, that is to ſay, in *Turky*, in the *Moguls* Dominions, the *Indian Iſlands*, the Plantations in *Virginia*, the *Barbadoes*, and all other places where the Engliſh had any ſtanding Reſidence in the way of trade. The like done alſo for regulating the Divine Service in the Families of all Ambaſſadours, reſiding in the Courts of Foreign Princes for his Majeſties Service; as alſo in the *Engliſh* Regiments, ſerving under the States. The ſuperinſpection of which laſt was referred to *Boſwel* his Majeſties Reſident at the *Hague*, and his Succeſſors in that place; as he and all the reſt of the Embaſſadors, in what place ſoever, were to be ordered by the care of the Lords of the Council; and they to be accountable therein to his Sacred Majeſty, as the Supream Ordinary. The Engliſh *Agents* and Embaſſadours in the Courts of Foreign Princes had not been formerly ſo regardful of the honour of the Church of *England*, as they might have been, in deſigning a ſet *Room* for religious uſes, and keeping up the Veſtments, Rites and Ceremonies, preſcribed by Law in performance of them. It was now hoped that there would be a Church of *England* in all Courts of *Chriſtendom*, in the chief Cities of the *Turk*, and other great *Mahometan* Princes, in all our Factories and Plantations in every known Part of the world, by which it might be rendred as diffuſed and *Catholick* as the Church of *Rome*.

In reference to the regulating of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches here amongſt our ſelves, he conceived himſelf in a capacity of putting his own Counſels in execution, either as Biſhop of the Dioceſs, or Archbiſhop of the Province of *Canterbury*. He had conſidered of the dangers which thoſe Foreign Churches drew on this, by ſtanding divided and diſmembred from the reſt of the body; and of the countenance and encouragement which was given to the *Puritan* Faction in the promoting of Schiſm. There was no *Traverſe* to be made to this *Dilemma*, but either they were or were not of the ſame Religion with the Church of *England*. If they were not of the ſame Religion why ſhould they, being ſtrangers, borne in other Countries, or deſcending from them, expect more Liberty of Conſcience than the Papiſts had, being all Natives, and deſcending from Engliſh Parents? If of the ſame, why ſhould they not ſubmit to the Government and Forms of Worſhip, being the outward acts and exerciſes of

of the Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed? It was now as when they firſt fled into this Land from the Fire and Faggot; from which their own Countries having felt no Perſecution for forty or fifty years laſt paſt, were at this time freed: And therefore if they did not like the Terms of their ſtaying here, they might return from whence they came, in peace and ſafety, with thanks to God and the good *Engliſh* Nation, for the long and comfortable Entertainment they had found amongſt them. Upon theſe grounds, and ſuch Conſiderations as had before been offered to the Lords of the Council, before he had ſate a whole year in the Chair of *Canterbury*, he cauſed theſe three Articles to be tendred to the *French* Congregation in that City, and the two *Dutch* Congregations in *Sandwich* and *Maidſton*, *Apr.* 14. 1634. 1. *what* Liturgie *do you uſe? or whether you have not the* Dutch *or* French *in uſe?* 2. *Of how many Deſcents for the moſt part they were born Subjects?* 3. *Whether ſuch as are born Subjects, will conform to the Church of* England? For Anſwer to the Articles (after ſome fruitleſs Pleas touching their Exemptions) they obtained time till the fifth of *May*; againſt which time, with the conſent of their ſeveral Churches, they prepared theſe ſeveral Anſwers. To the firſt it was anſwered, *That they had that* Liturgie *which all the Churches of the* French *Tongue* (*both in* France, *and in the* United Provinces *of the* States) *have had ſince the bleſſed Reformation, and which their Churches* (*refuged here*) *have had this ſixty or ſeventy years, or more: That the* Engliſh Liturgie *was Tranſlated into* French, *but that they uſed it not; and that they knew not whether it were Tranſlated in* Dutch *or not.* To the ſecond it was anſwered, *That the greateſt part of the Heads of the Families were not born here, but about a third part; becauſe that the greateſt part of the old ones were Strangers born, and many others are newly come ſince a few years.* But to the third they deſired to be excuſed from making any Anſwer at all, foreſeeing (as it was pretended) a diſſipation of their Churches, in reference to the maintenance of their Miniſtry and relief of their poor, if ſuch Conformity ſhould be preſſed, which they endeavoured to avoid by all means imaginable. But before theſe Anſwers were returned, it was thought fit to conſult with the *Cætus* (as they ſtyle it) of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches in *London*, who were concerned as much as they, and who by reaſon of their wealth and number governed all the reſt; by whom they were adviſed to ſuppreſs thoſe Anſwers, and to preſent their *Declinator*, fixing themſelves upon their Priviledges, and challenging the Exemption granted them by King *Edward* vi. confirmed by ſeveral Acts of Council in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and his Sacred Majeſty.

This *Declinator* no way ſatisfied his *Grace* of *Canterbury*. He knew, none better, That Acts of Council were not like the Laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, but might be changed and varied as occaſion ſerved; That the Letters Patents granted by King *Edward* vi. to the firſt Congregation of Strangers under *John A Laſco* (by which they were

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

were Licenced to uſe their own Forms both of Worſhip and Government, without any diſturbance) were vacated by the departure of the ſaid Congregation in the time of Queen *Mary*; and that the *French* and *Dutch* Churches now in *England*, could pretend no ſucceſſion unto that in the time of King *Edward* vi. And therefore as ſoon as *Brent* returned from his *Viſitation* (of which we ſhall hear more anon) and had a while repoſed himſelf after that long Journey, he was diſpatched to *Canterbury* with theſe *Injunctions, viz.* 1. *That all the Natives of the* Dutch *and* Walloon *Congregations in his* Graces *Dioceſs, are to repair to their ſeveral Pariſh Churches where they inhabite, to hear Divine Service and Sermons, and perform all Duties and Payments required in that behalf:* And 2. *That all the Miniſters, and all other of the ſame* Walloon *or* French *Congregations, which are Aliens born, ſhall have and uſe the* Liturgie *uſed in the* Engliſh *Churches, as the ſame is or may be faithfully Tranſlated into* French *or* Dutch. Theſe two *Injunctions* being given on the nineteenth of *December*, with time for conforming thereunto till the firſt of *March*, were preſently communicated by the *Kentiſh* to the *London* Churches, and by thoſe of *London* to the reſt in the Province of *Canterbury*, requiring them to ſend their Deputies to conſult together with them in this Common Danger. There were at that time ten Churches of Strangers in this Province; that is to ſay, two in *London*, two in *Norwich*, and one apiece in *Canterbury*, *Sandwich*, *Maidſtone*, *Southampton*, *Colcheſter*, and *Yarmouth*, who were to ſend their ſufficient Deputies, conſiſting of Miniſters and Lay-Elders, to make this *Synod*. But becauſe the time might be elapſed before theſe Deputies from ſo many Places could meet together, and reſolve upon any Concluſion; it was determined by the *Cætus*, that thoſe of *Kent*, whom it moſt immediately concerned, ſhould addreſs themſelves to the Archbiſhop, and deſire his favour for the enjoying of their Priviledges, as in former times; whoſe Propoſitions being heard, and their Reaſons pondered, he anſwered, *That it was his purpoſe to make a General Viſitation of all his Province, and that he would begin at home; That he did nothing but what had been communicated to the King, and reſolved by the Council; That neither the* Letters Patents *of King* Edward vi. *nor any Reaſons by them alledged, ſhould hinder him from proceeding in the ſaid* Injunctions; *That their Churches were neſts and occaſions of Schiſm, which he would prevent in* Kent *as well as he could; That it were better there were no Foreign Churches nor Strangers in* England, *than to have them thereby to give occaſion of prejudice or danger to the Church-Government of it; That they endeavoured to make themſelves a State in a State, and had vaunted,* That they feared not his Injunctions; *but, That he hoped the King would maintain him in it, as long as he Governed by the* Canons; *That the diſſipation of their Churches, and maintenance of two or three Miniſters, was not to be laid in the ſame Balance with the Peace and Happineſs of the Church of* England; *That their ignorance in the* Engliſh *Tongue,*

*Tongue, ought not to be uſed for a pretence for their not going to their Pariſh Churches, conſidering that it was an affected Ignorance, and they might avoid it when they would: And finally, That he was reſolved to have his* Injunctions *put in execution, and that they ſhould conform to them at their peril by the time appointed.*

Finding no hope of Good this way, they expect the Sitting of the *Synod* on the fifth of *February*; to which the Deputies made a Report of their ill Succeſſes; and thereupon it was reſolved, That a Petition in the name of all the Foreign Churches, ſhould be preſented unto the King; which way they found as unſucceſsful as the other was: For his Majeſty having read the Petition, delivered it to the Earl of *Pembroke*, commanding him to give it to one of the Secretaries. And though *Pembroke*, either out of love to the Cauſe, or hate to the Archbiſhops Perſon, choſe rather to deliver it to *Cooke* than *Windebank*; yet neither *Cooke* himſelf, nor *Weckerly* his chief Clerk (a *Walloon* by birth) who had very much eſpouſed the Quarrel, could do any thing in it. The next courſe was to back that Petition with a Remonſtrance, containing the chief Reaſons which they had to urge in their own behalf; and that Remonſtrance to be put into his Majeſties hands by the Duke of *Soubize*, a Prince of great Deſcent in *France*, and a chief ſtickler in the Wars of the *Hugonots* againſt their King: In which Reaſons, when they came to be examined more particularly, there was nothing found material, but what had formerly been obſerved and anſwered; except it were the fear of a Perſecution to be raiſed in *France*, when it ſhould there be known, how much the *French* Churches in this Kingdom had been diſcountenanced and diſtreſſed. And this they after aggravated by ſome freſh Intelligence which they had from thence, by which they were advertiſed of ſome words of the great Cardinal *Richelieu*, to this effect, *viz. That if a King of* England, *who was a* Proteſtant, *would not permit two* Diſciplines *in his Kingdom, why ſhould a King of* France, *a* Papiſt, *permit two Religions*? Great workings had been in the Court upon this occaſion; though all which was effected by it, was but the preſent qualification of the ſecond *Injunction*; His Majeſty on good Reaſon of *State* inſiſting ſo ſtrongly on the firſt, that it could not be altered. But as for the ſecond *Injunction*, it was qualified thus, *viz. That the Miniſters, and all others of the* French *and* Dutch *Congregations, which are not Natives, and born Subjects to the Kings Majeſty, or any other Stranger that ſhall come over to them, while they remain Strangers may have and uſe their own* Diſcipline, *as formerly they have done; yet it is thought fit that the* Engliſh Liturgie *ſhould be Tranſlated into the* French *and* Dutch, *for the better fitting of their Children to the* Engliſh *Government*. But before the *Injunction* thus qualified could be ſent to *Canterbury*, the Mayor and Brethren of that City were put upon a Petition in their behalf, inſiſting, amongſt other things, on the great Charge which would fall upon them, if the relief of the poor *French*, which formerly had been maintained on the common

Purſe

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

Purſe of that Church, ſhould be caſt upon the ſeveral Pariſhes; and the great want of Work which would happen to their own Poor in that City, if the Manufactures of the *French* ſhould be diſcontinued. To which Petition they received a favourable Anſwer in reſpect of themſelves; but without any alteration of his Graces purpoſe in ſuch other points of it as concerned thoſe Churches. A Temperament was alſo uſed in regard of the Miniſters which did Officiate in thoſe Churches; it being condeſcended to on the ſuit of their Deputies, That ſuch of their Miniſters as were *Engliſh* born ſhould continue in their Place and Miniſtry, as in former times: but that hereafter none ſhould be admitted to be Miniſters in their Congregations, but ſuch as were Strangers. Which Condeſcenſions notwithſtanding, It was directed by the *Cœtus* of the *London* Churches, That by no means the *Kentiſh* Foreigners ſhould publiſh the ſaid *Injunctions* in their Congregations; and that if the proſecution of them ſhould be ſtrictly urged, they would then think upon ſome other courſe to bear off that blow. And by this Tergiverſation they gained ſo much time, that the final Decree was not paſſed upon them till the 26th of *September* 1635. when to the former *Injunction* they found this Clauſe or *Proviſo* added, *viz. That the Natives ſhould continue to contribute to the maintenance of their Miniſtry, and the Poor of their Church, for the ſubſiſting thereof; and that an Order ſhould be obtained from his Majeſty, if it were deſired, to maintain them in their* Manufactures, *againſt all ſuch as ſhould endeavour to moleſt them by Informations.* Some time was ſpent about the publiſhing of this Decree, the Miniſters and Elders of thoſe Churches refuſing to act any thing in it: But at the laſt it was publiſhed in the *French* Church at *Canterbury* by one of their *Notaries*, and in *Sandwich* by the *Chanter* or Clerk of the Congregation, with Order to the Miniſters and Churchwardens of the ſeveral Pariſhes, to take notice of ſuch of the Natives as reſorted not diligently to their Pariſh Churches.

This proved a leading Caſe to all the other *French* and *Dutch* Churches on this ſide of the Seas, though they oppoſed it what they could. For no ſooner was the News of theſe *Injunctions* firſt brought to *Norwich*, when a Remonſtrance was preſented to *Corbet* (who was then Biſhop of that Dioceſs) and by him tranſmitted to the Archbiſhop; in which they had expreſſed ſuch Reaſons againſt the tenour of the ſame, as we have met with formerly in this Narration. But the Archbiſhops Viſitation of that Dioceſs in the year next following, *Anno* 1635. put an end to that buſineſs; the *Injunction* being publiſhed in the Churches of Strangers in that City, before any publication of them had been made in *Canterbury*. Nor was the like done only in all the Churches of Strangers in the Province of *Canterbury*, but in thoſe of *York*, where the Archbiſhop kept them to a harder Diet; for having ſeen what had been done by *Brent* in his Viſitation, and having no ſuch powerful Sollicitors as the *Cœtus* of the *London* Churches

Churches to take off his edge, he denied them the Exerciſe of any Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of their own; injoins them the uſe of the *Engliſh Liturgie* in the *French* Tongue, with Obedience to all the Laws and Ordinances of the Church of *England*; to receive the Sacrament once a year in the Church of the Pariſh where they dwell, and to perform all their Chriſtenings, Marriages, and Burials there, or elſe none of their Congregations to be permitted. But notwithſtanding all this care of the *Metropolitans*, the buſineſs went forward more or leſs, as the Miniſters and Church-wardens ſtood affected in their ſeveral Pariſhes. And in moſt Pariſhes the Miniſters and Church-wardens were ſo well pleaſed with that indecency which they had amongſt them, in reſpect of any Superiors in Church-concernments, to whom they might be made accountable for Life or Doctrine, that generally they wiſh'd themſelves in the ſame condition: And being freed from their greateſt fear, of having the Poor of thoſe Churches caſt upon them in their ſeveral Pariſhes, they ſeemed not much ſollicitous whether they came to the Church or not, to hear the Sermons, receive the Sacraments, or perform any other part of Publick Worſhip; eſpecially if they were not ſcrupulous in paying to the Miniſter his accuſtomed Dues, and yielding to ſuch Rates and Taxes as the Church-wardens laid upon them for Parochial uſes. If any Miniſter began to look too ſtrictly to them, they would find ſome means to take him off by Gifts and Preſents, or by ſome powerful Letter from ſome of the Grandees reſiding in *London*, and ſometimes from a neighbouring Juſtice, whoſe diſpleaſure muſt not be incurred. And that they might not want encouragement to ſtand it out as long as they could, the leading men of the *Genevian* Faction in moſt parts of the Realm, did ſecretly ſollicite them not to be too forwards in conforming to the ſaid *Injunctions*, aſſuring them of ſuch Aſſiſtances as might ſave them harmleſs, and flattering them with this Opinion of themſelves, That the Liberty of the Goſpel, and the moſt deſirable Freedom of the Church from Epiſcopal Tyranny, depended chiefly on their Courage and Reſolution. What was done afterwards in purſuance of the ſaid *Injunctions*, ſhall be told elſewhere: all which Particulars I have laid together, that the Proceedings of his Grace in this weighty buſineſs (ſo much calumniated and defamed) might be preſented to the Reader without interruption.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

It was once ſaid by *Teleſinus* to *Caj. Marius*, *That he did well to ſcoure the Country; but* Italy *would never want Wolves, ſo long as* Rome *continued ſo fit a Foreſt to afford them ſhelter.* In like manner the Archbiſhop knew full well how ſmall a Progreſs he ſhould make in his Reformation, for reducing the *French* and *Dutch* to a Communion with the Church of *England*, and the Church of *England* to it ſelf, if *London* were not brought to ſome Conformity. Which City having a ſtrong influence on all parts of the Kingdom, was generally looked on as the Compaſs by which the leſſer Towns and Corpora-

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

tions were to ſteer their Courſe, the practice of it being pleaded upon all occaſions, for Veſtries, Lectures, and ſome other Innovations in the State of the Church. And to this nothing more concurred, than that the Beneficed Clergy being but meanly provided for, were forced to undertake ſome Lectures, or otherwiſe to connive at many things, contrary to their own Judgment and the Rules of the Church; in hope that gaining the good will thereby of the Chief of their Pariſhes, they might be gratified by them with Entertainments, Preſents, and ſome other helps to mend their Maintenance. The Lecturers in the mean time, as being Creatures of the People, and depending wholly on the Purſe of the wealthier Citizens, not only overtopped them in point of Power and Reputation, but generally of Profit and Revenue alſo. Not that theſe Lecturers were maintained ſo much by the Zeal and Bounty of their Patrons, as by a general Fraud, which for many years laſt paſt had been put upon the Regular Clergy; by the diminiſhing of whoſe juſt Dues in Tythes and Offerings, ſuch Lecturers and Trencher-Chaplains had been fed and cheriſhed. For the better underſtanding whereof, we are to know, That in the year 1228. *Roger Niger* Biſhop of *London.* ordained by a Synodical Conſtitution, *That the Citizens ſhould pay of every pounds Rent by the year, of all Houſes, Shops,* &c. *the Sum of* 3 s. 5 d. *as time out of mind had formerly been paid.* Which 3 *s.* 5 *d.* did ariſe from the Offerings upon every *Sunday* and thirty of the principal Holydays in the ſame year, after the Rate of one halfpeny for every twenty ſhillings Rent of their Houſes, Shops, *&c.* This Order of *Roger Niger* remaining in force till the year 1397. and the Clergy being kept to ſuch Rates for the Rents of Houſes, as at the firſt making of the ſame, it was decreed by *Thomas Arundell* then Biſhop of *Canterbury, That as the Rent increaſed, ſo the Offerings or Tythes ſhould increaſe alſo; That the ſaid Order ſhould be read in every Pariſh-Church four times in the year, and a Curſe laid upon all thoſe who ſhould not obey it.* Confirmed by Pope *Innocent* vii. and *Nicholas* v. with a *Proviſo, That the ſaid Oblations ſhould be paid according to the true yearly value of the Shops and Houſes.* It ſo remained until the twenty fifth year of *Henry* viii. at what time many of the former Holydays being abrogated by the Kings Authority, the yearly Profit of the Clergy found a great abatement; the greater, in regard of the variances which aroſe betwixt them and their Pariſhioners, about the payment of their Dues; the People taking the advantage of ſome Diſorders which the Clergy at that preſent had been brought unto, by acknowledging the King for the Supream Head of the Church of *England.* Upon this variance a Complaint is made unto the King, who refers the whole matter to *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury, Audley* Lord Chancellor, *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Winton, Cromwell* Chief *Secretary* of *Eſtate, Fitz-James* and *Norwich* Chief Juſtices of the ſeveral Benches, by whom it was concluded, *That from thenceforth* 2 s. 9 d. *only ſhould be paid out of every*

*every pound for the Rents of Houſes, Shops*, &c. And to this Order the Citizens did not only conſent, as they had good reaſon, but bound themſelves by an Act of Common Council to perform the ſame; the ſaid Decree confirmed by Act of Parliament in the twenty ſeventh, and afterwards in the thirty ſeventh of that King, with a power given to the Lord Mayor to commit to Priſon every perſon whatſoever who ſhould not pay his Tythes and Dues according to that Proportion. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

But contrary to the true intent and meaning of the ſaid Decrees, and the ſeveral Acts of Parliament which confirmed the ſame, the covetous and unconſcionable Landlords, who had the Fee-ſimple, or ſome long Leaſes at the leaſt, of ſuch ſhops and houſes, deviſed many baſe and fraudulent waies to put a cheat upon the Law, and abuſe the Clergie; reſerving ſome ſmall ſum in the name of a Rent, and covenanting for other greater Sums to be paid quarterly or half yearly in the name of Fines, Annuities, Penſions, Incomes, Intereſt money, *&c.* Finding theſe Payments ſo conditioned and agreed upon to be too viſible a cheat, ſome were ſo wiſe as to take their Fines in groſs, when they ſealed their Leaſes, ſome inconſiderable Rent being charged upon them; others ſo cunning as to have two Leaſes on foot at the ſame time, one at a low contemptible Rent to gull the Incumbent of his dues, the other with a Rent four or five times as great to keep down the Tenant; and ſome by a more cleanly kind of conveyance (reſerving a ſmall Rent as others did) cauſed their Tenants to enter into ſeveral bonds for the payment of ſo much money yearly with reference to the term which they had in their Leaſes. By which Deviſes and deceits the houſe-Rents were reduced to ſo low a value, that ſome Aldermen, who do not uſe to dwell in Sheds and Cottages, could be charged with no more than twenty ſhillings for a whole years Tythe; the Rent reſerved amounts after that proportion but to ſeven pounds yearly. The Clergie by the Alteration of Religion had loſt thoſe great advantages, which had before accrued unto them by *Obits*, *Mortuaries*, *Obventions* to the Shrines and Images of ſome ſpecial Saints, Church Lands, and perſonal Tythes according to mens honeſt gain, which laſt was thought to have amounted to more than the Tythe of houſes. Being deprived of the one, and abuſed in the other, they were forced in the ſixteenth of King *James*, *Anno* 1618. to have recourſe to the Court of Exchequer, by the Barons whereof it was declared, that according to the true intent of the ſaid Acts the Inhabitants of *London* and the Liberties thereof ought to pay the Tythe of their houſes, ſhops, *&c.* after the rate of two ſhillings nine pence in the pound proportionable to the true yearly value of the Rent thereof. In order whereunto it was then ordered by the Court, that a Shed, which had been built and made a convenient dwelling houſe, ſhould pay twenty four ſhillings nine pence yearly in the name of a Tythe, as was afterwards awarded by Sir *Henry Yelverton*, upon a reference made unto him,

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

that one *Rawlins*, who paid forty ſhillings yearly to his Landlord in the name of a Rent, and twelve pound by the name of a fine, ſhould from thenceforth pay his Tythe to the Incumbent of the Pariſh in which he dwelt, after the rate of fourteen pound yearly.

This and the like Arbitrements about that time gave them ſome hope of finding more relief from the Court of Exchequer than they could expect from the Lord Mayor; who being at the firſt made Judge in the buſineſs for the eaſe of the Clergy, carried himſelf rather like a party concerned in it than an equal Umpire. But there was no contending with the Purſe of the City; For though the proceedings of the City Landlords were declared to be unjuſt and Sacrilegious under the hands of many Biſhops, and moſt of the Heads of Houſes in both Univerſities, *Anno* 1620. yet the buſineſs going on from bad to worſe, they were neceſſitated to caſt themſelves at the feet of King *Charles*, and to petition for a remedy of theſe growing miſchiefs, which otherwiſe in ſome tract of time might become inſupportable. Which Petition being taken into conſideration by his Sacred Majeſty, he was graciouſly pleaſed to refer the ſame to the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, the Earl Marſhal, the Lord Biſhop of *London*, the Lord *Cottington*, Mr. Secretary *Windebank*, and Chief Juſtice *Richardſon*, or any five, or three of them, of which the Lord Archbiſhop to be alwaies one, requiring, and thereby authorizing to call before them all parties concerned in the buſineſs, and after a full hearing and examination thereof, to end if they could, or otherwiſe to report to his Majeſty where the Impediment lay, that ſo his Majeſty might take ſuch further order therein as in his Princely wiſdom he ſhould think moſt meet. Which reference, being made the fifteenth of *May* of this preſent year, was carried on with ſuch equality, and moderation, that the rich Landlords had no reaſon to complain of any obliquity or partiality in the conduct of it: But having been accuſtomed to feed on the Churches Bread, and to have the poor Clergie obnoxious them, they could with no patience entertain the thoughts of relinquiſhing their former dyet, or ſuffer a deſerving Clergy to enjoy their own. Nothing more feared, than that the Clergy by this means would grow too rich; They who conceived two thouſand pound of yearly Rent not enough for an Alderman, think one hundred pound *per annum* (as was affirmed by one of that number) to be too much for a Miniſter. And ſhould the Clergy once grow rich they would become more abſolute, and independent, not ſo obſequious to them as they had been formerly, and conſequently more apt to croſs them in their oppoſition or neglect of eſtabliſht Orders. And in this ſtate the buſineſs ſtood when *Juxon* the Biſhop of *London* was advanced to the Treaſurers Staff in the end of *March* 1635. which much encreaſt the hopes of the one, and the fears the other. Some of the Clergie had the hap to better their condition, and improve their Benefices by the appearing of ſo many powerful

powerful perſons in their behalf; and poſſible enough it is that ſome expedient would have been reſolved on by the Referrees to the general content of both parties (his Grace of *Canterbury* being very ſollicitous in behalf of the Clergy) if the troubles which brake out ſoon after in *Scotland*, and the preparations for the War, which enſued upon it, had not put the buſineſs to a ſtand, and perſwaded both the King and Council to an unprofitable compliance with that ſtubborn City, from which he reapt nothing in concluſion but neglect and ſcorn. So frequently have the beſt deſigns been overthrown, not ſo much by the puiſſance and might of the adverſe party, as through defect of Conſtancy and Reſolution to go through with them. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

Mention was made in the Narrative of our Archbiſhops late proceeding againſt the Congregations of the *French* and *Dutch*, of ſomewhat which was done in order to it, in the *Metropolitical* Viſitation of the Province of *Canterbury*. Concerning which we are to know, that in the beginning of the year 1634. he reſolved upon that Viſitation. And having ſome diſtruſt of *Erent* his Vicar General, he prepared one of his Confidents to be a joynt Commiſſioner with him, that he might do no hurt, if he did no good. But afterwards, being more aſſured of *Erent* than before he was, he reſolved to truſt him with himſelf, and not to fetter him with any ſuch conſtant Overſeer to attend his actings. The Articles for his Viſitation, Printed for the uſe of Churchwardens and Sides-men in their ſeveral Pariſhes, had little in them more than *ordinary*. But he had given directions to his Vicar General to enquire into the obſervation of his Majeſties Inſtructions of the year 1629. to command the ſaid Churchwardens to place the Communion Table under the Eaſtern Wall of the Chancel, where formerly the Altar ſtood; to ſet a decent Raile before it to avoid profaneneſs; and at the Raile the Communicants to receive the bleſſed Sacrament. It had been ſignified to the Archbiſhop, that a Dog in one place or other (but I remember not the name) had run away with the Bread appointed for the holy Communion; and that the Communion Wine had been brought unto the Table in many places, in Pint-pots and Bottles, and ſo diſtributed to the people. The placing of a Raile before the Table would prevent all infamies of the firſt ſort, and he hoped the Miniſters would take order to reform abuſes of the laſt. *Williams*, at that time Biſhop of *Lincoln*, had placed the Table of his own Chappel in the ſtate of an *Altar*, and furniſhed it with Plate and other coſtly Utenſils, beyond moſt others in the Kingdom. The Table ſtood in the ſame poſture in the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln*, of which he was both Biſhop and Reſidentiary; and in the *Collegiate* Church of *Weſtminſter*, whereof he was Dean. The Chancel of St. *Martins* Church in the Town of *Leiceſter* had been made a Library, which he when he was in his good humours perſwaded the people to remove, to trim and prepare the ſaid Choire with Railes and ſuch other Ornaments *Cant. Doom*, p. 92.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

ments as were fitting for it, and then to place therein their Communion Table, all which they accordingly performed. But underſtanding of the Order of the third of *November*, made by his Majeſty and the Lords of his Council in the Caſe of St. *Gregories*, he untwiſteth all this Line again. For a Certificate being preſented to him by the Vicar, Church-wardens, and ſome others of the Pariſh, *That the place where the Table ſtood before, was far more fit, by reaſon of the more capacity to receive the Communicants, and the more audibleneſs of the Miniſters voice, and the Proximity of it to the place where Morning and Evening Prayer had been appointed to be read, than the Chancel was; he gave them leave to remove the Communion Table to the place where it formerly ſtood, eſpecially at ſuch times as they received the Communion.* All which by his Letters of the nineteenth of *December* 1633. he ſignifies to *Burden*, one of *Lambs* Surrogates in the *Archdeaconry* of *Leiceſter, requiring him not to be troubleſome or moleſtfull to the ſaid parties in any thing concerning the Premiſes.* Which Letter *Burden* ſends to *Lamb*, and *Lamb* communicates to his *Grace* of *Canterbury*; who thereupon reſolves to make that Dioceſs the Scene of his firſt Viſitation.

The Dioceſs of *Lincoln* was anciently larger than it is, the Biſhoprick of *Ely* being taken out of it in the Reign of King *Henry* the Firſt, *Anno* 1109. and thoſe of *Oxon.* and *Peterborough* by King *Henry* the Eighth, *Anno* 1541. But as it is, it is the largeſt of the Kingdom, both for the quantity of ground, and the number of Pariſhes, containing in it the whole Counties of *Lincoln*, *Leiceſter*, *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, and that part of *Hertfordſhire* which belonged to the Kingdom of *Mercia*. In which Counties are contained 1255 Pariſhes divided (though not equally) between ſix Archdeacons, that is to ſay, the Archdeacons of *Lincoln*, *How*, *Leiceſter*, *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, and *Huntingdon*; each of them having his ſeveral *Commiſſaries*, and every *Commiſſary* one or more *Surrogates*, to officiate under him in times of neceſſary abſence. Within this great Dioceſs he begins, firſt laying a Suſpenſion on the Biſhop and the ſix Archdeacons, by which they were inhibited from the exerciſe of their Juriſdiction, as long as that Viſitation laſted. And after ſending out a Citation to all the Miniſters and Churchwardens of that Dioceſs, he required them to appear at certain times and places before his Vicar General and the reſt of the Commiſſioners authorized for the ſeveral Archdeaconries of the ſame. But the Biſhop was too ſtout to yield at the firſt aſſault, pretending an exemption from ſuch Viſitations by old *Papall Bulls*.. The Archbiſhop being herewith ſtartled, was not long after very well ſatisfied in that particular, by a Paper which was tendred to him, aſſerting his Metropolitan Right againſt thoſe Pretences, collected out of Hiſtories and old Records. Which being compared with the Originals, and found to contain nothing but undoubted truths, the Biſhop is commanded to appear before the Lords of the Council, where his

*Papall*

*Papal Bulls* were ſo well baited by the Archbiſhop and his Counſel, that not being able to hold any long play, they ran out of the Field, leaving the Biſhop to ſhift for himſelf as well as he could. This Bar removed, the *Vicar-General* proceeds to the Viſitation, and in all places gives command to the Church-wardens, not only to return their Preſentments, according to the Articles of the Viſitation; but to tranſpoſe the Communion Table to the Eaſt end of the Chancel, and to fence it with a decent Rail, to avoid prophaneneſs, according unto ſuch Directions as he had received from the Lord Archbiſhop. He further ſignified, That they were to take eſpecial care of certifying the names of all the *Lecturers* in their ſeveral and reſpective Pariſhes; as alſo, Whether the ſaid *Lecturers*, and all other Preaching Miniſters within that Dioceſs, did carefully obſerve his Majeſties Inſtructions publiſhed in the year 1629. Their knowledge in which Particulars, with a Certificate of their doings about the removing of the *Communion Table*, together with their Preſentments to the ſeveral Articles which were given them in charge, to be returned unto him by a time appointed. Which Charge thus given, and the Viſitation carried to another Dioceſs, he leaves the proſecution of it (as afterwards in all other places) to the care of the Biſhop. But the Biſhop having other deſigns of his own, was no ſooner diſcharged of that Suſpenſion which was laid upon him, but he reſolves to viſit his Dioceſs in perſon, to ſhew himſelf to thoſe of his Clergy, and gain the good affections of thoſe eſpecially who adhered to *Calvin* and *Geneva*: Inſomuch that meeting in the Archdeaconry of *Buckingham*, with one Doctor *Bret*, a very grave and reverend man, but one who was ſuppoſed to incline that way, he embraced him in his Epiſcopal Arms with theſe words of St. *Auguſtine*, viz. *Quamvis Epiſcopus major eſt Presbytero, Auguſtinus tamen minor eſt Hieronymo*: Intimating thereby, to the great commendation of his modeſty amongſt thoſe of that Faction, That the ſaid *Bret* was as much greater than *Williams*, as the Biſhop was above a Prieſt. And in compliance with that Party, he gave command for Railing in the Communion Table (as appears by the Extract of his Proceedings in the Archdeaconry of *Leiceſter*) not placed at the Eaſt end of the Chancel, with a Rail before it: but in the middle thereof, as it ſtood before, with a Rail about it. And by that kind of half-compliance, as he retracted nothing from his own Opinion, in his Letter to the Vicar of *Grantham*; ſo he conceived, That he had finely fruſtrated the deſign of his Metropolitan, and yet not openly proceeded againſt his Injunction.

The Viſitation thus begun, was carried on from year to year, till it had gone over all the Dioceſſes in the Province of *Canterbury*. In the proſecution whereof, the *Vicar-General* having given the Charge, and allowed time to the Church-wardens to return a Certificate of their doings in purſuance of it, the further execution of it was left to the Biſhops in their ſeveral Dioceſſes; in which it went forwards more

1635.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1635. more or leſs, as the Biſhops were of ſpirit and affection to advance the Work, either in reference to the tranſpoſing of the *Table*, or the obſervation of his Majeſties *Inſtructions* above-mentioned, which had not the leaſt place in the buſineſs of this Viſitation. *Wright* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* having given order by his Chancellor for the tranſpoſing of the Tables in moſt parts of his Dioceſs, began at laſt to caſt his eyes on the Churches of the *Holy Trinity* and St. *Michael* the *Archangel* in the City of *Coventry*; concerning which he preſcribed theſe Orders: 1. *That the Ground at the upper end of the Chancells be handſomly raiſed by three ſteps, that the Celebration of the Sacrament may be conſpicuous to all the Church.* 2. *That the Ground ſo raiſed at both Churches, the Communion-Table ſhould be removed cloſe to the Eaſt-wall of the Chancels.* 3. *That in both Churches all new Additions of Seats in the Chancels be taken away, and the Pews there reduced as near as may be to the ancient form.* But the Citizens of *Coventry* found a way to take off his edge, notwithſtanding that he had received not only his Majeſties Command, but encouragements alſo in purſuance of it (his Majeſty ſpending at the leaſt a fortnight in that Dioceſs, in the year 1636. at ſuch time as the Biſhop came to wait upon him in *Tutbury* Caſtle): For they ſo far prevailed upon him at his being in *Coventry*, that in the preſence of the Mayor and ſome others of the Fraternity, he appointed, That the Communion-Table ſhould be removed from its aſcent of three Steps, unto the Body of the Chancel, during the Adminiſtration of the Bleſſed Sacrament, commanding *Bird*, who had the Officiality of the place, not to trouble them in it. *Bird* not being well pleaſed with ſo much levity in the Biſhop, gives notice of it unto *Latham* the Biſhops Regiſter in *Lichfield*, by whom it was ſignified to *Lamb*, by *Lamb* to the Archbiſhop, and by him to the King; from whom it is to be ſuppoſed that the Biſhop could receive ſmall thanks for his diſobedience. In *Eſſex* the buſineſs met with a greater difficulty. *Aylet* Official there under the Chancellor of *London*, had cauſed many of the Communion Tables within the verge of his Juriſdiction to be tranſpoſed and railed in, and the People to come up and kneel and receive at the Rail. Oppoſed at firſt in ſome of the greater Towns, becauſe they found it otherwiſe in the Churches of *London*, whoſe example they conceived might be a ſufficient warrant for them in that particular: But much more were they moved to ſtand out againſt him, upon ſight of one of the Articles for the Metropolitical Viſitation, by which they conceived that they had leave to remove their Table at the time of Celebration, and place it as it might be moſt convenient for the Pariſhioners to come about it and receive the Sacrament. *Aylet* complains of this to *Lamb*, finding himſelf thereby under an imputation of croſſing the Article delivered by his Graces *Viſitors*, and following after his own Inventions, without any Authority. For remedy whereof, and to ſave all that he had done from returning back again to the ſame eſtate in which

which he found it, he deſires to know his Graces Pleaſure and *Lambs* Directions. More conſtantly, and with better fortune, is the buſineſs carried on by *Pierce* in his Dioceſs of *Bath* and *Wells*. No ſooner had his Majeſty ſignified his Pleaſure in the Caſe of St. *Gregories*, but he iſſueth out a Commiſſion to ſome of his Clergy, to inquire into the State of all the Pariſh Churches within that Dioceſs; and on the return of their Account, gives Order for the rectifying of ſuch things as they found amiſs, eſpecially in the poſture of the Holy Table. And that it might be ſeen, that his Commands were not only countenanced by Power, but backed by Reaſon, he prepares certain Motives and Conſiderations to perſwade Conformity; as, *viz.* 1. *That it was Ordered by the Queens* Injunctions, That the Communion Table ſhould ſtand where the Altar did. 2. *That there ſhould be ſome difference between the placing of the* Lords Table *in the Church, and the placing of a* Mans Table *in his Houſe.* 3. *That it was not fit the People ſhould ſit above Gods Table, or be above the Prieſt when he Conſecrateth.* 4. *That when the Communion Table ſtands thus, the Chancel would be the fairer, and ſo there would be more room for the Communicants.* 5. *That the Table ſtanding thus, the face of the Miniſter would be better ſeen, and his voice more audibly and diſtinctly heard, than if it ſtood upon a Level in the midſt of the Chancel.* And 6. *That it was expedient that the Daughters ſhould be like their Mother, and that the* Parochial *Churches ſhould conform themſelves in that particular to their own* Cathedrals. But that which ſeemed to be the moſt popular Argument to perſwade Obedience, was the avoiding of thoſe Prophanations which formerly the Holy Table had been ſubject to; *For ſhould it be permitted to ſtand as before it did, Church-wardens would keep their Accounts on it, Pariſhioners would diſpatch the Pariſh buſineſs at it, School-Maſters will teach their Boys to Write upon it, The Boys will lay their Hats, Sachels, and Books upon it, Many will ſit and lean irreverently againſt it in Sermon time, The Dogs would piſs upon it and defile it, and Glaſiers would knock it full of Nail-holes.* By which means he prevailed ſo far, that of 469 Pariſhes which were in that Dioceſs, 140 had conformed to his Order in it, before the end of the *Chriſtmas* Holydays in this preſent year, *Anno* 1635. without any great reluctancy in Prieſt or People. The firſt ſtrong Oppoſition which he found in the buſineſs, came from a great and populous Pariſh called *Beckington*, where *Hewiſh* Incumbent of the place, was willing of himſelf to have obeyed his Directions in it: but the Church-wardens of the Pariſh were determined otherwiſe. For this being ſent for by the Biſhop, he gave them Order by word of mouth, to remove the Table to the Eaſt end of the Chancel, and to place a decent Rail before it: Which they refuſing to perform, were cited to appear in the Biſhops Court, before *Duck* the Chancellor of that Dioceſs, on the ninth of *June*, by whom they were commanded to remove ſuch Seats as were above the Communion Table, to obey the Biſhops

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1635.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1635.

former Directions, and to return a Certificate of all that they had done therein by the ſixth of *October* then next following: and for default thereof, were on the ſame day Excommunicated by the Biſhop in perſon. But the Church-wardens being rich, well-backed, and diſaffected to the Service, appealed from their Dioceſan to the Dean of the *Arches*; at whoſe requeſt, upon ſome hope given of their Conformity, they were abſolved for a Month, and admoniſh'd to ſubmit to that which had been enjoined them. Continuing in their obſtinacy, he Excommunicates them again, and they again appeal to the Dean of the *Arches*; where finding no Relief, they preſented a Petition to the Archbiſhop, with no leſs than a hundred hands unto it, and afterwards to the King himſelf, but with like ſucceſs. *Pierce* had done nothing in that caſe, but what he had been warranted to do by their Authority, and therefore was by their Authority to be countenanced in it. There is an ancient Priviledge belonging to the Church of *England*, *That he who ſtandeth obſtinately Excommunicated for forty days, upon Certificate thereof into the Court of* Chancery, *ſhall be attached with a Writ* De excommunicato capiendo, *directed to the Sheriff, for his Apprehenſion; by him to be committed to Priſon without Bail or Mainpriſe* (as our Lawyers call it) *till he conform himſelf, and ſeek Abſolution.* By virtue of this Writ theſe obſtinate perſons were laid up in the Common Gaol, after they had remained Excommunicate above a twelvemonth; which ſhews with how great patience they had been forborn. And then at laſt, perceiving what ill counſel they had followed, and into what perplexities they had caſt themſelves, they made their ſubmiſſion to their Biſhop, by whom they were enjoined to do Penance for their Contempt, and obſtinate ſtanding out againſt the Sentence of the Court, in a form preſcribed: The Penance to be done in the great Church of *Bath*, their own Pariſh Church at *Beckington*, and in the Pariſh Church of *Frome-Selwood* the next Market-Town adjoining to it; and thereupon the Parties to be Abſolved. Which Oppoſition thus ſuppreſſed, prepared the People in moſt other places of that Dioceſs for a more ready conformity, than otherwiſe the *Dioceſan* might have found amongſt them: So true is that of the Hiſtorian, *That the Reſiſtancies of the Subject being once ſuppreſſed, add ſtrength to that Authority which they ſought to cruſh.* How he behaved himſelf in reference to his Majeſties *Inſtructions*, we ſhall ſee hereafter, when he is brought upon the ſtage on that occaſion; and we ſhall ſee hereafter alſo, how much or how little was done in order to the purpoſe of this *Viſitation*, by the reſt of the Biſhops.

Nor was there only care taken for rectifying ſuch things as were found amiſs in *Parochial* Churches: but to inquire alſo into the State and Actions of the Mother *Cathedrals*, by which all other Churches which depended on them, were to be regulated and directed. And they found work enough in many of them; eſpecially in thoſe wherein there was a want of Statutes for the Common Government.

ment. There are in *England* twenty ſix *Cathedral* or Epiſcopal Sees, of which thirteen are reckoned of the old foundation, and the other moyety of the new; thoſe of the old foundation ſuch as anciently had been founded in *Secular Canons*, as they ſtill continue. Of which ſort are the Churches of S. *Paul* in *London*, together with thoſe of *Chicheſter*, *Salisbury*, *Wells*, *Exeter*, *Lincoln*, *Lichfield*, *Hereford*, and the four *Welſh* Biſhopricks, in the Province of *Canterbury*, and none but the Metropolitical See of *York* in the other Province, all of which had their ancient Statutes, and required no alteration in them except *Hereford* only. Thoſe of the new foundation (as they commonly called them) were ſuch as had been founded on *Monaſtick* Orders, which being diſſolved by King *Henry* the Eighth, he founded them a new in a Dean and Chapter of *Secular* Prieſts, of which ſort were the Churches of *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, *Worceſter*, *Rocheſter*, *Norwich*, and the four new Biſhopricks by him founded in the Abbeys of *Oxon*. *Peterborough*, *Gloceſter*, and *Briſtol*, together with thoſe of *Durham*, *Carliſle*, and *Cheſter*, (this laſt of his foundation alſo) in the other *Province*. For each of which Churches there was made a draught of Statutes, but never perfected or confirmed; and therefore either kept or broken at the *Deans* diſcretion, as it conduced moſt to his advantage from time to time; which proved the unavoydable occaſion of many differences between the *Deans* and *Prebendaries* of thoſe ſeveral Churches; the *Deans* affecting an arbitrary and abſolute Government, and the *Prebends* looking on themſelves as Brethren, not as Subjects to him. The perfecting of theſe Statutes to ſerve as a ſtanding Rule to both for the times ſucceeding, took up much of his thoughts, and certainly he had effected it for all thoſe Churches in convenient time, if the diſturbances which hapned in *Scotland* firſt, and in *England* afterwards, had not diverted and diſabled him from that performance.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1635.

He began firſt with *Canterbury* his own *Cathedral*, where he found the Table placed at the Eaſt end of the Choire by the *Dean* and *Chapter*, and Adoration uſed toward it by their appointment; as was atteſted upon Oath by Dr. *Blechinden*, one of the *Prebends* of that Church at the time of his Trial. Which having found in ſo good order, he recommended to them the providing of *Candleſticks*, *Baſons*, *Carpet*, and other Furniture for the adorning of the *Altar*, and the more ſolemn celebrating of the bleſſed Sacrament. And that theſe things might be perpetual to ſucceeding Ages, he compoſed a new body of Statutes for the Government of that Cathedral, which was ſent thither under the Great Seal, with his own hand ſubſcribed to every leaf. In which there was this Statute amongſt the reſt, (which the *Deans*, *Prebends*, and Officers there were bound by Oath to obſerve) *That at their coming in and going out of the Choire, and all approaches to the* Altar, *they ſhould by bowing toward it, make due reverence to Almighty God.* The like he did at *Winton* alſo, in this preſent

*Cant. Doom*, p. 79.

*Summa Reverentia adorare Deum verſus Altare.*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1635. preſent year, where he required them by *Brent* his Vicar General, *to provide four Copes, to raile in the Communion Table and place it Altarwiſe, to bow towards it, and dayly to read the Epiſtles and Goſpels at it*; the ſaid Epiſtles and Goſpels to be read by none but ſuch as were in holy Orders, contrary to the late practice of that Church, where the ſaid Office was performed by their lay Vicars at the will and pleaſure of the *Dean*. To bind them to it for the preſent, certain *Injunctions* were left with them by *Brent* under the Seal of his Office. And that they might not fall again to their old confuſions, a Book of *Statutes* was compoſed alſo to the uſe of that Church, for the rectifying of ſuch diſorders as had grown therein under the Government of *Abbot*, *Morton*, and *Young* the preſent *Dean* thereof a *Scot* by Nation, and one that never rightly underſtood the Conſtitution of the Church of *England*. The like *Injunctions* given by *Brent* to the Church of *Chicheſter*, to provide Copes by one a year for Gods publick Service, till they were ſufficiently furniſhed with them; with the like Adorations toward the Communion Table, as before at *Wincheſter*. The Statutes of *Hereford* being imperfect, he cauſed to be caſt in a new mold, and ſent them thither under the Broad Seal for their future Reglement to be there ſworn to and obſerved. In which it was required, Firſt, *That every* Reſidentiary *ſhould officiate twice every year under the pain of paying forty ſhillings to be laid out on Ornaments of the Church.* Secondly, *That they ſhould officiate on Sundaies and Holidaies in their Copes.* Thirdly, *That they ſhould ſtand up at the Creeds and Goſpel, and* Doxologies, *and to bow ſo often as the name of* Jeſus *was mentioned, and that no man ſhould be covered in the Church.* Fourthly, *That every one ſhould bow toward the Altar.* Fifthly, *That the Prayer afore their Sermons ſhould be made according to the* 55 *Canon, which as it ſhews to what diſorders they were grown in point of practice, and how they had deviated from the Rules of the Church; ſo may it ſerve to verifie that old Obſervation,* (*l*) "That ma- "ny times corrupt Manners and evill Cuſtoms do beget good Laws. At *Worceſter Manwaring*, who ſucceeded *Juxon* in that *Deanry*, prevented *Brent*, and acted many things of himſelf without any *Injunction*; For having erected a fair Table of Marble, ſtanding on four well-faſhioned Columns, he covered the Wall behind the ſame with Hangings of Azure-coloured Stuff, having a white ſilk Lace upon every Seam, and furniſhed it with Palls and Fronts, as he had obſerved in his Majeſties and ſome Biſhops Chappels; and ordered the Kings Scholars, being forty in number, who formerly uſed to throng tumultuouſly into the Choire, to go in Rank, by two and two, and make their due obeiſances at their coming in. Such Copes as belonged anciently to that Church, which had been lent many times unto common *Actors*, or otherwiſe Sacrilegiouſly profaned, he cauſed to be burned, the Silver extracted out, and laid up in the Treaſury, toward the buying of new ones, as more money came in.

*Ibid.* p. 89.

(*l*) *Ex malis moribus bonæ naſcuntur leges.* Adag.

In

In many other Churches the *Deans* and *Prebends* had been contented to put that money into their Purſes, which might better have been expended on ſome publick Ornaments. And that he might proceed to a Reformation on the better grounds, he took order to be furniſhed with a juſt account of their preſent condition, what Veſtments, and Utenſils they had, and what they wanted. From *Lincoln* it was certified, *That the Communion Table was not very decent, and the Raile before it worſe; that the Organs were old and naught, and that the Copes and Veſtments were imbezeled, and none remained.* From *Norwich*, *That the Hangings of the Choires were old, and the Copes fair, but wanted mending.* From *Gloceſter*, *That there wanted Copes, and that many things were grown amiſs ſince he left that* Deanry. From *Lichfield*, *That the Furniture of the Altar was very mean, care therefore to be taken in it for more coſtly Ornaments.* The like account from other places, which drew on by degrees ſuch Reformation in Cathedral Churches that they recovered once again their ancient ſplendour, and ſerved for an example to the Pariſh Churches which related to them. Nor did the Archbiſhop ſtand alone in point of judgment as to theſe particulars. He had therein the teſtimony and aſſent of two ſuch Biſhops then which there could be none more averſe from Popery, or any thing that tended to it. A difference hapning between the Miniſter and Church-wardens in a Pariſh of *Wilts*, about the placing of the Table, which the Miniſter deſired to tranſpoſe to the end of the Chancell, and the Church-wardens to keep it as it ſtood before, the buſineſs was referred to *Davenant*, then Biſhop of *Salisbury*, who on a full conſideration of the matter, declared in favour of the *Incumbent*, and by a Decree under his Epiſcopal Seal ſettled the Table in the place where the Altar ſtood, as the Miniſter deſired to have it. In which Decree there are theſe two paſſages to be obſerved; Firſt, *That by the Injunction of Queen* Elizabeth, *and by Canon* 32 *under King* James, *the Communion-Tables ſhould ordinarily be ſet and ſtand with the ſide to the Eaſt Wall of the Chancel.* And ſecondly, *That it is ignorance to think that the ſtanding of the holy Table in that place doth reliſh of Popery.* This for the placing of the Table. And then as for the bowing and adoring toward it, we have this Authority from the Pen of *Morton*, then Biſhop of *Durham*, in a Book by him written of the *Romiſh Sacrifice*. "The like difference (ſaith he) may be diſcerned be-
"tween their manner of Reverence in *bowing* towards the *Altar* for
"adoration of the *Euchariſt* only, and ours in *bowing* as well when
"there is no *Euchariſt* on the Table as when there is, which is not
"to the Table of the Lord, but to the Lord of the Table, to teſtifie
"the Communion of all the faithful Communicants therewith,
"even as the people of God did in adoring him before the *Arke his*
"*footſtoole*, Pſalm 99. And here we alſo may obſerve, that though *Davenant* made not his Decree till the ſeventeenth of *May* 1637. when the buſineſs of the Table had been ſettled in moſt parts of

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1635.

*Ibid.* p. 81.

Archb. Sp. *June* 16. 1637.

the

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1635.

the Kingdom, yet *Mortons* book came out this year, *Anno* 1635. at the first breaking out of those oppositions which were made against it.

Yet did not the Archbishop think he had done sufficiently if he should leave the case to be ruled only by Injunctions and Decrees, unless he added vigour to them by his own example. When he was Bishop of S. *Davids*, he built a new Chappel to his House of *Abergwilly*, and furnished both the Chappel and the Altar in it with *Hangings*, *Palls*, *Fronts*, *Plate*, and other Utensils, to a very great value. According unto which beginning he continued till the end of his Race. When he came first to *Lambeth*-house, where he found the *Chappel lye so nastily*, (as his own words are) the Windows so defaced, and all things in it so disordered, *that he was much ashamed to see it, and could not resort unto it without disdain*; the Images in the Windows being broken in many places, and most deformedly patcht up with ordinary Glass, he caused to be repaired, and beautified according to their former Figure, his Glasiers Bill amounting to no less than 148 *li.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* With like care, but with far less Charges, he repaired the ruined Windows in the Chappel of his house in *Croyden*, where he spent the greatest part of his Summers, and whither he retired at other times for his ease and privacy. And as for the Communion Table, which he found standing in the middle of the Chappel, a very sorry one in it self, he ordered it to be removed to some other Room, and caused a new one to be made, placed where the Altar sometimes stood, shadowed over-head with a very fair Frieze, and fenced with a decent and costly Raile, the guilding of the one, and the curious workmanship of the other, together with the Table it self, amounting to 33 pounds, and upwards; *Copes*, *Altar-cloaths*, *Plate*, and other necessaries which belonged to the adorning of it he had been Master of before in his other Chappels, and therefore was it the less charge in compleating this. He put himself to some cost also in repairing and beautifying the Organs, which he found very much out of tune, and made great use of them in the celebrating of Divine Service on Sundaies and Holidaies, when his leisure could permit him to be present at it; some Gentlemen of his Majesties Chappel assisting many times to make up the Consort when the solemnity required it. According unto which example of their Lord, and Chancellor, the principal Colledges in *Oxon.* beautified their Chappels, transposed their Tables, fenced them with Railes, and furnished them with Hangings, Palls, Plate, and all other necessaries. Yet neither his own Example, nor the Authority of the said two Bishops, nor practice of the Deans and Chapters in so many Churches, or the Governours of those principal Colledges, so stopt the mouths of divers railing *Rabshakehs* of the *Puritan* Faction, as not to spit their venome and reproaches on them. Witness for all, that scurrilous passage of *H. B.* in his seditious Sermon, called, *For God and the King*; *How then* (saith he) *will our new*

*Cant. Doom*, p. 462.

p. 66.

p. 163.

*new Maſters, our Innovators, make good the bringing in of theſe things afreſh into Cathedrals, and forcing all petty Churches to conform thereunto? Would the Prelates thus make the Mother Cathedrals (thus by themſelves made and adopted* Romes *daughters) their Concubines, whereon to beget a new baſtard Generation of ſacrificing, idolatrous, Maſs-Prieſts throughout the Land, which our good Laws, and all our learned and pious Divines have proclaimed illegitimate?* So he. More of this foul ſtuff might be found elſewhere, but that I hate the raking in ſuch dirty puddles.

The buſineſs of the Table going on in ſo good a way, that of the Declaration about Lawful Sports ſeemed to be at a ſtand. Such Miniſters as had readily obeyed the Mandates, and publiſhed the ſeveral Orders of the ſecular Judges in their ſeveral Churches, did obſtinately refuſe the publiſhing of this Declaration, when required to do it by their Biſhops; and that they might not be thought to ſtand out againſt them without ſome good ground, they alledged ſome reaſons for themſelves, which when they came to be examined, had no reaſon in them. Firſt, they alledged, That there was no expreſs order in the Declaration, that the Miniſter of the Pariſh ſhould be preſt to the publiſhing of it. But then withall they ſhould conſider, that the Biſhops were commanded to take order for the publiſhing of it in their ſeveral Pariſhes; and whom could they require to publiſh it in the Pariſh Churches but the Miniſters only? Bound to them by an Oath of *Canonical obedience* at their admiſſion to their Cures. So that the Biſhops did no more than they were commanded in laying the publication of this *Declaration* on the back of the Miniſters; and the Miniſters by doing leſs than they were commanded infringed the Oath which they had taken, rendring themſelves thereby obnoxious to all ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures as the Biſhops ſhould inflict upon them. It was alledged ſecondly, That the publiſhing of this Declaration was a work more proper for the Conſtable or Tything-man, or the Church-wardens at the leaſt, than it was for the Miniſters: But then it was to be conſidered, that the *Conſtable* or *Tything-man* were Lay-officers meerly, bound by the Law to execute the Warrants of the Judges and Juſtices, but not the Mandates of the Biſhops, ſo far from being *Proper Inſtruments* in ſuch a buſineſs, that none of the Judges thought it fit to command their Service in publiſhing their Orders againſt *Ales* and *Revels*. And though the Church-wardens had ſome relation to Church-matters, and conſequently to the Biſhop in the way of Preſentments; yet was he not bound to execute any ſuch Commands, becauſe not tyed by an Oath of Canonical obedience, as the Miniſters were. Or were it otherwiſe, yet doth it happen many times in Country Villages, that the Church-wardens cannot read, and therefore not to be imployed in publiſhing ſuch Declarations, which require a more knowing man than a ſilly Villager. And laſt of all it was alledged, that the Miniſters of all others

were

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1635.

were moſt unfit to hold the Candle for lighting and letting in ſuch a courſe of licenciouſneſs, as was indulged on the Lords day, by the ſaid Declaration. But then it was to have been proved, that any of the Sports allowed of in it, might have been brought within the compaſs of ſuch Licentiouſneſs, which neither the Word of God, nor the Canons of the Chriſtian Church, nor any Statutes of the Realm had before forbidden. Or had it been as they pretended, that the Command was contrary to the Law of God, and could not be obeyed with a ſafe conſcience; yet this was only a pretence, their reading of the Book being no more an argument of their approbation of any thing therein contained, than when a common Crier reads a Proclamation, the Contents whereof perhaps he likes not.

The Buſineſs being at this ſtand, it was thought fit that the Biſhops ſhould firſt deal with the Refuſers in a Fatherly and gentle way, but adding menaces ſometimes to their perſwaſions if they ſaw cauſe for it; and that in the mean ſeaſon ſome diſcourſes ſhould be writ and publiſhed to bring them to a right underſtanding of the truth, and their ſeveral duties: which burden being held of too great weight for any one to undergo, and the neceſſity of the work requiring a quick diſpatch, it was held fit to divide the imployment betwixt two. The Argumentative and Scholaſticall part referred to the right learned Dr. *White*, then Biſhop of *Ely*, who had given good proof of his ability in Polemical matters in ſeveral Books and Diſputations againſt the Papiſts. The Practical and Hiſtorical, by *Heylyn* of *Weſtminſter*, who had gained ſome reputation for his Studies in the ancient Writers by *Aſſerting* the Hiſtory of S. *George*, maliciouſly impugned by thoſe of the *Calvinian* Party upon all occaſions. Both of them, being enjoyned their tasks, were required to be ready for the Preſs againſt *Michaelmas* Term; at the end whereof both books came out, The Biſhops under the Title of *A Treatiſe of the Sabbath day, containing a defence of the Orthodoxal Doctrine of the Church of* England *againſt Sabbatarian Novelty*, The other called, *The Hiſtory of the Sabbath*, was divided into two Books or Parts; The firſt whereof began with the Creation of the World, and carried on the Story till the deſtruction of the Temple; The ſecond, beginning with our Saviour Chriſt and his Apoſtles, was drawn down to the year 1633. when the publiſhing of this Declaration was required. But going different waies to work they did not both encounter the like ſucceſs. The Biſhops Book had not been extant very long, when an Anſwer was returned unto it by *Eyſield* of *Surrey*, which Anſwer occaſioned a *Reply*, and that *Reply* begat a *Rejoynder*. To *Heylyns* Book there was no Anſwer made at all, whether becauſe unanſwerable, or not worth the Anſwering, is to me unknown. And though it is not to be doubted, but that the Arguments of the one, and the Authorities of the other, prevailed with ſome to lay aſide their former obſtinacy and averſeneſs; yet did there ſtill remain

remain too many, who ſtopp'd their ears, like the *deaf Adder* in the *Pſalmiſt, and would not hear the voice of the Charmers, charmed they never ſo ſweetly.* By which it did appear too plainly, That there was ſome *Aſſociation* had and made amongſt them, to ſtand it out to the laſt, and put ſome baffle or affront upon their Superiors, by whoſe Command the reading of the Book was impoſed upon them. And thereupon it was reſolved, That the Biſhops in their ſeveral Dioceſſes ſhould go to work more roundly with them, and either bring them to Conformity, if it might be done; or otherwiſe, to proceed againſt them by *Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures.* LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1635.

But whilſt theſe things were acting on the Stage of *England*, the Biſhops of *Scotland* were as active in drawing of a Book of *Canons*, and framing a Publick *Liturgie* for the uſe of that Church. Both Undertakings warranted by the Act of a *General Aſſembly* held at *Aberdeen*, *Anno* 1616. and the one brought to a good forwardneſs before the death of King *James*: But being diſcontinued by the Accidents and Debates before-remembred, it pleaſed his Majeſty at the laſt to yield unto the importunity of the *Scottiſh* Biſhops, in having a *Liturgie* of their *own*, differing in ſome things from that of the Church of *England*, to ſhew the independency and ſelf-ſubſiſtence of their *Kirk*; but agreeing with it in the main, to teſtifie the Conformity between the Churches: Which being thus condeſcended to, they were ordered to proceed with all ſpeed and diligence, which they did accordingly. But the *Canons* being the ſhorter work, were firſt brought to an end; for the compiling whereof, his Majeſty gives theſe Reaſons in his large Declaration. Firſt, *That he held it but exceeding neceſſary, that there ſhould be ſome Book extant to contain the Rules of the Eccleſiaſtical Government; ſo that as well the Clergy as the Laity might have one certain ſtanding Rule, to regulate the Power of the one, the Obedience and Practiſe of the other.* Secondly, *That the Acts of General Aſſemblies were Written only, and not Printed; and therefore could not come to the knowledge of many: So large and voluminous, that it was not eaſie to Tranſcribe them, inſomuch that few of the Presbyters themſelves could tell which of them were authentical, which not: So unſafely and uncertainly kept, that they knew not where to addreſs themſelves for conſulting with them: That by reducing thoſe numerous Act, (and thoſe not known unto themſelves) to ſuch a paucity of Canons, publiſhed and expoſed to the publick view, no man ſhould be inſnared by ignorance, or have juſt reaſon to complain of their multiplicity.* And finally, *That not one in all that Kingdom did either live under the Obedience of the Acts of thoſe* General Aſſemblies, *or did know what they were, or where to find them.* Upon which grounds, the Book of *Canons* being drawn up and preſented to him, he gave a Warrant under his Hand to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, requiring him, together with the Biſhop of *London*, to peruſe the ſame, to ſee that they were well fitted to the Church-Government, and as near as conveniently might be to the *Canons* of

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1635.

the Church of *England*; giving them, and either of them full power to alter any thing in the ſaid *Canons*, as they found moſt fitting. Which being done as he commanded, and the Book made ready for the Preſs, he paſs'd his Royal Confirmation of it, under the Great Seal of the Kingdom, in this manner following.

## CHARLES REX.

*WE out of Our Royal Care for the Maintenance of the preſent Eſtate and Government of the Church of* Scotland, *have diligently and with great content conſidered all the* Canons *and* Conſtitutions *after following; and finding the ſame ſuch as We are perſwaded will be profitable, not only to our whole Clergy, but to the whole Church of that our Kingdom, if ſo they be well obſerved, Have for Us, Our Heirs, and Lawful Succeſſors, of Our eſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, given, and by theſe preſents do give Our Royal Aſſent unto all the ſaid* Canons, Orders *and* Conſtitutions, *and to all and every thing in them contained, as they are afterwards ſet down.*

*And further, We do not only by Our Prerogative Royal, and Supreme Authority in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, Ratifie and Confirm by theſe Our* Letters Patents *the ſaid* Canons, Orders *and* Conſtitutions, *and all and every thing in them contained: But likewiſe We command by Our Authority Royal, and by theſe* Letters Patents, *the ſame to be diligently obſerved and executed by all Our Loving Subjects of that Our Kingdom, both within the Province of* St. Andrews *and* Glaſcow; *in all points wherein they do or may concern every or any of them, according to this Our Will and Pleaſure hereby expreſſed and declared. And for the better obſervation of them, We ſtraightly Charge and Command all Our Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all others that exerciſe any Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction within that Our Realm, to ſee the ſame* Canons, Orders *and* Conſtitutions *to be in all points duly obſerved; not ſparing to execute the Penalties in them ſeverally mentioned, upon any that ſhall willingly break or neglect to obſerve the ſame, as they tender the Honour of God, the Peace of the Church, the Tranquility of the Kingdom, and their Service and Duty to Us their King and Sovereign.*

Given at Our Mannor of *Greenwich*, 23 *May* 1635.

Theſe *Canons* when they came abroad, were preſently quarrelled and diſclaimed by the *Scottiſh Presbyters*: Quarrelled in reference to the ſubject matter comprehended in them: Diſclaimed, becauſe impoſed upon them without their own approbation and conſent. The points moſt quarrelled at, were theſe. 1. *That whoſoever ſhould affirm, That the Kings Majeſty had not the ſame Authority in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, that the Godly Kings had among the* Jews, *or the Chriſtian Emperors in the Primitive Church; or impugn in any part his Royal Supremacy*

*premacy in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, was to incur the Cenſure of Excommunication.* 2. *The like Cenſure to be inflicted on thoſe who ſhould affirm, That the worſhip contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments* (though at the making of theſe *Canons* there was no ſuch Book of Common Prayer recommended to them); *or, That the Government of the Church by Archbiſhops and Biſhops, or the form of Making and Conſecrating Archbiſhops and Biſhops,* &c. *did contain any thing repugnant to the Scriptures, or was corrupt, ſuperſtitious, or unlawful in the Service and Worſhip of God.* 3. *That the Ordinations were reſtrained to four times in the year; that is, the firſt Weeks of* March, June, September, *and* December. 4. *That every Eccleſiaſtical Perſon at his Admiſſion ſhould take the Oath of Supremacy, according to the form required by Parliament; and the like Oath for avoiding* Symonie, *required in the Book of Conſecration.* 5. *That every* Presbyter *ſhall either by himſelf, or by another Perſon lawfully called, read or cauſe Divine Service to be done, according to the form of the Book of that Common Prayer, before all Sermons; and that he ſhould Officiate by the ſaid Book of Common Prayer, in all the Offices, Parts and Rubricks of it* (when as yet none of them had ſeen the ſaid Book or Liturgie). 6. *That no Preacher ſhould impugn the Doctrine delivered by another in the ſame Church, or any neer adjoining to it, without leave from the Biſhop*; which they conceived to be the way to pin their whole Religion on the Biſhops Sleeves. 7. *That no* Presbyter *ſhould hereafter become Surety or Cautioner for any Perſon whoſoever, in Civil Bonds and Contracts, under pain of Suſpenſion.* 8. *That whatſoever remained of the Bread and Wine prepared for the Communion, ſhould be diſtributed to the poorer ſort which receive that day, to be eaten and drunken of them before they go out of the Church.* 9. *That* Presbyters *are enjoined to Miniſter the Sacrament of Baptiſm in private Houſes, and upon every day alike, in caſe of infirmity; and that the People were required not to receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper but upon their knees.* 10. *That in all Sentences of Separation* a Thoro & Menſa, *there ſhall be a Caution inſerted* (*and given accordingly*) *That the Perſons ſo ſeparated ſhould live continently and chaſtly, and not contract Marriage with any Perſon, during each others life* (which ſeemed to put the innocent Party into as bad a condition as the guilty, contrary to the Judgment of the Reformed Churches). 11. *That no private Meeting be kept by* Presbyters, *or any other Perſons whatſoever, for expounding Scripture, or for conſulting upon matters Eccleſiaſtical: Such matters to be handled only in the Lawful* Synods *held by Biſhops.* 12. *That under pain of Excommunication, no* Presbyter *or* Layman, *jointly or ſeverally, make Rules, Orders, or Conſtitutions in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; or to add or detract from any Rubricks or Articles, or other things now eſtabliſhed, without the Authority of the King or his Succeſſors.* 13. *That National or General Aſſemblies were to be called only by the Kings Authority; That the Decrees thereof ſhould bind as well the Abſent as the Preſent in Matters Eccleſiaſtical;*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1635.

*ſtaſtical; and, That it ſhould not be lawful for the Biſhops themſelves, in ſuch* Aſſemblies, *or otherwiſe, to alter any Articles, Rubrick, Canon Doctrinal or Diſciplinary whatſoever, without his Majeſties leave firſt had and obtained.* 14. *That no man ſhould cover his Head in time of Divine Service, except with a Cap or Night-coife in caſe of infirmity; and that all Perſons ſhould reverently kneel when the Confeſſion and other Prayers were read, and ſhould ſtand up at the ſaying of the Creed.* 15. *That no* Presbyter *or Reader be permitted to conceive Prayers* ex tempore, *or uſe any other form in the Publick* Liturgie *or Service, than is preſcribed, under the pain of Deprivation from his Benefice or Cure.* 16. *That by this Prohibition the* Presbyters *ſeemed to be debarred from uſing their own Prayers before their Sermons, by reaſon that in* c. 3. num. 13. *it is required, That all* Presbyters *and Preachers ſhould move the People to join with them in Prayer, uſing ſome few and convenient words, and ſhould always conclude with the Lords Prayer (which in effect was to bind them to the form of bidding Prayer, preſcribed in the* 55*th. Canon of the Church of* England). 17. *That no man ſhould Teach either in Publick School or Private Houſe, but ſuch as ſhall be allowed by the Archbiſhop of the Province, or Biſhop of the Dioceſs, under their Hand and Seal; and thoſe to Licence none but ſuch as were of good Religion, and obedient to the Orders of the Church.* 18. *That none ſhould be admitted to read in any Colledge or School, except they take firſt the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy.* 19. *That nothing be hereafter Imprinted, except the ſame be ſeen and allowed by the Viſitors appointed to that purpoſe; the Penalty thereof (as in all like Caſes in which no Penalty is expreſſed) being left to the diſcretion of the Biſhops.* 20. *That no Publick Faſt ſhould be appointed upon* Sundays *(as had been formerly accuſtomed) but on the Week-days only; and them to be appointed by none but His Majeſty.* 21. *That for the Miniſtring of the Sacrament of Baptiſm, a Font ſhould be prepared, and placed ſomewhat near the entry of the Church, as anciently it uſed to be, with a Cloth of fine Linnen, which ſhall likewiſe be kept all neatly.* 22. *That a comely and decent Table for Celebrating the Holy Communion ſhould be provided, and placed at the upper end of the Chancel or Church, to be covered at the times of Divine Service with a Carpet of decent Stuff, and at the time of Miniſtration with a white Linnen Cloth; And that Baſons, Cups, or Chalices of ſome pure Metal ſhall be provided, to be ſet upon the Communion Table, and reſerved to that only uſe.* 23. *That ſuch Biſhops and Presbyters as ſhall depart this life, having no Children, ſhall leave their Goods or a great part of them to the Church and Holy Uſes; and that notwithſtanding their having Children, they ſhould leave ſome Teſtimony of their love to the Church and advancement of Religion.* 24. *That no Sentence of Excommunication ſhould be pronounc'd, or Abſolution given by any Presbyter, without the leave and approbation of the Biſhop: And no Presbyter ſhould reveal or make known what had been opened to him in Confeſſion, at any time, or to any Perſon whatſoever, except the Crime be ſuch as by the Laws of the Realm*

*Realm his own Life may be called in queſtion for concealing the ſame.* LIB. IV.
25. *And finally, That no Perſon ſhould be received into Holy Orders,* *Anno Dom.*
*nor ſuffered to Preach, Catechiſe, Miniſter the Sacraments, or any other* 1635.
*Eccleſiaſtical Function, unleſs he firſt ſubſcribe to be obedient to theſe preſent Canons, Ratified and Approved by his Majeſties Royal Warrant, and Ordained to be obſerved by the Clergy, and all others whom they concern.*

Theſe were the matters chiefly quarrelled in this Book of *Canons*, viſibly tending (as they would make the World believe) to ſubject that Kirk unto the Power of the King; the Clergy to the command of their Biſhops; the whole Nation, to the Diſcipline of a Foreign Church; and all together by degrees, to the Idolatries and Tyrannies of the Pope of *Rome*. But juſter cauſe they ſeemed to have for diſclaiming the ſaid Book of *Canons*, becauſe not made nor impoſed upon them by their own approbation and conſent, contrary to the uſage of the Church in all Times and Ages. Had his Majeſty impoſed theſe Orders on them by the name of *Injunctions*, according to the example of King *Henry* viii. *Anno* 1536. of King *Edward* vi. *Anno* 1547. and of Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1559. he might perhaps have juſtified himſelf by that Supremacy which had been veſted in him by the Laws of that Kingdom; which ſeems to have been the Judgment of King *James* in this very caſe. At his laſt being in *Scotland*, *Anno* 1617. he had prepared an Article to be paſſed in Parliament to this effect, *viz. That whatſoever his Majeſty ſhould determine in the External Government of the Church, with the advice of the Archbiſhop, Biſhops, and a competent number of the Miniſtry, ſhould have the ſtrength of a Law.* But underſtanding that a Proteſtation was prepared againſt it by ſome of the moſt Rigid *Presbyterians*, he commanded *Hay* the Clerk or Regiſter, to paſs by that Article, as a thing no way neceſſary; the Prerogative of his Crown giving him more Authority than was declared or deſired by it. But as for Canons and Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſtical, if they concerned the whole Church, they were to be adviſed and framed by Biſhops, and other Learned men, aſſembled in a General Council, and teſtified by the Subſcription of ſuch Biſhops as were then aſſembled. Or if they did relate only unto National Churches, or particular Provinces, they were to be concluded and agreed upon by the Biſhops and Clergy; that is to ſay, ſo many of the Clergy as are choſen and impowered by all the reſt for that end and purpoſe, aſſembled in a National or Provincial *Synod*. No Canons nor Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſtical to be otherwiſe made; or if made otherwiſe, not to bind, without a voluntary and free ſubmiſſion of all Parties to them. And though it could not be denied, but that all Chriſtian Emperours, Kings, and Princes reſerved a Power unto themſelves of Ratifying and Confirming all ſuch Conſtitutions as by the Biſhops and Clergy were agreed on; yet ſtill the ſaid Canons and Conſtitutions were firſt agreed on by the Biſhops and Clergy, before they were tendred to the Sovereign Prince for

*Hiſtory of* Scot. Sport. 531.

533.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1635.

for his Ratification. The *Scottiſh Presbyters* had formerly diſclaimed the Kings Authority either in calling their *Aſſemblies*, or confirming the Reſults and Acts thereof; which they conceived to be good and valid of themſelves without any additional power of his to add ſtrength unto them. And therefore now they muſt needs think themſelves reduced to a very great vaſſalage in having a body of Canons ſo impoſed upon them, to the making whereof they were never called, and to the paſſing whereof they had never voted. But as they had broke the Rules of the Primitive Church in acting Soveraignty of themſelves without requiring the Kings approbation and conſent in the times foregoing; ſo were they now upon the point of having thoſe old Rules broken on them by the King, in making Canons, and putting Laws and Orders on them for their future Government, to which they never had conſented. And therefore though his Majeſty had taken ſo much care (as himſelf obſerved) for facilitating and conveniencing their obedience, by furthering their knowledge in thoſe points which before they knew not; yet they did generally behold it, and exclaimed againſt it, as one of the moſt grievous burthens that ever had been laid upon them.

*Bibl. Regia* p. 120.

More clamour, but on weaker grounds, was made againſt the Book of Common Prayer when it firſt came out, which was not till the year 1637. and then we ſhall hear further of it. Mean while we will return to *England*, and ſee what our Archbiſhop doth, as a chief Counſellor and States-man in his Civil Actings. It was about four or five years ſince, *Anno* 1631, that he firſt diſcovered how ill his Majeſties Treaſury had been managed between ſome principal Officers of his Revenue, to the enriching of themſelves, to the impoveriſhing of their Maſter, and the no ſmall amazement of all good Subjects. But the abuſes being too great to be long concealed, his Majeſty is made acquainted with all particulars, who thereupon did much eſtrange his countenance from the principal of them.

For which good ſervice to the King none was ſo much ſuſpected by them as the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, againſt whom they began to practiſe, endeavouring all they could to remove him from his Majeſties ear, or at the leaſt to leſſen the eſteem and reputation which his fidelity and upright dealing had procured of him. Factions are heightned in the Court. Private ends followed to the prejudice of Publick Service, and every mouth talkt openly againſt his proceedings. But ſtill he kept his ground, and prevailed at laſt, appointed by his Majeſty on the fifth of *February* 1634. to be one of the great Committee for Trade and the Kings Revenue; and ſeeing *Weſtons* Glories ſet under a cloud, within few weeks after, *Weſton* being dead, it pleaſed his Majeſty to commit the managing of the Treaſury by Letters Patents under the Broad Seal, bearing date on the fourteenth day of *March*, to the Lord Archbiſhop, *Cottington* Chancellor of the Exchequer, *Cooke* and *Windebank*, principal Secretaries,

cretaries, and certain others; who with no ſmall envy looked upon him as if he had been ſet over them for a Superviſor. Within two daies after his being nominated for this Commiſſion, his Majeſty brought him alſo into the Foreign Committee, which rendred him as conſiderable abroad as he was at home. This as it added to his power, ſo it encreaſed the ſtomach which was borne againſt him. The year 1635. was but new began, when claſhing began to grow between him and *Cottington* about executing the Commiſſion for the Treaſury. And that his grief and trouble might be the greater, his old Friend *Windebank*, who had received his preferment from him, forſook him in the open field, and joyned himſelf with *Cottington* and the reſt of that Party. This could not chuſe but put him to the exerciſe of a great deal of Patience, conſidering how neceſſary a friend he had loſt, in whoſe boſome he had lodged a great part of his Counſels, and on whoſe Activity he relied for the carrying on of his deſigns at the Council Table. But for all this he carries on the Commiſſion the whole year about, acquaints himſelf with the Myſteries and ſecrets of it, the honeſt advantages which the Lord Treaſurers had for enriching themſelves (to the value of ſeven thouſand pound a year and upwards, as I have heard from his own mouth) without defrauding the King, or abuſing the Subject. He had obſerved, that divers Treaſurers of late years had raiſed themſelves from very mean and private Fortunes to the Titles and Eſtates of Earls, which he conceived could not be done without wrong to both; and therefore he reſolves to commend ſuch a man to his Majeſty for the next Lord Treaſurer, who having no Family to raiſe, no Wife and Children to provide for, might better manage the Incomes of the *Treaſury* to the Kings advantage than they had been formerly. And who more like to come into his eye for that preferment than *Juxon*, his old and truſty Friend, then Biſhop of *London*; a man of ſuch a well tempered diſpoſition as gave exceeding great content both to Prince and People, and one whom he knew capable of as much inſtruction as by a whole years experience in the Commiſſion for the Treaſury he was able to give him.

It was much wondred at, when firſt the Staff was put into this mans hand; in doing whereof the Archbiſhop was generally conceived neither to have conſulted his own preſent peace, nor his future ſafety. Had he ſtudied his own preſent peace, he ſhould have given *Cottington* leave to put in for it, who being Chancellor of the Exchequer pretended himſelf to be the next in that *Aſcendent*, the Lord Treaſurers Aſſociate while he lived, and the preſumptive heir to that office after his deceaſe. And had he ſtudied his own ſafety and preſervation for the times to come, he might have made uſe of the power by recommending the Staff to the Earles of *Bedford*, *Hartford*, *Eſſex*, the Lord *Say*, or ſome ſuch man of Popular Nobility; by whom he might have been reciprocated by their ſtrength and intereſs with the People in the change of times. But he preferred his

Majeſties

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1635.

Majesties Advantages before his particular concernments, the safety of the Publick before his own. Nor did he want some seasonable considerations in it for the good of the Church. The peace and quiet of the Church depended much on the conformity of the City of *London*, and *London* did as much depend in their trade and payments upon the Love and Justice of the Lord *Treasurer* of *England*. This therefore was the more likely way to conform the Citizens to the directions of their Bishop, and the whole Kingdom unto them; No small encouragement being thereby given to the *London* Clergy for the improving of their Tythes. For with what confidence could any of the old Cheats adventure on a publick Examination in the Court of Exchequer (the proper Court for suits and grievances of that nature) when a Lord Bishop of *London* sate therein as the principal Judge? Upon these Counsels he proceeds, and obtains the Staff, which was delivered to the Bishop of *London* on Sunday *March* 6. sworn on the same day Privy Counsellor, and on the first of the next Term conducted in great state from *London* House to *Westminster* Hall, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* riding by him, and most of the Lords and Bishops about the Town, with many Gentlemen of chief note and quality, following by two and two to make up the Pomp. It was much feared by some, and hoped by others, that the new *Treasurer* would have sunk under the burden of that place, as *Williams* did under the custody of the Seal: but he deceived them both in that expectation, carrying himself with such an even and steady hand, that every one applauded, but none envied his preferment to it; insomuch as the then Lord *Faulkland*, in a bitter Speech against the Bishops about the beginning of the Long Parliament, could not chuse but give him this faire Testimony, *viz. That in an unexpected place and power he expressed an equal moderation and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, either of the* Crozier *or* White Staff.

The Queen about these times began to grow into a greater prevalency over his Majesties Affections than formerly she had made shew of: But being too wise to make any open alteration of the conduct of affairs, she thought it best to take the Archbishop into such of her Counsels as might by him be carried on to her contentment, and with no dishonour to himself, of which he gives this intimation in the *Breviate* (a) on the thirtieth of *August* 1634. *viz. That the Queen sent for him to* Oatlands, *and gave him thanks for a business which she had trusted him withall, promising him to be his Friend, and that he should have immediate access to her when he had occasion.* This seconded with the like intimation, given us *May* 18. 1635. of which he writes, that having brought his account to the Queen on *May* 18. *Whitsunday*, the Court then at *Greenwich*, it was put off till the Sunday after, at which time he presented it to her, and received from her an assurance of all that was desired by him. *Panzani's* coming unto *London* in the *Christmas* holydaies makes it not improbable

(a) p. 19.

bable that the facilitating of his ſafe and favourable reception was the great buſineſs which the Queen had committed to the Archbiſhops truſt; and for his effecting of it with the King, had given him thoſe gracious promiſes of acceſs unto her, which the *Breviate* ſpake of. For though *Panzani* was ſent over from the Pope on no other pretence than to prevent a Schiſm which was then like to be made between the *Regulars* and the *Secular* Prieſts, to the great ſcandall of that Church; yet under that pretence were muffled many other deſigns which were not fit to be diſcovered unto Vulgar eyes. By many ſecret Artifices he works himſelf into the fauour of *Cottington*, *Windebank*, and other great men about the Court, and at laſt grew to ſuch a confidence, as to move this queſtion to ſome Court-Biſhops, *viz. Whether his Majeſty would permit the reſiding of a Catholick Biſhop of the Engliſh Nation to be nominated by his Majeſty, and not to exerciſe his Function but as his Majeſty ſhould limit*? Upon which Propoſition, when thoſe Biſhops had made this *Quære* to him, *whether the Pope would allow of ſuch a Biſhop of his Majeſties nominating as held the Oath of Allegiance lawful, and ſhould permit the taking of it by the Catholick Subjects*, he puts it off by pleading that he had no Commiſſion to declare therein one way or other. And thereupon he found ſome way to move the King for the permiſſion of an *Agent* from the Pope to be addreſſed to the Queen for the concernments of her Religion; which the King, with the Advice and Conſent of his Council, condeſcended to, upon condition that the Party ſent ſhould be no Prieſt. This poſſibly might be the ſum of that account which the Archbiſhop tendred to the Queen at *Greenwich* on the *Whitſontide* after *Panzani's* coming, which as it ſeems was only to make way for *Con* ( of whom more hereafter ) though for the better colour of doing ſomewhat elſe that might bring him hither, he compoſed the Rupture between the *Seculars* and the *Regulars* above-mentioned.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1635.

I cannot tell whether I have hit right or not upon theſe particulars: But ſure I am, that he reſolved to ſerve the Queen no further in her deſires than might conſiſt both with the honour and ſafety of the Church of *England*; which as it was his greateſt charge, ſo did he lay out the chief parts of his cares and thoughts upon it. And yet he was not ſo unmindful of the Foreign Churches, as not to do them all good offices when it came in his way, eſpecially when the Doctrine or Diſcipline of the Church of *England* was not concerned in the ſame. For in the year 1634. having received Letters from the Queen of *Bohemia* ( with whom he held a conſtant courſe of Correſpondence ) about the furtherance of a Collection for the exiled Miniſters of the *Palatinate*; he moved the King ſo effectually in it, that his Majeſty granted his Letters Patents for the ſaid Collection to be made in all parts of the Kingdom; which Letters Patents being ſealed and brought unto him for his further Direction in proſecution of the ſame, he found a paſſage in it which gave him no

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1635. *Cam. Diurn.* p. 392.

small cauſe of offence, and was this that followeth; *viz.* "Whoſe "caſes are the more to be deplored, for that this extremity is fal- "len upon them for their ſincerity and conſtancy in the true Religion "which we together with them profeſſed, and which we are all "bound in conſcience to maintain to the utmoſt of our powers; "whereas theſe Religious and Godly perſons being involved "amongſt other their Country-men might have enjoyed their Eſtates "and Fortunes, if with other backſliders in the times of Trial they "would have ſubmitted themſelves to the *Antichriſtian* Yoke, and "have renounced or diſſembled the Profeſſion of the true Religion. Upon the reading of which paſſage he obſerved two things: Firſt, That the Religion of the *Palatine* Churches was declared to be the ſame with ours. And ſecondly, That the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *Rome* is called an *Antichriſtian Yoke*; neither of which could be approved of in the ſame terms in which they were preſented to him. For firſt he was not to be told, that by the Religion of thoſe Churches all the *Calvinian* Rigors in the point of Predeſtination and the reſt depending thereupon were received as Orthodox; that they maintain a Parity of Miniſters directly contrary both to the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*; and that *Pareus*, Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Heydelberg*, (who was not to be thought to have delivered his own ſenſe only in that point) aſcribes a power to inferiour Magiſtrates to curb the power, controule the perſons, and reſiſt the Authority of Soveraign Princes, for which his Comment on the *Romans* had been publickly burnt by the appointment of King *James*, as before is ſaid. Which as it plainly proves, that the Religion of thoſe Churches is not altogether the ſame with that of ours, ſo he conceived it very unſafe that his Majeſty ſhould declare under the Great Seal of *England*, that both himſelf and all his Subjects were bound in conſcience to maintain the Religion of thoſe Churches with their utmoſt power. And as unto the other point he lookt upon it as a great Controverſie, not only between ſome Proteſtant Divines and the Church of *Rome*, but between the Proteſtant Divines themſelves, hitherto not determined in any Council, nor poſitively defined by the Church of *England*; and therefore he conceived it as unſafe as the other, that ſuch a doubtful controverſie, as that of the *Popes* being *Antichriſt*, ſhould be determined Poſitively by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, of which there was great difference even amongſt the Learned, and not reſolved on in the Schools. With theſe objections againſt that paſſage he acquaints his Majeſty, who thereupon gave order that the ſaid Letters Patents ſhould be cancelled, and new ones to be drawn, in which that clauſe ſhould be corrected or expunged; and that being done, the ſaid Letters Patents to be new ſealed, and the ſaid Collection to proceed according to the Archbiſhops firſt deſires and propoſition made in that behalf.

p. 540.

But before this Collection was finiſhed, and the money returned,

*Charles*

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1635.

*Charles Lodowick*, Prince Elector *Palatine*, eldeſt ſurviving Son of the Queen of *Bohemia*, comes into *England* to beſtow a viſit on his Uncle, and to deſire his aid and counſel for the recovery of the Electoral Dignity and Eſtate which did of right belong unto him. On the twenty ſecond of *November* this preſent year 1635. he comes to *Whitehall*, graciouſly welcomed by the King, who aſſigned him for his quarters in the Court, the Lodgings properly belonging to the Prince his Son, where he continued whilſt he made his abode in *England*, except ſuch times as he attended his Majeſty in his Summers Progreſs. Knowing how forward the Archbiſhop had expreſſed himſelf in doing all ready Services for the Queen his Mother, and the good offices which he had done for her ſake to the diſtreſſed Miniſters of his Dominions, on the 30 day of the ſame Month he croſt over to *Lambeth*, and was preſent with the Archbiſhop at the Evening Prayer then very ſolemnly performed; and upon that day fortnight came unexpectedly upon him, and did him the honour to dine with him. And that he might the better endear himſelf to the Engliſh Nation by ſhewing his conformity and approbation of the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* here by Law eſtabliſhed, he did not only diligently frequent the Morning and Evening Service in his Majeſties Cloſet, but upon *Chriſtmaſs* day received the Communion alſo in the *Chappel Royal* of *Whitehall*. For whoſe accommodation, at the receiving of it, there was a Stool placed within the *Traverſe*, on the left hand of his Majeſty, on which he ſate while the Remainder of the Anthem was ſung, and at the Reading of the Epiſtle, with a lower Stool and a Velvet Cuſhion to kneel upon both in the preparatory Prayers, and the Act of Receiving, which he moſt reverently performed to the great content of all beholders. During his being in the Court he publiſhed two Books in Print by the advice of the King and Council, not only to declare his Wrongs, but aſſert his Rights. The firſt he called by the name of a *PROTESTATION*, againſt all the unlawful and violent proceedings and actions againſt him and his Electoral Family. The ſecond, called the *MANIFEST*, concerning the right of his Succeſſion in the Lands, Dignities, and Honours, of which his Father had been unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed by the Emperour *Ferdinand* the Second. After which Preparatory writings, which ſerved to no other effect than to juſtifie his own and the Kings proceedings in the eye of the world, he was put upon a courſe for being furniſhed both with men and money to try his fortune in the Wars, in which he wanted not the beſt aſſiſtance which the Archbiſhop could afford him by his Power and Counſels. But as he laboured to advance his intereſs in the recovery of his Patrimony and Eſtates in *Germany*, ſo he no leſs laboured to preſerve the Intereſs of the Church of *England* againſt all dangers and diſturbances which might come from thence. And therefore when ſome buſie heads, at the time of the Princes being here, had publiſhed the Book entituled, *A Declaration of the Faith and Ceremonies of the* Palſgraves

PART II. *Churches*; A courſe was took to call it in, for the ſame cauſe, and
*Anno Dom.* on the ſame prudential grounds on which the Letters Patents before
1635. mentioned, had been ſtopt and altered. The Prince was welcome,
but the Book might better have ſtayed at home, brought hither in *Dutch*, and here tranſlated into Engliſh, Printed, and expoſed to the publick view, to let the vulgar Reader ſee how much we wanted of the Purity and ſimplicity of the *Palatine* Churches.

1636. But we muſt now look back on ſome former Counſels in bringing ſuch refractory Miniſters to a juſt conformity in publiſhing his Majeſties *Declaration* about lawful Sports, as neither arguments and perſwaſions could prevail upon. And that the Suffragan Biſhops might receive the more countenance in it, the Archbiſhop means not to look on, but to act ſomewhat in his own Dioceſs which might be exemplary to the reſt, ſome troubleſome perſons there were in it, who publickly oppoſed all eſtabliſht orders, neither conforming to his Majeſties Inſtructions, nor the *Canons* of the Church, nor the
*Cant. Dom.* Rubricks in the publick Liturgy. *Culmer* and *Player*, two men of the
p. 149. ſame affections, and ſuch as had declared their inconformity in former times, were preſt unto the publiſhing of this *Declaration*; *Brent* acting in it as Commiſſary to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, (not Vicar General to the Archbiſhop) of the Province of *Canterbury*. On their refuſal ſo to do, they were called into the Conſiſtory and by him ſuſpended. Petitioning the Archbiſhop for a releaſe from that ſuſpenſion, they were anſwered by him, *That if they knew not how to obey, he knew as little how to grant*. He underſtood them to be men of *Factious ſpirits*, and was reſolved to bring them to a better temper, or elſe to keep them from diſturbing the publick peace. And they reſolving on the other ſide, not to yield obedience, continued under this ſuſpenſion till the coming in of the *Scottiſh* Army, not long before the beginning of the Long Parliament, *Anno* 1640. which wanted little of four years before they could get to be releaſed. *Wilſon*, another of the ſame Crew, was ſuſpended about the ſame time alſo, and afterwards ſeverely ſentenced in the *High Commiſſion*, the profits of his Living ſequeſtred, (as the others were) and liberal aſſignments made out of it for ſupplying the Cure. In which condition he remained for the ſpace of four years, and was then releaſed on a motion made by *Dering* in the Houſe of Commons, at the very opening, in manner, of the Long Parliament; that being the occaſion which
p. 4. was taken by them to bring the Archbiſhop on the Stage, as they after did. And though he ſuſpended, or gave order rather for ſuſpending of no more than theſe; yet being they were leading-men, and the chief ſticklers of the Faction in all his Dioceſs, it made as much noiſe as the great Perſecution did in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. By one of which firſt County we are told in general, "That being promoted "to this dignity, he thought he was now *Plenipotentiary* enough, "and in full capacity to domineer as he liſted, and to let his profeſt "enemies feel the dint of his Spirit, but more particularly, that

"he

"he cauſed the Book of Sports to be publiſhed, for no other rea- LIB. IV.
"ſon, than to gall and vex thoſe Godly Divines, whoſe Conſcien- *Anno Dom.*
"ces would not vail to ſo much impiety, as to promote the Work; 1636.
"and finally, That thereupon many of the moſt ſound and or-
"thodox Belief, were compelled to deſert their Stations, and
"abandon their Livings, in which their livelihood conſiſted, rather
"than to ſubmit unto it. And here I had took my leave of *Kent*, but that I muſt firſt paſs thorow the Dioceſs of *Rocheſter*, where I find one *Snelling* to have been both Suſpended and Excommunicated (c. 151.) on the ſame account (ſome other Inconformities (as not *bowing* at the Name of JESUS) being taken into the Reckoning) by *Wood* then Chancellor of that Dioceſs under Biſhop *Bowles*, and afterwards Sentenced to a Deprivation on the ninth of *February* 1637.

But as for that great Perſecution in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* (greater, if *Burton* were to be believed, than any which hapned to the Church in Queen *Maries* Days) we ſhall hear it thus Preach'd up in that ſeditious Sermon of his, which he was pleaſed to entitle *For God and the King*; in which he telleth us, *That in thoſe Counties they had made the greateſt havock of good Miniſters* (*and their Flocks now left deſolate and expoſed to the Wolves, as Sheep without their Shepherd*) *as our eyes had ever ſeen; That there were already threeſcore Miniſters in that one Dioceſs Suſpended, and between three and fourſcore more had time given them till Chriſts-tide, by which time they muſt either bid their good Conſciences farewell, or elſe their precious Miniſtry, and therewith their neceſſary Means: And finally, That in all Queen* Maries *Time there was not ſo great a havock made* (*in ſo ſhort a time*) *of the faithful Miniſters of God, in any part of, yea, in the whole Land. Wren* had not long before ſucceeded *Corbet* in the See of *Norwich*; a man who very well underſtood his Work, and reſolved to do it: but finding himſelf more deeply galled with theſe Reproaches, than he had deſerved, he cauſed his Regiſters to be ſearch'd, and the Acts of his Court to be examined, out of which we may take this ſhort Account of his Proceedings; that is to ſay, 1. *That the Clergie of that Dioceſs, comprehending all that are in Spiritual Dignity or Office, and all Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and School-Maſters* (*taking in the Lecturers withal*) *amount unto the number of* 1500, *or thereabouts.* 2. *That there were not above thirty of all ſorts involved in any Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure of what kind ſoever, and not above ſixteen Suſpended.* 3. *That of thoſe ſixteen, eight were then Abſolved, for a time of further trial to be taken of them, and two did voluntarily reſign their Places; ſo that there were but ſix Suſpended abſolutely, and perſiſting ſo.* 4. *That of the Reſidue, one was deprived, after notorious Inconformity for twelve years together, and final Obſtinacy after ſeveral Admonitions; eight Excommunicated for not appearing at the Court, and four inhibited from Preaching; of which four, one by Trade had been a* Draper, *another a* Weaver, *and a third a* Tayler. 5. *That for the other number between ſixty and eighty, which were Suſpended upon* H. B. p. 65.

*day*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1636.

*day till Chriſtmas, upon the Examination of the Regiſter there appear but eight, and thoſe not all Suſpended neither, two being Excommunicated for not appearing in the Court.* And 6. *Taking it for granted, That ſixty of all ſorts had been Suſpended, as it was ſuggeſted in the Libel; yet ſixty in ſo great a number, comes to no more than four in one hundred, which would not have been look'd upon as a Perſecution in Queen* Maries *days, nor in a time of better temper and more moderation than the* Libeller *deſerved to live in.* And yet the Miniſter of *Lincoln* Dioceſs, in his *Holy Table*, muſt needs fly out againſt this Biſhop, *comparing him unto a* Wren *mounted on the wings of an* Eagle, and finding by the *Index* to the *Acts and Monuments*, That the Biſhop of *Norwich* ſent out Letters of Perſecution.

And yet it was not thought ſufficient to juſtifie themſelves in matter of fact, unleſs they Advocated for themſelves, and the King under whom they acted, by ſtrong Reaſons alſo. And firſt, it was alledged in behalf of the King (who had commanded the ſaid Declaration to be publiſhed by Order from the Biſhops, in all the Churches of their ſeveral and reſpective Dioceſſes) That all the Commands of the King, which are not upon the firſt inference and illation contrary to a clear paſſage in the Word of God, or to an evident Sun-beam of the Law of Nature, are preciſely to be obeyed. 2. That it was not enough to find a remote and poſſible Inconvenience that might enſue therefrom; for every good Subject is bound in conſcience to reſt aſſured, That his Prince, environed with ſuch a Council, will be able to diſcover, and as ready to prevent any ill ſequel that may come of it, as himſelf poſſibly can be. And 3. That we muſt not by diſobeying our Prince, commit a certain Sin, in preventing a probable but contingent Inconveniency. And then it was alledged in behalf of themſelves, That the Declaration was commanded to be publiſhed by Order from the Biſhops in the Pariſh Churches; That there were none on whom the Biſhops could impoſe the Publiſhing of it in the Churches of their ſeveral Dioceſſes, but the Miniſters only; which was a ſufficient warrant for them to enjoin the Miniſters to do it. And laſtly, That though no Penalty was preſcribed in it to ſuch as ſhould refuſe to publiſh the ſame; yet that ſome Penalty was implied, or otherwiſe the Command had been impertinent, and to no purpoſe and effect whatſoever. Finally, it was alledged, in reſpect of thoſe who were enjoined the publiſhing of it, That there was nothing contained in the ſaid Declaration, which was either plainly contrary to the Word of God, or the Canons of the Church, or the Laws of the Land, or the Practice of the Proteſtant or Reformed Churches in all parts of the World; That if it ſhould appear otherwiſe with ſome ſcrupulous men, yet even thoſe ſcrupulous men were bound to obey their Superiors, in making publication of it (*a*), for fear of diſſolving by their diſobedience the whole frame of Government; That if it ſhould be lawful for particular Perſons firſt to diſpute, and afterwards to diſobey the

(a) *Peritunte obſequio imperium etiam interciderit, Si ubi imperatur, quærere ſingulis licear.* Tacit. Hiſt. l. 1.

the Commands of thoſe higher Powers, to which the Lord had made them ſubject, the Subject would ſeem to be in a better condition, and more abſolutely at his own diſpoſing, than the Sovereign was; That by the Laws a Sheriff is bound to publiſh his Majeſties Proclamations, though tending to the Apprehenſion of his deareſt Friends, or otherwiſe containing matter of dangerous conſequence to the Publick Intereſt; That a Presbyter or Miniſter without any ſin, may ſafely pronounce an Excommunication, legally delivered unto him, though in his own private conſcience he be convinced, that the Party is unjuſtly excommunicated; That when the *Jews* commanded by *Antiochus*, gave up the Divine Books to his Officers to be deſtroyed, it was afterwards adjudged in favour of them by *Optatus* Biſhop of *Milevis*, a right godly man, to be (*a*) ſin rather in them that commanded, than of thoſe who with fear and ſorrow did obey their *Mandates*; That when the Emperour *Mauritius* had made an Edict, That no Souldier ſhould be admitted into any Monaſtery, and ſent it to be publiſhed by *Gregory* ſirnamed the Great, the Pope forthwith diſperſed it into all parts of the Chriſtian World, (*b*) becauſe he was ſubject to his command; though in his own judgment he conceived the ſaid Edict to be unlawful in it ſelf, and prejudicial unto many particular perſons, as well in reference to their ſpiritual as their temporal benefit; and finally, That it was reſolved by St. *Auguſtine*, in his Book againſt *Fauſtus* the *Manichee*, *cap.* 75. That a Chriſtian Souldier fighting under a Heathen Prince, may lawfully purſue the War, or exerciſe the Commands of his immediate or Superior Officers, in the courſe of his Service, though he be not abſolutely aſſured in the juſtice of the one, or the expedience of the other. Such were the Reaſons urged in behalf of all Parties concerned in this buſineſs; and ſuch the Defences which were made for ſome of them in matter of fact: but neither the one nor the other could allay that ſtorm which had been raiſed againſt him by the Tongues and Pens of unquiet Perſons; of which more anon.

(*a*) *Peccatum imperantis & minantis; non populi, cum dolore & timore ſecundantis.* Optat. lib. 7.

(*b*) *Quia erat ſubjectus ejus juſſionibus.* Greg. Magn. lib. 2 Ep. 61.

Nor was the Clamour leſs which was raiſed againſt ſuch of the Biſhops as either preſſed the uſe of his Majeſties Inſtructions, concerning Lecturers, and ſilencing the *Arminian* Controverſies; or urged the Miniſters of their ſeveral and reſpective Dioceſſes, to uſe no other form of Prayer before their Sermons than that which was preſcribed *Canon* 55. It had been prudently obſerved, That by ſuffering ſuch long Prayers as had accuſtomably been uſed of late before the Sermons of moſt Preachers, the Publick Liturgie of the Church had been much neglected; That the *Puritan* Preachers for the moſt part had reduced all Gods Service in a manner to thoſe Pulpit-Prayers; That the People in many places had forborn to go into the Church till the Publick Liturgie was ended, and theſe Prayers begun; That by this means ſuch Preachers prayed both what they liſted, and how they liſted; ſome ſo ſeditiouſly, that their very Prayers were turned into Sin; others ſo ignorantly and impertinently,

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1636.

impertinently, that they diſhonoured God and diſgraced Religion. For remedy whereof, it was thought convenient by the Archbiſhop, and ſome other Prelates, to reduce all to the form of Prayers appointed in the *Canon* above-mentioned, according to the like form preſcribed in the *Injunctions* of Queen *Elizabeth*, and before her time by King *Edward* the Sixth, and before his time alſo by King *Henry* the Eighth; practiſed accordingly in the times of their ſeveral Reigns, as appears by the Sermons of Biſhop *Latimer*, Biſhop *Gardiner*, Archbiſhop *Parker*, Biſhop *Jewell*, Biſhop *Andrews*, and generally by all Divines of the Church of *England*, till by the artifices and endeavours of the *Puritan* Faction, theſe long Prayers of their own making had been taken up, to cry down the *Liturgie*. Which being in charge in the Viſitation, and afterwards in the Articles of ſeveral Biſhops, made as much noiſe amongſt ignorant and factious People, under colour of quenching the Spirit of God, expreſſed in ſuch extemporary Prayers of the Preachers conceiving, as ſilencing the Doctrines of *Predeſtination*, changing the afternoons Sermons into Catechiſings, and regulating the Extravagances of ſome of their Lecturers, under the colour of a Plot to ſuppreſs the Goſpel.

In which laſt Calumny, as moſt of the Biſhops had a ſhare, ſo did it fall as heavy on *Pierce* of *Bath* and *Wells*, as on any other, though he did nothing in that kind, but what he was required to do by the Kings Inſtructions. His Crimes were, That he had commanded the Miniſters in his Dioceſs to turn their afternoons Sermons into *Catechiſings*, and thoſe *Catechiſings* to be made according to the Queſtions and Anſwers in the *Catechiſm* authoriſed by Law, and extant in the Book of Common Prayer; which ſome few abſolutely refuſing to conform unto; and others (contrary to the meaning of the ſaid Inſtructions) taking ſome Catechiſm-point for their Text, and making long Sermons on the ſame, were by him ſuſpended, and ſo continued till they found a greater readineſs in themſelves to obey their *Ordinary*. But the Great Rock of Offences againſt which they ſtumbled, and ſtumbling filled all places with their Cries and Clamours, was, That he had ſuppreſſed the *Lecturers* in moſt parts of his Dioceſs; and ſome report, That he proceeded ſo far in it as to make his brag (not without giving great Thanks to God for his good Succeſs) *That he had not left one Lecturer in all his Dioceſs, of what ſort ſoever, whether he Lectured for his Stipend, or by a voluntary combination of ſome Miniſters amongſt themſelves.* Which if it ſhould be true, (as I have ſome reaſon to believe it is not) ought to be rather attributed to ſome exiliency of humane frailty (of which we are all guilty more or leſs) than to be charged amongſt his Sins. But for his Actings in this kind, as alſo for his vigorous proceedings in the Caſe of *Beckington*, he had as good Authority as the Inſtructions of the King, and the Directions of his Metropolitan could inveſt him in. And ſo far *Canterbury* juſtified him

him in the laſt particular, as to take the blame (if any thing were blame-worthy in it) upon himſelf, though then a Priſoner in the Tower, and under as much danger as the Power and Malice of his Enemies could lay upon him: For ſuch was his undaunted Spirit, that when *Aſh* a Member of the Houſe of Commons, demanded of him in the Tower, Whether the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* had received his Directions from him in the Caſe of *Beckington*? he anſwered roundly, That he had; and that the Biſhop had done nothing in it, but what became an obedient *Dioceſan* to his *Metropolitan*. So careful was he of preſerving thoſe who had acted under him, that he choſe rather to augment the number of his own misfortunes, then occaſion theirs. If all the Biſhops of that time had joined their hearts and hands together, for carrying on the work of Uniformity, as they were required, the Service might have gone more happily forwards, and the Envy would have been the leſs by being divided: but leaving the whole burden upon ſo few, and turning it over to their Chancellors and Under-Officers (if they did ſo much) they did not only, for as much as in them was, deſtroy the buſineſs, but expoſe ſuch as took care of it, to the publick hatred. For ſuch was their deſire to ingratiate themſelves amongſt the People, that ſome of them being required to return the names of ſuch Miniſters as refuſed the reading of the Book, made anſwer, That they would not turn *Informers* againſt their Brethren, there being enough beſides themſelves to perform that Office. Others conceived, that they had very well performed their duty, and conſulted their own peace and ſafety alſo, by waving all Proceedings againſt them in their own *Conſiſtories*, wherein they muſt appear as the principal Agents, and turning them over to be cenſured by the *High-Commiſſion*, where their Names might never come in queſtion. The like done alſo in tranſpoſing the Communion Table; in which it was believed by many, that they had well complied with all expectations, if they did not hinder it, but left the Miniſters to proceed therein as beſt pleaſed themſelves; or otherwiſe, to fight it out with the Church-wardens, if occaſion were.

*Cant. Doom*, p. 100.

And yet the fortune of the Church had not been ſo wretched, if none of that Order had pulled down more with one hand, than many of the reſt had built up with both. The *Metropolitical Viſitation* being held in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*, *Anno* 1635. Order was given by *Brent*, as in other places, for Railing in the Communion Table at the Eaſt end of the Chancel, and there to diſpoſe of it under the Eaſtern Wall, with the ends of it North and South. In order whereunto, it was found neceſſary in many places to remove ſuch Seats as had been built in that end of the Chancel, for the uſe and eaſe of private Perſons. The Church-wardens of St. *Mary Towres* in the Borough of *Ipſwich*, a Town of great Wealth and Trade in the County of *Suffolk*, refuſing to remove ſuch Seats, and advance the Table in their rooms, were Excommunicated for their obſtinacy

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1636.

and contempt, by one of *Brent's* Surrogates for that *Viſitation*. The Church-wardens, animated by ſome of the Town, who had better Purſes than themſelves, appeal unto the Dean of the *Arches*, and after exhibited a Bill in the *Star-Chamber* againſt the Surrogate: but without remedy from either. And on theſe terms the buſineſs ſtood, when *Wren* ſucceeded *Corbet* in the See of *Norwich*; and looking upon *Ipſwich* as a place of great influence and example on the reſt of the Dioceſs, took up his dwelling in the ſame. It was not long before he came to underſtand, that a great part of the oppoſition which was made as well againſt himſelf, as the Vicar-General, about the removing and railing in of the Holy Table, proceeded from a Letter written from the Biſhop of *Lincoln* to the Vicar of *Grantham*; which though it was written ſome years ſince, and had long been dead; yet now it was revived again, and the Copies of it ſcattered in all parts of the Kingdom (the better to diſcourage or diſcountenance the Work in hand): but no where more than in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*, being next neighbour unto *Lincoln*, and under the inſpection of a diligent and active Prelate. Some of them coming to his Hand, and an Advertiſement withall, That they were ordinarily ſold amongſt the Bookſellers in *Duck-lane* in written Copies, it was thought fit that an anſwer ſhould be made unto it; in which the Sophiſtry, Miſtakes, and Falſhoods of that Letter, whoſoever was the Writer of it, might be made apparent: Which Anſwer being made ready, approved, and licenced, was publiſhed about the middle of *May*, under the Title of *A COAL from the ALTAR, or, An Anſwer to a Letter not long ſince written to the Vicar of* Grantham, *againſt the placing of the Communion Table at the Eaſt-end of the Chancel*, &c. As it cooled the heat of ſome, ſo it inflamed the hearts of others, not with Zeal, but Anger; the Book occaſioning much variety of Diſcourſe on both ſides, as men ſtood variouſly affected in the preſent Controverſie: But long it will not be before we ſhall hear of a Reply unto it, a Rejoinder unto that Reply, and other Writings *pro* and *con*, by the Parties intereſſed.

But it had been to little purpoſe to ſettle a Conformity in Parochial Churches, if Students in the Univerſities (the conſtant Seminaries of the Church) were not trained up to a good perſwaſion of the Publick Counſels: Upon which ground it had been prudently Ordained in the *Canons* of the year 1603. not only, *That the preſcribed Form of Common Prayer ſhould be uſed in all Colledges and Halls*; but, *That the Fellows and Scholars of the ſaid Houſes ſhould wear the Surplice at thoſe Prayers on the Sundays and Holydays, the better to inure them to it, when they came to any Publick Miniſtry in their ſeveral Churches*. Many things had been done at *Cambridge* in ſome years laſt paſt, in order to the Work in hand; as beautifying their Chappels, furniſhing them with Organs, advancing the Communion Table to the place of the Altar, adorning it with Plate and other Utenſils for the Holy Sacrament, defending it with a decent Rail from all

all prophanations, and uſing lowly Reverence and Adorations, both in their coming to thoſe Chappels, and their going out: But in moſt Colledges, all things ſtood as they had done formerly; in ſome there were no Chappels at all, or at the beſt, ſome places uſed for Chappels, but never Conſecrated. In *Sidney* Colledge the old *Dormitory* of the *Franciſcans* (on the *Site* of which *Friery* the ſaid Colledge was built) was after ſome years trimmed and fitted, and without any formal Conſecration converted to a *Houſe of Prayer*; though formerly, in the opinion of thoſe who allowed thereof, it had been no better nor worſe than a *Den of Thieves*. The Chappel of *Emanuel* Colledge, though built at the ſame time with the reſt of the Houſe, was both irregular in the ſituation, and never Conſecrated for Divine and Religious uſes. And what leſs could this beget in the minds of the Students of thoſe Houſes, than an Opinion touching the indifferency of ſuch Conſecrations, whether uſed, or not? and at the laſt a poſitive Determination, *That the continued Series of* DIVINE DUTIES *in a place ſet apart to that purpoſe, doth ſufficiently Conſecrate the ſame?* And what can follow thereupon in ſome tract of time, but the executing of all Divine Offices in Private Houſes, the Ruine and Decay of Churches, the ſelling of their Materials, and alienating their Glebe and Tythes to the next fair Chapman? It is therefore thought expedient to carry on the Viſitation to that Univerſity, and put ſuch things in order there, as were found in this. But againſt this the Univerſity oppoſed, pretending an exemption from his Juriſdiction, by their ancient Priviledges; and that they had no Viſitor but his Majeſty only. But *Canterbury*, who before had over-ruled the like Plea in the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, would not give way to this of *Cambridge*, which cauſed the matter on both ſides to be thorowly canvaſed: But neither yielding to the other, and the Earl of *Holland* ſtickling ſtrongly for the Univerſity (of which he had the Honour to be choſen Chancellor on the death of the Duke) the deciding of the Controverſie is referred to his Majeſty. On *Tueſday June* 21. they both appear before the King at *Hampton-Court*, where the Counſel of both ſides being heard, it pleaſed his Majeſty to give Judgment for the Metropolitan, and to ſubmit that Univerſity to his Viſitation: But before any thing was done in it, the Troubles in *Scotland*, and the Diſturbances at home, kept it off ſo long, that a greater Viſitation fell upon the Viſitor, than could have hapned unto them. Howſoever, the bare reputation of it did prevail ſo far, that many who were ſlack or fearful in embeliſhing their Chappels and publick Places of Divine Worſhip, went on more confidently then before; inſomuch that not only in the Chappels of ſome private Colleges, but in St. *Maries* Church it ſelf, being the Publick Church of that Univerſity, the Table was railed in like an Altar, towards which many of the Doctors, Scholars, and others uſually bowed.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1636.

In *Oxon.* where he was more abſolute, he found leſs comptroll.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1636.

Chancellor of the Univerſity by their own Election, Viſitor of the Colledges of *All Souls* and *Merton* in the right of his See, and ſuch a Patron to the reſt, that he could hardly recommend that Affair unto them, which they did not expedite. In many of their Letters and Addreſſes to him, they gave him the Title of *His Holineſs*, and *moſt Holy Father*; which though appropriated to the Pope in the darker Times, were generally communicated to all Chriſtian Biſhops in the clear Sun-ſhine of the Goſpel. And on the other ſide, in his Miſſives and Diſpatches to them, he recommends himſelf unto their Devotions, beſeeching them, That as often as they made their approaches toward the Altar, they would remember him in their Prayers (*a*) to Almighty God. He had his breeding (as before was ſaid) in that Univerſity, and could not chuſe but know, That many of the old Statutes were grown out of uſe by the change of Religion; others, by long neglect and diſcontinuance; ſome never rightly underſtood; and all ſo mingled and confounded, that it was very hard to ſay which of them were in force, which not; and yet all Students bound to keep them under corporal Oaths, if not at their firſt Matriculations, yet at their taking of Degrees. For remedy whereof, with great pains and judgment, he digeſted a new Body of Statutes, to ſerve as a perpetual ſtanding Rule for their future Government, as well in commanding as obeying: Which being firſt ſent down unto them, adviſedly conſidered of, explained, corrected, and accommodated to their beſt advantages, were afterward reviſed by him, and upon full deliberation engroſſed in Vellum, fairly bound up, confirmed by his moſt Sacred Majeſty, and ſo obtained the ſtrength of Laws: Received and publiſhed for ſuch in the *Convocation*, on *Wedneſday June* 22. being the morrow after the Judgment had paſſed on his ſide at *Hampton-Court*, for the Viſitation at *Cambridge*. And in thoſe Statutes, he took care that the *Vice-chancellor*, *Proctors*, and all *Proceeders*, year by year in their ſeveral *Faculties*, (*b*) ſhould make their Offerings with that due and accuſtomed Reverence at the Holy Table. He procured alſo from his Majeſty a Confirmation of their former Priviledges over the Town, and an enlargement of them alſo in reſpect of the *Londoners*: By which laſt they were enabled to Print all Books, which either his Majeſties Printers or the Company of *Stationers* had engroſſed to themſelves, as Bibles, Common Prayer Books, Homilies, Grammars, *&c.* which brought them in a Compoſition of 200 *l. per Annum* for the times enſuing. Nor could his Care and Providence for the encouragement of Learning, be confin'd to this ſide of the Sea, the like courſe being taken by him ſhortly after, as well for reviſing and perfecting the broken Statutes of the Colledge neer *Dublin*, as the enlarging of the Priviledges of that Univerſity.

(a) *Inter cætera dum ſitis memores mei precationibus, &c.*

(b) *Ad ſacram Euchariſtiæ Menſam cum debita reverentia oblationes faciat.*

And yet he could not hold his hand, till he had added Bounty and Munificence to his former Cares. The Univerſity of *Oxon.* was long ſince honoured with the Title of *Generale Studium*,

*Studium* (*a*), conferred upon none elſe in the former times, but the Univerſities of *Paris* in *France*, *Bononia* in *Italy*, and *Salamanca* in *Spain*: In all which, by a Decree of Pope *Clement* the Fifth, in the Council of *Vienna* in *France*, *Anno* 1511. it was Ordained, *That there ſhould be Profeſſors of the* Hebrew, Greek, Arabick, *and* Chaldean *Languages*: But it was only ſo Ordained, no execution following on it till ſome Ages after. The *Arabick* Tongue was known in *Spain*, by reaſon of the great Command which the *Moors* had in that Country: but never entertained in any of the other three. And as for the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Chaldee*, thoſe times were ſo extremely ignorant of them, that the Study of the *Greek* Tongue was ſufficient to condemn a man of *Hereſie*; and a ſmall ſpattering in the *Hebrew*, made him ſubject unto ſome ſuſpicion of *Heretical Fancies*. And ſo it ſtood till *Reuchlin* and *Budæus* in *France*, *Eraſmus* and *Paulus Fagius* in *England*, reſtored again the *Greek* and *Hebrew* to thoſe ſeveral Nations. The *Greek* ſo courſly entertained in this Univerſity, whilſt *Eraſmus* taught it quietly enough at *Cambridge*, that when a (*b*) Learned young man began publickly to read the *Greek* Tongue there, he was encountred preſently in a poor but popular declamation, with baſe and barbarous Revilings. But long it was not before Cardinal *Wolſey* took a courſe to put this Univerſity into a way of Nobler Studies, founding therein two Publick Lectures for the *Greek* and *Hebrew*, with a liberal Salary (according to the Standard of that time) of 40 *l. per Annum* to either of them; which afterwards being confirmed by King *Henry* viii. continued without further encouragement and augmentation, till ſuch time as *Laud* was come to his *Aſcendent*; when by the Power and Favour which he had with his Majeſty, a *Canonry* in *Chriſt-Church* was annexed perpetually to the Publick Profeſſor for the *Hebrew*, Doctor *John Morris* being the firſt who enjoyed the benefit of that Grant: By means whereof, the *Hebrew* and *Chaldaick* Tongues, which few in *Oxon.* underſtood when I firſt came thither, became to be ſo generally embraced, and ſo chearfully ſtudied, that it received a wonderful proficiency, and that too, in a ſhorter time than a man can eaſily imagine: So great a Spur the hope of Honour and Preferments, gives to Arts and Languages. But all this while, the *Arabick* was utterly laid aſide in theſe parts of *Europe*; till, in conformity to the ſaid Decree of the Council holden at *Vienna*, it came into our Archbiſhops mind to eſtabliſh a Publick Lecture in that Language alſo; which having for a long time taken up his thoughts, was at laſt effected: The firſt Lecture in that Language, read publickly on the tenth of *Auguſt* in this preſent year; a Revenue of 40 *l. per Annum* ſettled upon the Univerſity for the maintenance of it; his firſt Profeſſor in that Tongue being *Edward Pocock*, Fellow of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge, one who had ſpent much time in the Factory of *Aleppo*, and other places of the Eaſt, returning home well ſtudied in all the Languages of thoſe Countries. And that *Rhetorick* might thrive as well under his Encouragements,

(*a*) *Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ, Arabicæ, Græcæ, Linguæ Studium propagandæ Fidei ergo in nobiliſſimis quatuor Europæ Academiis inſtituitur, &c.* ex Angel. Rocha, p. 214.

(*b*) *Hiſt. of Cambridge*, 83.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1636.

Encouragements, as Grammar and the Tongues were in a hopeful way to do, he obtained from his Majesty another *Canonry* in *Christ-Church*, to be annexed for ever to the Orators place, (whose yearly Pension till that time was but twenty Nobles.) Injoyed first by Dr. *William Strode*, admitted thereunto on the first of *July*, *Anno* 1638. and after his decease by Dr. *Henry Hammond*, *Anno* 1644.

Such were the benefits which the University received from him in this present year. And that he might both do himself and the University some honour in the eye of the Kingdom, he invites the King, the Queen, the Prince *Elector*, and his Brother, to an Academical entertainment, on the twenty ninth day of *August* then next following, being the Anniversary day, on which the Presidentship of St. *Johns* Colledge was adjudged to him by King *James*. The time being come, and the University put into a posture for that Royal visit, their Majesties were first received with an eloquent Speech as he passed by the house, being directly in his way betwixt *Woodstock* and *Christ-Church*, not without great honour to the Colledge, that the Lord Archbishop, the Lord Treasurer, the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, and one of the Proctors should be at that time of the same foundation. At *Christ-Church* his Majesty was entertained with another Oration by *Strode*, the University Orator; the University presenting his Majesty with a fair and costly pair of Gloves (as their custome was) the *Queen* with a fair English Bible, the Prince *Elector* with *Hookers* Books of *Ecclesiastical Politie*, his Brother *Rupert* with *Cæsars* Commentaries in *English*, illustrated by the learned Explanations and Discourses of Sir *Clement Edmonds*. His Majesty was lodged in *Christ-Church*, in the great Hall whereof (one of the goodliest in the World) he was entertained, together with the Queen, the two Princes, and the rest of the Court, with an English *Comedy*, (but such as had more of the Philosopher than the Poet in it) called, *Passions Calmed*, or *the settling of the Floating Islands*. On the morrow morning, being *Tuesday*, he began with a Sermon, preacht before him in that Cathedral on these words of St. *Luke*, viz. *Blessed is the King that cometh in the name of the Lord, peace in heaven, and glory in the highest*, Luk. 19. 38. The Sermon being ended, the Archbishop, as Chancellor of the University, calls a Convocation, in which he admits the Prince *Elector*, his Brother Prince *Rupert*, and many of the chief Nobility to the degree of *Masters* of *Art*; and that being done, attends the King and Queen to St. *Johns* Colledge. Where in the new Gallery of his own building, he entertains the King and Queen, the two Princes, with all the Lords and Ladies of the Court, at a stately and magnificent Dinner, the King and Queen sitting at one Table at the South end of the Room; the two Princes, with the Lords and Ladies, at a long Table, reaching almost from one end to the other; at which all the Gallantry and beauties of the Kingdom seemed to meet. Nor did he make Provision only for those two Tables, but every

every Office in the Court had their ſeveral diets, diſpoſed of in convenient places for their reception with great variety of *Achates*, not only ſufficient for contentment, but for admiration. After dinner he entertains his principal Gueſts with a pleaſant Comedy, preſented in the publick Hall; and that being done, attends them back again to *Chriſt-Church*, where they were feaſted after Supper with another Comedy, called, *The Royal Slave*; the Enterludes repreſented with as much variety of Scenes and motions as the great wit of *Inigo Jones* (Surveyor General of his Majeſties Works, and excellently well skilled in ſetting out a Court-*Maſque* to the beſt advantage) could extend unto. It was the day of St. *Felix* (as himſelf obſerveth) *and all things went happily*. On *Wedneſday* the next morning the Court removed, his Majeſty going that ſame night to *Wincheſter*, and the Archbiſhop the ſame day, entertaining all the Heads of Houſes at a ſolemn Feaſt; order being given at his departure, that the three Comedies ſhould be acted again, for the content and ſatisfaction of the Univerſity in the ſame manner as before, but only with the Alteration of the Prologues and Epilogues.

But to return unto the publick. On the ſame day in which the new Statutes were received at *Oxon.* he procured a Supplement to be added to the old Statutes of Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, touching the letting of their Lands. Some Informations had been given, that the *Deans* and *Prebends* of thoſe Churches had enricht themſelves, their Wives and Children by taking great Fines, for turning leaſes of twenty one years into leaſes for lives, leaving their Succeſſors deſtitute of that growing means, which otherwiſe might come in to help them. This was the outſide of the buſineſs, but the chief motive to it was, that the Gentry and Yeomanry (and ſome of the Nobility alſo) holding Lands of thoſe Churches, might have a greater reſpect to the Church and Church-men, when they muſt depend upon them from time to time for renewing of their ſaid Eſtates at the end of every ten or twelve years at the moſt. For though it be a like lawful by the Law of the Land, 13 *Eliz. c.* 20. to make Leaſes of three lives, or one and twenty years, at the pleaſure of the Dean and Chapter; yet the difference is ſo great between them, that once a Tenant to my knowledge, after a Leaſe for three lives had continued 29 years in being, choſe rather to give a Fine for the change of one life than to take a new Leaſe of 21 years without paying any thing. All which his Majeſty taking into his Princely conſideration, he cauſed Letters under his Royal Signature to be ſent to all the Deans and Chapters of this Kingdom reſpectively, "Calling and commanding them upon pain of his utmoſt diſpleaſure, that they preſumed not to let any Leaſe belonging to their "Church into lives, which was not in lives already; and further "that when any fair opportunity was offered (if any ſuch be) they "fail not to reduce ſuch as are in lives, into years; requiring further "that thoſe his Majeſties ſaid Letters ſhould be exemplified in the Regiſter-

*Bibl. Regia*, p. 268.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1636.

"Regiſter-books of the ſaid Churches, and preſerved in the Regi-
"ſtries of the Biſhops of their ſeveral Dioceſs, to the end that the
"ſaid Biſhop might take notice of their doing therein, and give his
"Majeſty and his Succeſſors notice thereof, if any preſumed to diſ-
"obey. And in regard that ſome of the Deans of the ſaid Cathe-
drals were a Corporation of themſelves, and held their Lands di-
ſtinct from the reſt of their Chapters; a clauſe was added to thoſe
Letters to preſerve thoſe Lands for the benefit of their Succeſſors,
as formerly in his Majeſties Inſtructions for ordering and diſpoſing
the Lands of Biſhops on the like occaſions. His Majeſty therefore
firſt declares, "That he had taken order by his late *Inſtructions*, that
"no Biſhop ſhould let any Leaſe after they had been named to a
"better Biſhoprick, but had not therein named the *Deans*, as he
"therein intended. And therefore ſecondly, that no Dean ſhould
"preſume from thenceforth, after his being named to a Biſhoprick,
"or a better Deanry, to renew any Leaſe either into lives or years:
"His Majeſty having well obſerved, that at ſuch times of remove
"many men care not what or how they let their Eſtates, to the pre-
"judice of the Church and their Succeſſors. Which Letters bear
"date at *Greenwich* in the twelfth year of his Reign, *June* 27.

Nor was he leſs careful to preſerve the Parochial Clergy from being oppreſſed by their neighbours in rates and taxes than he had been in maintaining the Eſtates of Capitular bodies, for the greater honour of thoſe bodies at the preſent time, and the benefit of Succeſſion for the time to come. During the Remiſs Government of King *James*, his Majeſties late embroylments with *France* and *Spain*, and his entanglements at home, the *Hollanders* had invaded the Regality of the Narrow Seas, and queſtioned the property of his Dominion in the ſame; not only growing to ſuch an height of inſolency, as to diſpute their ſtriking Sail in paſſing by any of his Majeſties Ships: but publiſhing a Diſcourſe in Latine, called, *Mare Liberum*, in defence thereof. Theſe affronts occaſioned *Noy*, the Atturney Generall, to put his Majeſty in mind of ſetting out a ſtrong power of Ships for the recovery of his Rights againſt all pretenders. And the better to enable him for it, adviſeth him to ſet on foot the *old Naval Aide*, required of the Subject by his Predeceſſors. He was a man extremely well verſed in old *Records*, with which conſulting frequently in the courſe of his ſtudies, he had excerpted and laid by many notes and precedents for the Kings levying of ſuch Navil Aide upon the Subjects, by his own Authority, whenſoever the preſervation and ſafety of the Kingdom did require it of them, which Notes and Precedents he had taken as they came in his way, in ſmall pieces of Paper (moſt of them no bigger than ones hand) he kept in the Coffin of a Pye, which had been ſent him by his Mother, and kept there till the mouldineſs and corruptibleneſs of it had periſhed many of his Papers. And by theſe Notes it did appear, that many times in the ſame years, wherein the Kings had received Subſidies

by

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1636.

by way of Parliament, they levied this *Naval Aide* by their own ſole power. For if (as he diſcourſed it to me at his houſe near *Brentford*) the King wanted money, either to ſupport his own expences, or for the enlarging of his Dominions in Foreign Conqueſts, or otherwiſe to advance his honour in the eye of the World, good reaſon he ſhould be beholden for it to the love of his People. But if the Kingdom was in danger, and that the ſafety of the Subject was concerned in the buſineſs, he might, and did raiſe ſuch ſums of money as he thought expedient for the preventing of the danger, and providing for the publick ſafety of him and his Subjects. According to which precedents he prepares a Writ, by which his Majeſty commandeth the Maritime Counties to provide a certain number of Ships for defence of the Kingdom, preſcribing to each Ship its ſeveral burden, the number of Mariners, and great Pieces of Ordnance, with Victuals, Arms, and Ammunition thereunto proportioned. The Subject not daring at the firſt to diſpute the Command, collected money for the Service according to the ſeveral rates impoſed on them in their ſeveral Counties; but dealt ſo unmercifully with the Clergy in the levying of it, that they laid upon them generally the fifth or ſixth part of the ſum impoſed. The Ice thus broken, and his Majeſty finding that proviſion not ſufficient to effect his purpoſe, iſſued out his Writs in the next year after *anno* 1635. into all the Counties of the Kingdom for preparing of a Royal Fleet to be in readineſs againſt the beginning of this year, in which the Clergy were as like to ſuffer as before they did. By the beſt was, that they had not only a gracious Patron, but a very powerful Mediatour, Upon whoſe humble deſire his Majeſty was pleaſed to direct his Letters to all the Sheriffs in *England* reſpectively, requiring them that no Tax ſhould be laid upon any Clergy-man, poſſeſt of a Parſonage, above the tenth part of the Land-rate of their ſeveral Pariſhes; and that conſideration ſhould be had of the poor Vicars in their ſeveral Pariſhes, according to their ſmall revenue, compared with the Abilities of the Pariſhioners amongſt whom they lived. The whole Sum levied by this Tax amounted to 236000 *li.* or there abouts, which comes not to 20000 *li.* a month; and being inſtead of all other payments, ſeemed to be no ſuch heavy burthen as it was generally made by the Popular Party, many of which quarrelled and and refuſed it.

But his Majeſty was two juſt a Prince to exact any thing by power, when he had neither Law nor Reaſon to make it good. And therefore as he had the opinion of all his Judges ſubſcribed by their hands for juſtifying the Legality of this Naval Tax amongſt the Subjects; ſo he thought fit to publiſh ſome defence of his Dominion, Right, and Soveraignty in the Narrow Seas for the ſatisfaction of his Neighbours. *John Selden* of the Inner Temple, a name that ſtands in need of no *titles of honour*, had written a Diſcourſe in the time of King *James*, which (in anſwer to that of *Grotius*, called, *Mare Liberum*)

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1636.

*berum*) he intituled by the name of *Mare Clauſum*. But ſtomacking the ſubmiſſion and acknowledgment which he was forced to make in the *High Commiſſion* for publiſhing his book of Tythes, and ſenſible of the ſmart which he had found from the Pens of *Tilieſly*, *Montague*, and *Nettles*, in their Anſwers to him, he did not only ſuppreſs the Book which he had written in the Kings defence, but carried an evil eye to the Court and Church for a long time after. But being a man of great parts, and eminent in the retired walks of Learning, he was worth the gaining, which *Canterbury* takes upon him, and at laſt effecteth. By his perſwaſion he not only perfected, but publiſhed that laborious piece, which he dedicated to his Majeſty, whoſe cauſe he pleaded. By whom it was ſo well approved, that he ſent it by Sir *William Beecher* (one of the Clerks of his Council) to the Barons of the Exchequer in open Court, by them to be laid up as a moſt ineſtimable Jewel amongſt the choice Records, which concerned the Crowns. In this book, which came out this year, he firſt aſſerts the Soveraignty or Dominion of the Britiſh Seas to the Crown of *England*. And that being cleared, he proved by conſtant and continual practice, that the Kings of *England* uſed to levy money from the Subjects (without help of Parliament) for the providing of Ships and other neceſſaries to maintain the Soveraignty which did of right belong unto them. This he brought down unto the times of King *Henry* the Second, and might have brought it nearer to his own times had he been ſo pleaſed, and thereby paved a plain way to the payment of *Ship-money*, as they commonly called it. But then he muſt have croſt the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons in the laſt Parliament, (wherein he was ſo great a ſtickler) voting down under a kind of *Anathema* the Kings pretenſions of right to all help from the Subject, either in *Tunnage* or *Poundage*, or any other way whatſoever, the Parliament not cooperating and contributing towards it. Howſoever the Service was as grateful as the Author acceptable, from henceforth both a frequent and a welcome gueſt at *Lambeth* houſe, where he was grown into ſuch eſteem with the Archbiſhop, that he might have choſe his own preferment in the Court (as it was then generally believed) had he not undervalued all other employments in reſpect of his Studies. But poſſibly there might be ſome other reaſon for his declining ſuch imployments as the Court might offer. He had not yet forgotten the affronts which were put upon him about his Hiſtory of Tythes, (for in the notion of affronts he beheld them alwaies) and therefore did but make fair weather for the time, till he could have an opportunity to revenge himſelf on the Church and Church-men, the King being took into the reckoning. For no ſooner did the Biſhop begin to ſink in power and credit under the firſt preſſures of the late Long Parliament, but he publiſhed a book in Greek and Latine by the name *Eutychius*, with ſome Notes upon it. In which he made it his chief buſineſs to prove, that Biſhops did no otherwiſe differ from the reſt

of

of the *Presbyters* than doth a Maſter of a Colledge from the reſt of the Fellows, by conſequents, that they differed only in *degree*, not *order*. And afterwards, when his Majeſty began to decline in the love of the Parliament, and that the heats grew ſtrong between them, he was affirmed to have written the Anſwer to his Majeſties Declaration about the *Commiſſion* of *Array*: Which in effect proved a plain putting of the Sword into the hands of the People. So hard it is for any one to diſcerne the hearts of men by their outward actions, but the God that made them. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1636.

Thus leaving *England* for a time we muſt go for *Scotland*, in which we find the Canons finiſhed, and the Biſhops buſie and intent on a publick *Liturgie*. It was his Majeſties firſt intent to introduce the *Engliſh Liturgie* amongſt them; and to that end, had ordered that it ſhould be daily read in his Chappel Royal of that Kingdom, as before was ſaid. But *Ballentine*, the Biſhop of *Dumblaine*, and Dean of the Chappel (to whom the care thereof had been recommended) was ſo negligent in it, that the Archbiſhop found it neceſſary to remove him to ſome other Biſhoprick on the next avoydance. The See of *Aberdeen* proving vacant, he procured his tranſlation thither, and preferred *Wederbourne*, a *Scot* by birth, but bread in *Cambridge*, beneficed in *Hampſhire*, and made one of the *Prebends* of *Ely* by the learned *Andrews*, to be his Succeſſor in thoſe places, By this new *Dean* his Majeſties deſign was followed with more care than ever; and poſſibly might have took effect, if the reſt of the *Scottiſh* Biſhops had been pleaſed therewith as well as this. But the *Scottiſh* Biſhops having prevailed with his Majeſty, as before was noted, to have a diſtinct *Liturgie* of their own, His Majeſty commanded the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to give them the beſt aſſiſtance he could in that way and work; which notwithſtanding he delayed as long as he could, in hope to bring them in the end to a better perſwaſion. But finding them ſo reſolved upon it, that they could not be altered he contributes his aſſiſtance to it, humbly intreated ſo to do by ſome Letters brought unto him by *Maxwell* (not long before made Biſhop of *Roſs*) bearing date *April* 2. 1635. and ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhops of St. *Andrews* and *Glaſcow*, the Biſhops of *Murrey*, *Dumblaine*, and *Brechine*. The Book being firſt hammered and prepared in *Scotland*, and from thence tranſmitted to the Court, his Majeſty referred it to the conſideration of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Treaſurer Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, and *Wren* Biſhop of *Norwich*: But the Lord *Treaſurer* being taken up with other imployments the burden of the work remained on the other two. They found on the peruſal of it that *Wederbourne* had followed ſuch inſtructions as he had carried with him about the making of that book (if it muſt be made) in keeping ſo much in it of the *Engliſh Liturgie*, and they found alſo certain notes which he had ſent together with it, to the end that as many of them as his Majeſty liked, might be made uſe of in that book. Thus authoriſed and inſtructed

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1636. they proceed unto the making of such Alterations as were offered to them, consisting for the most part in these Particulars: First, *That the* Magnificat *and the rest of the* Hymns, *together with the* Epistles *and* Gospels, *should be printed according to the last Translation in the time of King* James; *conform therein to such Directions as they had received for Printing the* Psalms of David *in the last Translation.* Secondly, *That for the better singing of those* Psalms *to the* Organ, *a* Colon *should be made in the middle of every Verse, as it was in the* English. Thirdly, *That they could not agree to any more Emendations in the Creed of St.* Athanasius, *than they had noted in that Book.* Fourthly, *That though the Bishops there desired some time to consider further of the Holydays, yet it was never otherwise meant: but that the Office appointed for every of them, should be kept in the* Liturgie; *the Practice and Observation of them being respited for a time to their further thoughts.* Fifthly, *That though they admitted of all the Sentences which they found in the* Offertory, *yet they wished that some which were in the* English *Book, might be added also.* Sixthly, *That every Prayer or Action through the whole Communion, should be named in the* Rubrick *before it, that it might be known to the People what it is; as they should find done to their hands in the Prayer of Consecration, and the Memorial of Oblation next after following.* Seventhly, *That the* Invitation, Confession, Absolution, Sentences, Prefaces, *and* Doxologie, *should be retained in the same place and order which they had in the* Liturgie *of* England; *and that the Prayer of humble Access to the Holy Table, would stand very well (as they conceived) before the very Act af* Participation. Eighthly, and finally, *That in the Margin of the Prayer of Consecration, they should add some Note, directing him that Celebrates, at what words he should take the* Patin *with the Bread on it, and the* Chalice *with the Wine in it, into his hands, according to the Practise of the Church of* England.

These Alterations being not only made by his Majesties Warrant, and approved by him in a Memorial under his Hand, bearing date the nineteenth day of *April* in this present year; but confirmed also with the like Royal Signature as they stood in the Book: Of which Particulars, and some others, the Bishop gives an account to *Wederbourne* by his Letters of the twentieth of *April,* being the morrow after his Majesty had Signed the said Memorial. It seems that *Wederbourne* had given our Archbishop notice of some defects which he had found in the Book of Consecration of Archbishops, Bishops, *&c.* as it was then used amongst the *Scots*, viz. 1. *That the Order of* Deacons *was made but a* Lay-Office *at the best, as by that Book might be understood.* And 2. *That in the Admission to the* Priesthood, *the very essential Words of conferring Orders were left out.* With which the King being made acquainted, he gave command to the Archbishop to make known unto them, That he would have them either to admit the *English* Book, or else to rectifie their own in those two great oversights. After which, taking the whole business of that Church

Church into his conſideration, it pleaſed him to direct his *Further Inſtructions* to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of it, bearing date on the eighteenth of *October* following; In which he requires them to take care, "That the Proclamation to be made for Authoriſing the "*Service-Book*, ſhould not derogate in any thing from his Royal Pre- "rogative. 2. That in their *Kalendar* they ſhould keep ſuch Ca- "tholick Saints as were in the *Engliſh*, ſuch of the Saints as were "moſt peculiar to that Kingdom (eſpecially thoſe which were of "the Royal Blood, and ſome of the moſt holy Biſhops) being ad- "ded to them: but that in no caſe St. *George* and St. *Patrick* be "omitted. 3. That in their Book of *Ordination*, in giving *Orders* to "*Presbyters*, they ſhould keep the words of the *Engliſh* Book with- "out change, *Receive the Holy Ghoſt, &c.* 4. That they ſhould in- "ſert among the *Leſſons* ordinarily to be read in the *Service*, out of "the Book of *Wiſdom* the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, fifth, and "ſixth Chapters; and out of the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, the firſt, "ſecond fifth, eighth, thirty fifth, and forty ninth Chapters. 5. That "every Biſhop within his Family twice a day cauſe the *Service* "to be read; and that all Archbiſhops and Biſhops make all Uni- "verſities and Colledges within their Dioceſes, to uſe daily twice "a day the *Service*. 6. That the Preface to the Book of *Common* "*Prayer*, Signed by his Majeſties Hand, and the Proclamation for "Authoriſing the ſame, ſhould be Printed, and inſerted in the Book "of *Common-Prayer*. According to which *Inſtructions*, and the Corrections above-mentioned, this *Liturgie* at the laſt (after it had been twenty years in conſideration) was fully finiſhed and concluded; and being thus finiſhed and concluded, was Ratified and Confirmed by his Majeſties Royal Edict, as followeth, *viz.*

CHARLES *By the Grace of God King of* Great Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith*, &c. *To Our* Lovits

*Meſſengers, Our Sheriffs in that part conjunctly and ſeverally, ſpecially conſtitute, Greeting. Foraſmuch as We, ever ſince Our entry to the Imperial Crown of this Our ancient Kingdom of* Scotland, *eſpecially ſince Our late being here in the ſame, have divers times recommended to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops there, the publiſhing of a Publick Form of Service in the Worſhip of God, which We would have uniformly obſerved therein, and the ſame being now condeſcended unto: Although We doubt not but all our Subjects, both Clergie and others, will receive the ſaid Publick Form of Service; yet thinking it neceſſary to make Our Pleaſure known, touching the Authority thereof, Our Will is, and We ſtraightly command, That incontinent theſe Our Letters ſeen, you paſs, and in Our Name and Authority command and charge all our Subjects both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, by open Proclamation at the Market-Croſſes of the Head Burroughs of this Our Kingdom, and other Places needful, to conform themſelves to the ſaid Publick Form of Worſhip, which*

*is*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1636.

*is the only Form which We (having taken the Counſel of Our Clergie) think fit to be uſed in Gods Publick Worſhip in this Our Kingdom: Commanding alſo all Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and other Presbyters and Church-men, to take a ſpecial care that the ſame be duly obeyed and obſerved, and the Contraveners condignly cenſured and puniſhed; and to have ſpecial care, that every Pariſh betwixt this and* Paſche *next, procure unto themſelves two at the leaſt of the ſaid Books of* Common-Prayer, *for the uſe of the Pariſh; The which to do, We commit to you conjunctly and ſeverally Our full Power by theſe Our Letters* Patents, *delivering the ſame to be by you duly executed, and endorſed again to be delivered to the Bearer.*

Given under Our Signet at *Edenborough*, 20 *December*, in the Twelfth year of Our Reign, 1636.

Such was the form of Paſſing and Confirming the *Scottiſh Liturgie*, never preſented to that *Kirk*, nor tendred to the Approbation of any *General Aſſembly*; as in the Reſtitution of Epiſcopal Government, and Introduction of the five Articles of *Perth*, had been done before. And this is that at which the *Scottiſh* Presbyters did ſeem to be moſt offended; ſufficiently diſpleaſed with any *Liturgie* at all, but more in having ſuch an one as either was ſo near the *Engliſh*, or ſo different from it. Which fault, if any fault it were, is rather to to be charged upon the *Scottiſh* than the *Engliſh* Prelates. For when the way of introducing it was in agitation, our Archbiſhop ever adviſed them, as well in his Majeſties preſence, as elſewhere, "To look "carefully to it, and to be ſure to do nothing in it but what ſhould "be agreeable to the Laws of the Kingdom; and not to fail of ta-"king the Advice of the Lords of the Council, and governing "themſelves according to it. But as it ſeems, thoſe Biſhops durſt not truſt their Clergy, or venture the reception or refuſal of it to the Vote of a *General Aſſembly*, from which they could not promiſe themſelves any good ſucceſs. So that the Caſe ſeems to be much like that of *King Edward* vi. when the firſt *Liturgie* was Compoſed by ſome few of the Biſhops, and other Learned men (not above thirteen in number) eſpecially thereto Authoriſed: Or unto that of Queen *Elizabeth*, when the ſecond *Liturgie* of that King was fitted and corrected by her appointment. Neither of which durſt truſt their Clergy, but acted Sovereignly therein of their own Authority, not venturing either of the ſaid Books to their Convocations: but only giving them the ſtrength of an Act of Parliament; and then the Point in iſſue will be briefly this, *viz. whether the King, conſulting with a leſſer part of the Biſhops and Clergie, and having their conſent therein, may conclude any thing in the way of a* Reformation, *the reſidue and greateſt part not adviſed withal, nor yielding their conſent in a formal way*? Now for my Anſwer, that it may be built upon the ſurer grounds, it is to be conſidered, 1. Whether the *Reformation* be in corruption of Manners, or abuſes in Government? Whether

*Hidd. Works*, p. 155.

in

in matters *Practical*, or in points of *Doctrine*? 2. If in matters *Practical*, Whether ſuch Practice have the Character of *Antiquity*, *Univerſality*, and *Conſent* imprinted on it? or that it be the Practice of particular Churches, and of ſome *Times* only? And 3. If in Points of *Doctrine*, Whether ſuch Points have been determined of before in a *General Council*, or in *Particular Councils* univerſally received and countenanced? or are to be defined *de novo* on emergent Controverſies?

And theſe Diſtinctions being thus laid, I ſhall Anſwer briefly. 1. If the things to be reformed be either Corruptions in Manners, or neglect of Publick Duties to Almighty God, ; Abuſes either in Government, or the Parties governing; the King may do it of himſelf, by his ſole Authority: The Clergy are beholden to him, if he takes any of them along with him when he goes about it. And if the Times ſhould be ſo bad, that either the whole body of the Clergy, or any (though the greateſt) part thereof, ſhould oppoſe him in it, he may go forwards notwithſtanding, puniſhing ſuch as ſhall gainſay him in ſo good a Work, and compelling others. And this I look on as a Power annexed to the Regal Diadem, and ſo inſeparably annexed, that Kings could be no longer Kings, if it were denied them. And on the other ſide, if the Reformation be in Points of Doctrine, and in ſuch Points of Doctrine as have not been before defined, or not defined in form and manner as before laid down, the King only, with a few of his Biſhops and Learned Clergy (though never ſo well ſtudied in the Point diſputed) can do nothing in it. That belongs only to the whole body of the Clergy in their *Convocation* rightly called and conſtituted; whoſe Acts being Ratified by the King, bind not alone the reſt of the Clergy, in whoſe name they Voted: but all the reſidue of the Subjects of what ſort ſoever, who are to acquieſce in their Reſolutions. But if the thing to be *Reformed* be a matter *practical*, we are to look into the uſage of the *Primitive Times*: And if the *Practice* prove to have been both ancient, and univerſally received over all the Church, though intermitted for a *Time*, and by *Time* corrupted, the King, conſulting with ſo many of his Biſhops, and others of his moſt able Clergy, as he thinks fit to call unto him, and having their Conſent and Direction in it, may in the caſe of *intermiſſion* revive ſuch *Practice*, and in the caſe of *corruption* and *degeneration*, reſtore it to its Primitive and Original Luſtre. Now that there ſhould be *Liturgies* for the uſe of the Church, And that thoſe *Liturgies* ſhould be Celebrated in a Language underſtood by the People, That in thoſe *Liturgies* there ſhould be ſome preſcribed Forms, for Giving the Communion in both Kinds, for Baptizing Infants, for the reverent Celebration of Marriage, performing the laſt Office to the Sick, and the decent Burial of the Dead; as alſo, for ſet Faſts and appointed Feſtivals, hath been a thing of Primitive and General Practice in the beſt times of the Church: And being ſuch, though *intermitted* and *corrupted* as before is ſaid, the King adviſing with

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1636.

with his Biſhops and other Church-men (though not in a *Synodical* way) may cauſe the ſame to be *reviſed* and *revived*; and having fitted them to Edification and encreaſe of Piety, either commend them to the Church by his ſole Authority, or elſe impoſe them on the People under certain Penalties, by his Power in Parliament. (a) *The Kingdom of Heaven* (ſaid the Reverend *Iſidore* of *Sevil*) *doth many times receive increaſe from theſe Earthly Kingdoms; in nothing more, than by regulating and well ordering of Gods Publick Worſhip.* Add hereunto what was before alledged, for paſſing the *Canons* in the ſame way; and then we have the ſum of that which was, and probably might have been pleaded in defence hereof.

(a) *Sæpe Cæleſte Regnum per Terrenum proficit.*

The proſecution of this *Liturgie* on the one ſide, and the exaction of thoſe Publick Orders on the other, kindled ſuch fires in the breaſts of ſome of the *Puritan* Faction, that preſently they brake out into open Flames. For firſt the *Scots* ſcattered abroad a virulent and ſeditious Libel in the year 1634. wherein the King was not only charged with altering the Government of that Kingdom, but traduced for very ſtrong inclinations to the Religion of the Church of *Rome*. The chief Abettor whereof (for the Author was not to be found) was the Lord *Balmerino*; for which he was Legally convicted, and condemned of Treaſon: but pardoned by the Kings great Goodneſs, and by that Pardon kept alive for the miſchiefs following. And as the *Engliſh* had *Scotized* in all their Practiſes (by railing, threatning, and ſtirring up of Sedition) for bringing in the *Genevian* Diſcipline in Queen *Elizabeths* Time; ſo they reſolve to follow their Example now. *Baſtwick* a Doctor of *Phyſick* (the ſecond part of *Leighton*) firſt leads the Dance, beginning with a Peſtilent Pamphlet called *Flagellum Epiſcoporum Latialium*, maliciouſly venomous againſt the Biſhops, their Function, Actions, and Proceedings. But this not being likely to do much hurt amongſt the People, becauſe writ in *Latine*, he ſeconds it with another, which he called his *Litany*, in the *Engliſh* Tongue: A Piece ſo ſilly and contemptible, that nothing but the Sin and Malice which appeared in every line thereof, could poſſibly have preſerved it from being ridiculous. *Prynne* follows next, and publiſheth two Books at once (or one immediately on the other) one of theſe called *The Quench-Coal*, in anſwer unto that called *A Coal from the Altar*, againſt placing the Communion-Table *Altarwiſe*: The other named *The Unbiſhoping of* Timothy *and* Titus, againſt the Apoſtolical Inſtitution of *Dioceſan Biſhops*. But that which was entituled to him by the name of a *Libel*, was, *The News from* Ipſwich; intended chiefly againſt *Wren* then Biſhop of *Norwich*, who had taken up his dwelling in that Town, as before is ſaid: but falling as ſcandalouſly foul on the Archbiſhop himſelf, and ſome of the other Biſhops alſo, and ſuch as acted under them in the preſent Service. For there he deſcants very trimly (as he conceived) on the Archbiſhop himſelf, with his *Arch-Piety, Arch-Charity, Arch-Agent for the Devil*; *that* Beelzebub *himſelf had been Archbiſhop, and the like*

*like to thoſe, a moſt triumphant Arch indeed to adorn his victories.* With like reproach he falls on the Biſhops generally, calling them *Luciferian Lord Biſhops, execrable Traitors, devouring Wolves*, with many other odious names not fit to be uſed by a *Chriſtian*; and more particularly on *Wren*, telling us, *That in all Queen* Maries *time no ſuch havock was made in ſo ſhort a time of the faithful Miniſters of God in any part, nay, in the whole Land, than had been made in his Dioceſs.* And then he adds with equal Charity and Truth, *That* Corbet, *Chancellor to this Biſhop, had threatned one or two godly Miniſters with piſtolling, and hanging*, and I know not what, *becauſe they had refuſed to read his Majeſties Declaration about lawful Sports.* More of this diſh I could have carved, but that this may ſerve ſufficiently for a taſte of the whole.

But the great Maſter-piece of miſchief, was ſet out by *Burton* (ſo often mentioned before) who preaching on the fifth of *November*, in his own Pariſh Church of St. *Matthews* in *Friday* Street, took for his Text thoſe words in the *Proverbs*, viz. *My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change*, *Chap.* 24. 22. In this *Sermon* (if I may wrong the Word ſo far as to give it to ſo lewd a Libel) he railes moſt bitterly againſt the Biſhops, accuſeth them of *Innovating* both in Doctrine and Worſhip, impeacheth them of exerciſing a Juriſdiction contrary to the Laws of the Land, 1 *Edw. 6. c.* 2. and for falſifying the Records of the Church by adding the firſt clauſe to the twentieth Article; arraigneth them for oppreſſing the Kings Liege people, contrary unto Law and Juſtice, exciting the people to riſe up againſt them; magnifying thoſe diſobedient Spirits, who hitherto have ſtood out in defiance of them; and ſeems content in caſe the Biſhops lives might be called in queſtion, to run the hazard of his own. For this being taken and impriſoned by a warrant from the *High Commiſſion*, he makes his appeal unto the King, juſtifies it by an Apology, and ſeconds that by an Addreſs to the Nobility: In which laſt he requires all ſorts of people, Noblemen, Judges, Courtiers, and thoſe of the inferiour ſort, to ſtand up ſtoutly for the Goſpel againſt the Biſhops. And finally Prints all together with an Epiſtle Dedicatory to the King himſelf; to the end that if his Majeſty ſhould vouchſafe the reading of it, he might be brought into an ill opinion of the Biſhops and their proceedings in the Church. Whoſe actions tend only (as he telleth us) p. 74. to corrupt the Kings good peoples hearts, by caſting into them fears and jealouſies, and ſiniſter opinions toward the King; as if he were the prime cauſe of all thoſe *Grievances*, which in his name they oppreſs the Kings good Subjects withall. Thus alſo in another place, Theſe Factors of *Antichriſt* (ſaith he) practice to divide Kings from p. 75. their Subjects, and Subjects from their Kings, that ſo between both they may fairly erect Antichriſts Throne again. For that indeed, that is to ſay, the new building of *Bable*, the ſetting up again of the throne of *Antichriſt*, the bringing in of Popery to ſubvert the Go-

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1636.

ſpell, is made to be the chief deſign of the Prelates and Prelatical party; to which all innovations, uſurpations, and more dangerous practices, which are unjuſtly charged upon them, ſerved only as preparatives and ſubſervient helps.

Such being the matter in the *Libell*, let us next look upon the Ornaments and dreſſings thereof, conſiſting moſt eſpecially in thoſe infamous Attributes, which he aſcribes unto the Biſhops. "For *Fathers* he calls them *Step-fathers*; for *Pillars*, *Caterpillars*; their "houſes haunted, and their Epiſcopal Chairs poyſoned, by the Spirit that bears rule in the air. They are (ſaith he) the Limbs "of the Beaſt, even of Antichriſt, taking his very courſes to bear "and beat down the hearing of the Word of God, whereby men "might be ſaved, *p.*12. Their fear is more toward an *Altar* of their "own invention, towards an Image or Crucifix, toward the ſound "and ſyllables of *Jeſus*, then toward the Lord *Chriſt*, *p.*15. He "gives then the reproachful Titles of *Miſcreants*, *p.*28. The trains "and wiles of the Dragons doglike flattering taile, *p.*30. New *Babel builders*, *p.* 32. Blind Watchmen, dumb dogs, thieves and "robbers of Souls, Falſe Prophets, ravening Wolves, *p.* 48. Factors for *Antichriſt*, *p.*75. *Antichriſtian* Muſhrumps. And that "it might be known what they chiefly aimed at, we ſhall hear him "ſay that they cannot be quiet, till (*res novas moliendo*) they ſet up "*Popery* again in her full Equipage, *p.* 95. Tooth and naile for ſetting up *Popery* again, *p.*96. Trampling under feet *Chriſts* Kingdom, "that they may ſet up *Antichriſts* Throne again, *p.*99. According "to the Spirit of *Rome* which breaths in them, by which they are ſo "ſtrongly *biaſſed* to wheel about to their *Roman* Miſtreſs, *p.*108. The "*Prelates* confederate with the Prieſts and Jeſuites for rearing up of "that Religion, *p.* 140. Calling them upon that account in his Apo-"logy, *Jeſuited Polipragmaticks*, and Sons of *Belial*. Having thus luſtily laid about him againſt all in general, he deſcends to ſome particulars of moſt note and eminence, "Reviling *White* of *Ely*, "with railing and perverting, in fighting againſt the truth, which he "makes to be his principal quality, *p.*127. and *Mountagne* of *Chi-"cheſter* for a tried Champion of *Rome*, and the devoted Votary to "his Queen of heaven, *p.* 126. And ſo proceeding to the Archbiſhop (for of *Wren* he had ſpoke enough before) he tells us of him, "That he uſed to ſet his foot on the Kings Laws, as the Pope did "on the Emperors neck, *p.*54. That with his right hand he was able "to ſweep down the third part of the Stars in heaven, p.121. And "that he had a *Papal* infallibility of Spirit, whereby, as by a divine "Oracle, all Queſtions in Religion are finally determined, *p.*132. Theſe are the principal flowers of Rhetorick which grew in the Garden of *H. B.* ſufficient queſtionleſs to ſhew how ſweet a Champion he was like to prove of the Church and Goſpel.

And yet this was not all the miſchief which the Church ſuffered at that time, for preſently on the neck of theſe came out another, entituled,

entituled, *The holy Table, name and thing*, intended purpoſely for an Anſwer to the *Coal from the Altar*, but cunningly pretended by him to be written long ago by a Miniſter in *Lincolnſhire* againſt Dr. *Coale*, a judicious Divine in Queen *Maries* daies; Printed for the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*; by the Biſhop whereof, under the name of *John Lincoln, Dean* of *Weſtminſter*, it was authorized for the Preſs. In managing whereof, the point in Controverſie was principally about the placing of the *Holy Table* according to the practice of the Primitive Church, and the received Rules of the Church of *England* at the firſt *Reformation* of it. In proſecution of which point he makes himſelf an Adverſary of his he know not whom, and then he uſeth him he cares not how, mangling the Authors words whom he would confute, that ſo he might be ſure of the eaſier conqueſt; and practiſing on thoſe Authors whom he was to uſe, that they may ſerve his turn the better to procure the victory. Of the compoſure of the whole we may take this Character from him who made the Anſwer to it, *viz.* "That he that conjectured of the houſe by the trim or "dreſs, would think it very richly furniſhed; the Walls whereof "(that is the Margin) richly ſet out with *Antick* hangings, and "whatſoever coſtly workmanthip all nations of theſe times may be "thought to brag of; and every part adorned with flouriſhes and "pretty paſtimes, the gay devices of the Painter: Nor is there any "want at all of *Ornaments* or *Utenſils* to ſet out the ſame, ſuch "eſpecially as may ſerve for *oſtentation*, though of little uſe; many "a fine and ſubtle *Carpet*, not a few idle couches for the credulous "Reader, and every where a pillow for a *Puritans* elbow; all very "pleaſing to the eye, but ſlight of ſubſtance; counterfeit ſtuff moſt "of it, and wrought with ſo much fraud and falſhood, that there "is hardly one true ſtitch in all that work from the very beginning "to the end. Hardly one teſtimony or authority in the whole Diſ-"courſe which is any way material to the point in hand: but is as "true and truly cited, as that the book it ſelf was writ long ago in "anſwer unto D. *Coale* of Queen *Maries* daies. The King he tacitely upbraides with the unfortunacies of his Reign by Deaths and Plagues, the Governours of the Church with carrying all things by ſtrong hand, rather by Canon-ſhot than by Canon Law. The Biſhop of *Norwich* he compares (as before was noted) to a *Wren* mounted on the feathers of an Eagle, and fall upon his Adverſary with as foule a mouth as *Burton* doth upon the Prelates; the Parable betwixt him and *Burton* being very well fitted as appears by the Preface to the Miniſters of *Lincoln* Dioceſs in the Anſwer to him. Obliquely and upon the by he hath ſome glancings againſt bowing at the name of *Jeſus*, *Adoring* toward the Eaſt, and Praying according to the Canon; and makes the tranſpoſing of the Table to the place where the *Altar* ſtood, to be an Introduction for uſhering in the whole body of Popery. Which *Eleuſinian* Doctrine (for ſo he calleth it) though theſe new *Reformers* (for fear of ſo many Laws and

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1636.

Preface to *Antid. Linc.*

*Antid. Linc.* p 5.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

Canons) dare not apparently profeſs, yet (ſaith he) they prepare and lay grounds for it, that the out-works of Religion being taken in, they may in time have a bout with the Fort it ſelf.

To theſe two Books his Majeſty thought fit that ſome preſent Anſwer ſhould be made, appointing the ſame hand for both which had writ the Hiſtory of the *Sabbath*. The one being abſolutely deſtructive of the uniformity in placing the Communion Table, which was then in hand; The other labouring to create a general hatred unto all the Biſhops, branding their perſons, blaſting their Counſels, and decrying the Function. And hard it was to ſay whether of the two would have proved more miſchievous if they were not ſeaſonably prevented. The Anſwer unto *Burton* was firſt commanded and prepared; That to the *Lincoln* Miniſter, though afterwards enjoyned, was the firſt that was publiſhed. This of the two, the ſubtler and more curious piece, exceedingly cried up when it firſt came out; the diſaffection of the times, and ſubject matter of the Book, and the Religious eſtimation which was had of the Author, concurring altogether to advance the Reputation of it to the very higheſt, ſold for four ſhillings at the firſt, when conceived unanſwerable; but within one month after the coming out of the Anſwer (which was upon the twentieth of *May*) brought to leſs than one. The Anſwer publiſhed by the name of *Antidotum Lincolnienſe*, with reference to the *Licencer* and *Author* of the *Holy Table*. The publiſhing of the other was delayed upon this occaſion: A Reſolution had been taken by command of his Majeſty to proceed againſt the *Triumvirate* of Libellers (as one fitly calls them) to a publick Cenſure, which was like to make much noiſe amongſt the ignorant People. It was thought fit by the Prudent Council of Queen *Elizabeth* upon the execution of ſome Prieſts and Jeſuits, that an Apology ſhould be publiſhed, by the name of *Juſtitia Britannica*, to vindicate the publick Juſtice of the State from ſuch aſperſions, as by the Tongues and Pens of malicious perſons ſhould be laid upon it. And on the like prudential grounds it was thought expedient, that an anſwer ſhould be made to the book which ſeemed moſt material; and being ſo made, ſhould be kept in readineſs till the execution of the Sentence, to the end that the people might be ſatisfied, as well in the greatneſs of the Crimes, as the neceſſity and juſtice of the Puniſhment, inflicted upon one of the Principals, by whom a judgment might be made of all the reſt. But the Cenſure being deferred from *Eaſter* until *Midſummer* Term, the Anſwer lay dormant all the while at *Lambeth* in the hands of the *Licencer*, and was then publiſhed by the name of *A briefe and moderate Anſwer to the ſeditious and ſcandalous challenges of H. B.* &c. Two other Books were alſo publiſhed about that time, the one about the name and ſituation of the Communion Table, which was called, *Altare Chriſtianum*, writ by one *Pocklington*, then beneficed in *Bedfordſhire*, and ſeconded by a *Chappel*

*Hiſt. K. C.* p. 151.

*Deter-*

*Determination* of the well ſtudied *Joſeph Mede*; The other againſt *Burton* by name, publiſhed by *Dow* of *Baſell* in *Suſſex*, under the Title of *Innovations unjuſtly charged*, &c. And ſo much for the Pen Combates, managed on both ſides in the preſent Controverſies. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

But whilſt theſe things were in agitation, there hapned toward the end of this year, ſuch an Alteration in the Court, as began to make no leſs noiſe than the reſt before. It had been an ancient cuſtome in the Court of *England* to have three Sermons every week in the time of *Lent*. Two of them preached on *weaneſdaies* and *Fridaïes*, the third in the open preaching place near the Council Chamber on Sundaies in the Afternoon. And ſo it continued till King *James* came to this Crown. Who having upon *Tueſday* the fifth of *Auguſt* eſcapt the hands and treaſons of the Earl of *Gowrie*, took up a pious reſolution, not only of keeping the Anniverſary of that day for a publick Feſtival in all his Dominions, but of having a Sermon, and other divine Offices every *Tueſday* throughout the year. This cuſtome he began in *Scotland*, and brought it with him into the Court of *England*; and thereupon tranſlated one of the Lent Sermons from *Weaneſday* to *Tueſday*. This Innovation in the Court, where before there were no Sermons (out of *Lent*) but on *Sundaies* only, came in ſhort time to have a very ſtrong Influence upon the Country, giving example and defence to ſuch Lectures and Sermons on the working daies, as frequently were appointed and continued in moſt Corporations, and many other Market Towns in all parts of the Kingdom. In which reſpect it was upon the point of being laid aſide at the Court on the death of that King, in reference to whoſe particular concernments it was taken up, and therefore his Succeſſor not obliged to the obſervation. But then withall it was conſidered, that the new King had married with a Lady of the *Roman* Religion, that he was ingaged in a War with *Spain*, which could not be carried on without help from the Parliament, wherein the *Puritan* Party had appeared to be very powerful. The diſcontinuing of that Sermon in this conjuncture, might have been looked on in the King as the want of zeal toward the preaching of the Goſpel, and a ſtrong tendency in him to the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, and a betraying of the Court to Ignorance and Superſtition by depriving them of ſuch neceſſary means of their Inſtruction. Upon theſe grounds it ſtood as before it did, as well in the holy time of *Lent* as in other Weeks. But now *Laud* being Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Wren* Dean of the Chappel, it was reſolved to move his Majeſty, that the *Lent* Sermons might be preached on *Weaneſdaies* as they had been Anciently. To which his Majeſty condeſcending, and the Bill of Lent-Preachers being drawn accordingly, it was firſt muttered ſecretly, and afterwards made a publick clamour, that this was one of the Archbiſhops Artifices, a trick deviſed for putting down the *Tueſday* Sermons of which you ſhould never hear more,

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

when this *Lent* was over: Which Cry growing lowder and lowder, as the *Lent* continued, was ſuddenly huſh'd and ſtilled again on the *Eaſter Tueſday*, when they ſaw the Preacher in the Pulpit, as at other times. So uſual is it with ſome men to be afraid of their own ſhadows, and terrified with fears of their own deviſing.

This Interruption thus paſt over, I ſhall unwillingly reſume my former Argument concerning *Baſtwick* and the reſt of his fellow-Criminals, who being called unto their Anſwer, uſed ſo many delays, that the Caſe could not come to Sentence before *Midſomer* Term. Some Anſwers they had drawn: but they were ſo Libellous and full of ſcandal, that no Counſellor could be found to put his hand to them, according to the courſe of that Court; Inſtead whereof, they exhibited a croſs Bill againſt *Canterbury* and his Confederates, (as they called them) charging them with the greateſt part of thoſe Reproaches, which had been made the ſubject-matter of their former *Libels*; which being ſigned by no hands but their own, and tendred ſo to the Lord Keeper, was by him rejected, and themſelves taken *pro confeſſis*, their obſtinacy in not anſwering in due form of Law, being generally looked on by the Court as a ſelf-conviction, On the fourteenth of *June* they received their Sentence, which briefly was to this effect: *Prynne* to be fined 5000 *l.* to the King, to loſe the remainder of his ears in the Pillory, to be branded on both cheeks with the Letters *S. L.* for a *Schiſmatical Libeller*, and to be perpetually impriſoned in *Carnarvan* Caſtle: *Baſtwick* and *Burton* condemned in the like Fine of 5000 *l.* to be Pilloried, and loſe their Ears; the firſt to be impriſoned in the Caſtle of *Lanceſton* in *Cornwal*, and the ſecond in the Caſtle of *Lancaſter*. On the thirtieth of the ſame Month, *Burton* being firſt degraded of his Miniſtry in the *High-Commiſſion*, they were brought into the Palace-yard of *Weſtminſter* to receive their puniſhment, not executed on them with ſuch great ſeverity as was injuriouſly given out: But being executed howſoever, it was a great trouble to the ſpirits of many very moderate and well-meaning men, to ſee the three moſt Eminent Profeſſions in all the World (*Divinity*, *Law*, and *Phyſick*) to be ſo wretchedly diſhonoured in the Perſons of the Malefactors, as was obſerved by the Archbiſhop himſelf in his Epiſtle to the King. Which part of the Puniſhment being inflicted, they were conveyed with care and ſafety to their ſeveral Priſons, the People either fooliſhly or factiouſly reſorting to them as they paſſed, and ſeeming to bemoan their Sufferings as *unjuſtly Rigorous*. And ſuch a haunt there was to the ſeveral Caſtles, to which they were condemned of purpoſe for preventing all Intelligence and Correſpondence to be held between them, that the State found it neceſſary to remove them further; *Prynne* to the Caſtle of *Mont Orgueil* in the Iſle of *Jerſey*, *Burton* to *Caſtle-Cornet* in the Road of *Guernſey*, and *Baſtwick* to St. *Maries* Caſtle in the Iſle of *Silly*; which laſt remembreth me of the like Confinement, to which *Inſtantius* a profeſſed *Priſcilianiſt* (a very near Kinſman of the *Engliſh*

*L'eſtrange's Hiſt. King Charles*, p. 151.

*Ad Sillinam Inſulam ultra Britannicum deportatus.* Sulp. Sever. l. 2.

*Engliſh Puritan*) had been condemned by the Juſtice of the *Primitive* Times.

At the pronouncing of this Sentence the Archbiſhop made a long and elaborate Speech, in vindication of himſelf and the reſt of the Biſhops from any Deſign to bring in *Popery*, or innovating in the Government and Forms of Worſhip, here by Law eſtabliſhed. "He "made his Introduction to it in a brief Diſcourſe touching the na- "ture of the Crime, ſhewing how odious a thing it was to think of "defending Religion in the way of *Libels*; a thing not uſed by any "of the Primitive Chriſtians, in the greateſt heats of Perſecution; "and then profeſſing for his own part, That he had done nothing as "a Biſhop, but with a ſincere intention for the good Government "and Honour of the Church of *England*, and the maintenance of "the *Orthodox* Truth and Religion profeſſed and eſtabliſhed in it; "adding withal, That nothing but his Care of reducing the Church "into *Order* in the External Worſhip of God, and the ſettling of it "on the Rules of its firſt *Reformation*, had raiſed this Storm againſt "himſelf and the reſt of the Biſhops, for which alone they ſtood ac- "cuſed of *Innovations*, by thoſe which were the greateſt *Innovators* "in the Chriſtian World. He ſpake next touching the *Calling* of "Biſhops, which he maintained to be *Jure Divino*, though not all "the *Adjuncts* of that *Calling*; averring further, That from the time "of the Apoſtles, to the days of *Calvin*, the Government of the "Church was by Biſhops only, *Lay-Elders* being never heard of; "which Claim by *Divine Right*, derogateth not from the King either "in Right or Power (as the *Libellers* made it) no more than the *Cal- "ling* of the *Presbyters* by the ſame *Right*, could be thought to do; "in regard they exerciſed not any *Juriſdiction* in the Kings Domini- "ons, but with his Licence for ſo doing: Or were it otherwiſe, yet "that the Biſhops ſtood in *England* in as good a caſe as the preſent "Laws could make them; and therefore they that *Libelled* againſt "them, *Libelled* againſt the King and State, by the Laws whereof "they were eſtabliſhed; and conſequently, could aim at no other "end, than the ſtirring of Sedition amongſt the People. As touch- "ing the deſign of bringing in *Popery* (by which Artifice they chiefly "hoped to inflame the People) he firſt acquitted the King of it, by "ſhewing his *ſincerity* and conſtancy in his Religion, exemplified "by his Carriage in *Spain*, where he wanted no temptations to draw "him from it; and his Deportment ſince in *England*, in which he "had ſo often declared a ſettled Reſolution, to maintain the ſame: "Or were it otherwiſe, and that the King had any mind to change "Religion, he muſt ſeek for other Inſtruments than himſelf to effect "that purpoſe; moſt humbly thanking God, That as yet he knew "not how to ſerve any Man, againſt the Truth of Chriſt; ſo he ho- "ped he ſhould never learn: profeſſing further, for the ſatisfaction of "all which heard him, That he knew of no plot nor purpoſe of alter- "ing the Religion here eſtabliſhed; and that for his own part, he had

"ever

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

"ever been far from attempting any thing which might be truly ſaid "to tend that way, in the leaſt degree; to both which he was ready "to take his *Oath*. Which ſaid in general, he briefly touch'd on "thoſe *Innovations* which in thoſe *Libels*, had been charged on him "and the reſt of the Biſhops, in order unto that Deſign.

"To the firſt *Innovation*, touching the ſuppreſſing of Sermons "(during the time of the late *Faſt*) in infected places, contrary to "the Orders in former times, he anſwered, Firſt, That *after-Ages* "might without *offence* learn to avoid any viſible *inconvenience* ob- "ſerved in the former: And ſecondly, That the ſuppreſſing of thoſe "Sermons was no *Act* of the Biſhops, but a Command proceeding "(on a full debate) from the Lords of the Council, the better to "avoid the ſpreading of the Contagion: And thirdly, That as Ser- "mons on the Faſt-days had been uſed of late, they were ſo far "from *humbling men in the ſight of God*, that they were fitter for "other operations, as the raiſing of Sedition amongſt the People; "of which there could not be a clearer inſtance, than in that of "*Burton*. To the ſecond, That by appointing the Weekly Faſts to "be on *Wedneſdays*, and thoſe Faſts to be kept without any Sermons, "there was a plot for ſuppreſſing all *Wedneſday Lectures* for ever af- "ter: It was anſwered, That *Wedneſday* was the uſual day for ſuch "Publick Faſts; That it was named by the *Lord Keeper*, no great "Friend to *Popery*; and that thoſe men had lived to ſee the Faſt en- "ded, and the *Wedneſday Lectures* ſtill continued. To the third, "That the Prayer for *Seaſonable Weather* was left out of the laſt "Book; and that the leaving of it out, was one cauſe of the Ship- "wracks and Tempeſtuous Weather which followed after: He an- "ſwered *generally*, firſt, That all *Faſt-Books* are made by the com- "mand of the King (who alone had Power to call ſuch *Faſts*); and "that the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, who had the ordering of thoſe "Books, had alſo Power under the King, of putting in and leaving "out of thoſe Books, whatſoever they think fit for the preſent occa- "ſion. Secondly, as to this particular, That when the *Faſt-Book* "was made, the Weather was very Seaſonable, and the Harveſt in; "and that it was not the Cuſtom of the Church to pray for ſeaſona- "ble Weather when they had it, but when it was wanting. Third- "ly, That it was very boldly done, to aſcribe the cauſe of thoſe "Tempeſts to the leaving out of that Prayer, which God had ne- "ver *revealed* unto them, and they could not otherwiſe know but "by *Revelation*. To the fourth, touching a Clauſe omitted in the "firſt Collect, in which Thanks had been given to God for deliver- "ing us from *Popiſh Superſtition*; He anſwered, That though our "Fore-fathers had been delivered from ſuch *Superſtitions*, yet (God "be bleſſed) that for our parts, we were never in them, and there- "fore could not properly be ſaid to have been delivered. To the "fifth, touching the leaving out of a paſſage in one of the *Orders* "for the *Faſt*, concerning the abuſe thereof in relation to *Merit*,

"He

" he anſwered, That it was left out, becauſe in this Age and King- LIB. IV.
" dom there was little opinion of *Merit* by *Faſting*; inſomuch that *Anno Dom.*
" all *Faſts* were contemned and ſcorned (both at *Lent*, and all other 1637.
" ſet times) except ſuch as ſome humerous men called for of them-
" ſelves, to promote their ends. The ſixth *Innovation* charged up-
" on them, was the leaving of the Lady *Elizabeth* and her Children.
" out of one of the *Collects*: And the ſeventh, That out of the
" ſame *Collect*, the words, *Father of thine Elect, and of their Seed,*
" was expunged alſo: To which it was anſwered, That the ſaid *Col-*
" *lect* was not in the *Common-Prayer-Book* confirmed by Law, neither
" King *Edward* vi. nor Queen *Elizabeth* having any Children. Se-
" condly, That it was added to the Book at the coming in of King
" *James*, who brought a Princely Iſſue with him; and left out again
" in the beginning of the Reign of King *Charles*, who at that time,
" and for four years after, had no Iſſue neither. Thirdly, That as
" the Lady *Elizabeth* and her Children were put into the *Collect* when
" the King had no Iſſue of his own; ſo when the King had Iſſue of
" his own, there was as much reaſon to leave them out. Fourth-
" ly, For the leaving out of that Clauſe, *Father of thine Elect, &c.*
" it was done by his Predeceſſor; and that the leaving out of the
" Lady *Elizabeth* and her Iſſue, was done by the Command of the
" King. The eighth *Innovation* charged upon them, was bowing *at*
" the Name of *JESUS*, and altering to that end the words in the
" *Epiſtle* on the *Sunday* next before *Eaſter*, by changing *IN the*
" *Name of Jeſus*, to *AT the Name of Jeſus*. And it was anſwered
" unto this, That *bowing* at the Name of *JESUS*, was no *Inno-*
" *vation* made by the Prelates of this Age, but required by the *In-*
" *junction* of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the very firſt beginning of the *Re-*
" *formation*: And ſecondly, Though it be *IN the Name of Jeſus*,
" in the old Editions of the *Liturgie*; yet it is *AT the Name of Je-*
" *ſus*, in the Tranſlation of *Geneva*, Printed in the year 1567. and
" in the New Tranſlation Authoriſed by King *James*. The ninth
" relates to the Alteration of two Paſſages in the Form of Prayer ſet
" forth by Act of Parliament, for the Fifth of *November*; in which
" Form it is thus expreſſed, *Root out the* Babyloniſh *Sect, which ſay*
" *of* Jeruſalem, *Down with it, &c.* And in the other place, *Cut off*
" *thoſe Workers of Iniquity, whoſe RELIGION is REBELLI-*
" *ON*: Which are thus altered in the Books which came out laſt,
" *viz. Root out that* Babyloniſh *and* Antichriſtian *Sect* (*of them*)
" *which ſay, &c.* And in the other, *Cut off thoſe workers of Iniquity,*
" *who turn RELIGION into REBELLION, &c.* To which
" it was replied, That the Book of Prayer appointed for the Fifth
" of *November*, was neither made, ſet forth, or commanded to be
" read by Act of Parliament: but only made, and appointed to be
" read by the Kings Authority. Secondly, That being made and
" appointed to be read by no other Authority than the *Kings*, the
" King might alter in it what he thought convenient; and that he

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

"had the Kings hand for thoſe Alterations. (What Reaſons there "might be to move his Majeſty to it, we may enquire into hereafter "on another occaſion) To the tenth, for the leaving out the Prayer "for the *Navy*, he anſwered, that the King had then no Fleet at Sea, "nor any known enemy to aſſault, as he had when that Prayer was "firſt put in; and that howſoever, if there had been any deſign to "bring in *Popery* (to which theſe *Innovations* muſt be made ſubſer- "vient) they ſhould rather have kept in that Prayer than have left it "out.

Concerning the *Communion Table* there were three *Innovations* urged, the placing of it *Altarwiſe*, reading the ſecond Service at it, and bowing towards or before it. For anſwer to the firſt, "It was "proved to have been no *Innovation* in regard of Practice, becauſe "it had ſo ſtood in his Majeſties Chappels, and divers Cathedrals "of this Kingdom ſince the firſt *Reformation*. Which poſture if it "be decent and convenient for the Service of God, either in the "Kings Chappels or Cathedrals, it may be uſed alſo in other "Churches: but if it ſerved to bring in Popery it was not to be uſed "in them. Nor was it any *Innovation* in regard of Law, the holy "Table being appointed to be placed where the Altar ſtood by the "Queens Injunctions, *Anno* 1559. and that poſition juſtified by an "order of Dr. *Davenant* Biſhop of *Sarum* (of which we have al- "ready ſpoken) whom the *Libellers* themſelves were not like to ac- "cuſe for a man that purpoſed the *uſhering in* or *advancing of Popery*. "The ſetting of a Raile before it, or about it, howſoever placed, was "only for avoiding of Prophanation, and for that cauſe juſtifiable. "As for the reading of the *Second* (or *Communion*) *Service* at the holy "Table, it was no more than what had formerly been uſed in many "places to his own remembrance; firſt altered in thoſe Churches "where the *Emiſſaries* of that Faction came to preach, and therefore "the *Innovation* to be laid on them. Secondly, That it is not only fit "and proper for that part of the Divine Service to be read at the "Communion Table, but that it is required ſo to be by the Rules "and *Rubricks* of the Church: It being ſaid in the firſt Rubrick after "the Communion, that on the Holy Daies (if there be no Com- "munion) all ſhall be read which is appointed at the Communion; "and in the laſt *Rubrick* before the *Communion*, that the Miniſter "ſtanding at the North ſide of the holy Table, ſhall ſay the Lords "Prayer with that which follows. And finally, as to that of "*bowing* towards it at their firſt entrance in the Church, or ap- "proaches to it, it is anſwered, that it was agreeable to the Practice "of *Moſes*, *David*, *Hezekiah*, recorded in the holy Scriptures, and "that *Venite Adoremus*, *O come let us worſhip and fall down*, &c. was "uſed conſtantly in the beginning of the Ancient Liturgies, and "preſerved in the beginning of ours in *England*; and therefore that "the people may as well refuſe to come, as at their *coming* not to "*worſhip*: he added, that by the Statutes of the noble Order of

"St. *George*

" St. *George*, called the Garter, the Knights whereof were bound " to do their Reverence *verſus Altare*, toward the *Altar*; that it had " ſo continued ever ſince the time of King *Henry* the fifth; that if " there were any Idolatry in it, neither Queen *Elizabeth* (who " drove out *Popery*) nor King *James* (who kept out *Popery*) would " have ſuffered it to remain in Practice; and in a word, that if it " were *Gods Worſhip* and not *Idolatry*, he ought to do it as well as " they: but if it were Idolatry, and no Worſhip of God, they " ought to do it no more than he. But the fourteenth and laſt charge " which moſt concerned him and the reſt of the Biſhops to make " anſwer to, was the *forging* of a new Article of Religion brought " from *Rome*, (to juſtifie their proceedings and *Innovations*) and " foyſting it to the beginning of the twentieth Article. The Clauſe " pretended to be added, is, *That the Church hath power to decree* " *Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith*, be- " cauſe not found (ſay they) in the Latine or Engliſh Articles of " King *Edward* the ſixth, or Queen *Elizabeth*, ratified by Parlia- " ment; adding, that if to forge a Will or Writing be cenſurable " in the Star-Chamber, though it be but a wrong to a Private man: " how much more ſhould the forgery of an Article of Religion be " cenſured there, which is a wrong to the whole Church? And " unto this he anſwered, that the Articles made in the time of King " *Edward* the ſixth were not now in force, and therefore not mate- " rial whether that Clauſe be in or out; that in the Articles as they " paſſed in Queen *Elizabeths* time this Clauſe was to be found in the " Engliſh Edition of the year 1612. of the year 1605. of the year " 1593. and in Latine in the year 1563. being one of the firſt Prin- " ted Copies after the Articles had been agreed on in the *Convo-* " *cation*; that it was to be found in the ſame terms in the Re- " cords of *Convocation*, *Anno* 1562. as he proved by a Certificate " under the hand of a publick Notary; and therefore finally, that " no ſuch forgery in adding that Clauſe unto that Article had been " committed by the Prelates to ſerve their *own turns* by gaining any " power to the Church: but that the ſaid Clauſe had been razed " out by ſome of thoſe men, or ſome of that Faction to weaken the " juſt power of the Church, and to ſerve their own.

Theſe *Innovations* thus paſſed over and diſcharged, he ſignifies unto their Lordſhips, " That ſome other Charges were remaining " in matter of Doctrine; that they ſhould preſently be anſwered, " *juſto volumine*, to ſatisfie all well-minded people; and that when " *Burtons* Book was anſwered, (his *Book* he ſaid, but not his *ray-* " *lings*) none of the reſt ſhould be anſwered either by him or by his " care; leaving that Court to find a way for ſtopping the mouths of " ſuch *Libellers*, or elſe for him, they ſhould raile on as long as they " liſted. And thus beginning to draw toward an end, he declares " himſelf to be in the ſame caſe with St. *Cyprian*, then Biſhop of " *Carthage*, bitterly railed upon by a pack of *Schiſmaticks*, and yet

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

*Ne a parte in partem cum ille facere.*

"conceiving himſelf bound (which he made his own Reſolution "alſo) not to anſwer them with the like *Levities* or *Revilings*, but "to write and ſpeak only as becomes a *Prieſt* of God; that by Gods "grace the Reproaches of ſuch men ſhould not make him faint or "ſtart aſide, either from the right way in matter of Practice, or *à* "*certa Regula*, from the certain Rule of Faith. Which ſaid, and cra- "ving pardon of their Lordſhips for his *neceſſary* length, he thanks "them for their juſt and honourable cenſure of thoſe men in their "unanimous *diſlike* of them, and *defence* of the *Church*; Makes his "excuſe from paſſing any cenſure of them, in regard the buſineſs "had ſome reflection on himſelf; and ſo leaves them to Gods mer- "cy and the Kings Juſtice.

Thus have I acted *Phocion*'s part in cutting ſhort the long and well-ſtudied Speech of this grave and Eloquent *Demoſthenes*; which I have been the more willing to reduce to ſo brief an Abſtract, that the Reader may perceive, without the leaſt loſs of time and labour, on what weak grounds the *Puritan* Faction raiſed their *outcry* againſt *Innovations*, and what poor *trifles* many of thoſe *Innovations* were, againſt which they clamoured and cried out. But for the Speech in its full length, as it gave great ſatisfaction unto all that heard it: ſo by his Majeſties Command it was afterwards Printed, for giving the like ſatisfaction to all thoſe who ſhould pleaſe to read it. In obedience unto which Command he cauſed the ſaid Speech to be Printed and Publiſhed, although he was *not ignorant* (as he declares in his Epiſtle to the King) *that many things while they are ſpoken, and paſs by the ears but once, give great content, which when they come to the eyes of men, and their open ſcanning, may lie open to ſome exceptions.* And ſo it proved in the event; for though the Speech was highly magnified as it came from his mouth: yet it had not been long publiſhed in Print, when it was encountred with a baſe and *Libellous* Anſwer, without the name of any *Author*, *Place*, or *Printer*, or any *Bookſeller* (according to the uſual Cuſtom) where, and of whom it might be bought. I ſhall not trouble my ſelf any more about it than by a *Tranſcript* of the *Title*, which was this that followeth: *viz. DIVINE and POLITICK OBSERVATIONS, newly tranſlated out of the Dutch Language, wherein they were lately divulged, upon ſome lines in the Speech of the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *pronounced in the STAR-CHAMBER the fourteenth of* June, 1637. *VERY expedient for preventing all prejudice which as well through ignorance, as through malice and flattery, may be incident to the judgment which men make thereby, either of his* Graces *power over the Church, and with the King: or of the Equity, Juſtice and Wiſdom of his ENDS in his ſaid Speech; and of the reaſons uſed by him for attaining to his ſaid ENDS.* And though he took great care and pains concerning that ſuppoſed *additional* clauſe to the 20th Article, ſo much as might ſatisfie any man, not extremely partial; yet find I a late Writer ſo unſatisfied in it, *that he leaves it to the*

*State-*

*State-Arithmeticians to decide the Controverſie, whether the Biſhops were more faulty in the* addition, *than the oppoſites in their* ſubſtraction *of it.*

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

One other Charge there was, and a great one too, which I find not touched at in this Speech; and that is, that the Prelates neither had, nor ſought to have *the Kings Letters Patents under the Great Seal of* England *for their keeping Courts and Viſitations*, &c. *but did all in their own Names, and under their own Seals, contrary to the Law in that behalf.* Concerning which we are to know, that by a Statute made in the firſt year of King *Edward* the Sixth, it was Enacted, "That all Summons, Citations, and other Proceſs Eccleſiaſtical "in all Suites and cauſes of Inſtance, and all cauſes of Correction, "and all cauſes of Baſtardy, or Bigamy, or *De jure Patronatus*, "Probates of Teſtaments, and Commiſſions of Adminiſtrations of "perſons deceaſed, be made in the name, and with the Style of the "King, as it is in Writs *Original* or *Judicial* at the Common "Law, *&c.* As alſo that no manner of perſon or perſons who hath "the Exerciſe of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, uſe any other Seal of Ju- "riſdiction but wherein his Majeſties Arms be engraven, *&c.* on pain "of incurring his Majeſties indignation, and ſuffering impriſonment "at his will and pleaſure. Which Statute, and every branch there- of, being repealed by Queen *Mary*, and not revived by Queen *Elizabeth* in all her Reign, the Biſhops of her time were ſafe enough from any danger on that ſide. But in the firſt Parliament of King *James* there paſſed an *Act, for continuing and reviving of divers Statutes, and for repealing of ſome others*, 1 *Jac.* c. 25. Into the Body whereof a Clauſe was cunningly conveyed (his Majeſties *Council* learned, not conſidering, or fraudulently conniving at it) for the repealing of that Statute of the Reign of Queen *Mary*, by which King *Edwards* ſtood repealed; of which no notice being taken for ſome while by thoſe whom it chiefly did concern, it was now diſcovered, and made uſe of as a Rod to affright the Prelates from exerciſing their Juriſdiction over obſtinate and incorrigible Non-conformiſts, as formerly they had been accuſtomed. For remedy whereof, and for encouraging the Biſhops to perform their duties, it was declared by the Judges with an unanimous conſent, and ſo delivered by the Lords Chief Juſtices in the *Star-Chamber*, the fourteenth of *May* in this preſent year, That the ſaid Act of Repeal, 1 of Queen *Mary*, did ſtill ſtand in force as unto that particular Statute by them ſo much preſſed. This was ſufficient for the preſent, but the Archbiſhop would not truſt to it for the time to come; and thereupon in in his Epiſtle to the King, before remembred, "He humbly deſired "his Majeſty in the Churches name, That it might be reſolved by all "the Reverend Judges of *England*, and then publiſhed by his Ma- "jeſty, that the Biſhops keeping of their Courts, and iſſuing Pro- "ceſſes in their own names, and the like exceptions formerly taken, "and now renued, were not againſt the Laws of this Realm, that "ſo

*Burt. Serm.* p. 69.

1 *Edw.* 6. c. 2.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

"so the Church Governours might go on chearfully in their duty, "and the peoples minds be quieted by this assurance, that neither "their Law, nor their Liberty, as Subjects, was thereby infringed. A motion favourably heard, and graciously granted; his Majesty issuing out his Royal Proclamation, on the eighteenth day of *August* then next following, For *declaring that the proceedings of his Ecclesiastical Courts and Ministers were according to Law.* The Tenour of which Proclamation or Declaration was as followeth:

## By the King.

*WHereas in some of the Libellous Books and Pamphlets lately published the most Reverend Fathers in God, the Lord Archbishops and Bishops of the Realm are said to have usurped upon his Majesties* Prerogative Royal, *and to have proceeded in the* High Commission, *and other* Ecclesiastical *Courts contrary to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm: It was Ordered by his Majesties High Court of* Star-Chamber, *the twelfth of* June *last, that the Opinion of the two Lords* Chief Justices, *the Lord Chief* Baron, *and the rest of the* Judges *and Barons should be had and certified in these particulars,* viz. *Whether Processes may not issue out of the* Ecclesiastical *Courts in the names of the Bishops? Whether a Patent under the Great Seal be necessary for the keeping of the* Ecclesiastical Courts, *and enabling Citations, Suspensions, Excommunications, and other Censures of the Church? And whether the Citations ought to be in the Kings Name, and under his Seal of Arms; and the like for* Institutions *and* Inductions *to Benefices, and correction of Ecclesiastical offences? And whether Bishops, Archdeacons, and other* Ecclesiastical *persons may or ought to keep any* Visitation *at any time, unless they have express Commission or* Patent *under the great Seal of* England to do it; *and that as his Majesty* Visitors *only, and in his* name *and* right alone.

Whereupon his Majesties said Judges having taken the same into their serious consideration, did unanimously agree and concur in opinion, and the first day of *July* last certified under their hands as followeth: *That Processes may issue out of* Ecclesiastical *Courts in the name of the Bishops, and that a Patent under the Great Seal is not necessary for the keeping of the said Ecclesiastical Courts, or for the enabling of Citations, Suspensions, Excommunications, and other Censures of the Church. And that it is not necessary that Summons, Citations, or other* Processes Ecclesiastical *in the said Courts, or* Institutions, *and* Inductions *to benefices, or correction of* Ecclesiastical *offences by Censure in those Courts be in the Kings name, or with the Style of the King, or with the Kings Seal, or the Seals of the Office have in them the Kings Arms; And that the Statute,* 1 Edw. 6. c. 2. *which enacted the contrary, is not now in force; And that the Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, and other* Ecclesiastical *persons, may keep their Visitations, as usually*

*uſually they have done, without Commiſſion under the Great Seal ſo to do.* Which opinions and reſolutions being declared under the hands of all his Majeſties ſaid Judges, and ſo certified into his Court of *Star-Chamber*, were there recorded: And it was by that Court further ordered the fourth of the ſaid *July*, *That the ſaid Certificate ſhould be enrolled in all other his Majeſties Courts at* Weſtminiſter, *and in the* High Commiſſion *and other* Eccleſiaſtical *Courts for the ſatisfaction of all men; That the proceedings in the* High-Commiſſion *and other* Eccleſiaſtical *Courts are agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.*

*And his Royal Majeſty hath thought fit, with the Advice of his Council, that a publick Declaration of theſe the Opinions of his reverend and learned Judges, being agreeable to the Judgment and Reſolution of former times, ſhould be made known to all his Subjects, as well to vindicate the Legal Proceedings of his* Eccleſiaſtical *Courts and Miniſters from the unjuſt and ſcandalous imputation of invading or intrenching on his Royal* Prerogative, *as to ſettle the minds and ſtop the mouths of all unquiet Spirits, that for the future they preſume not to cenſure his* Eccleſiaſtical *Courts, or Miniſters in theſe their juſt and warranted proceedings. And hereof his Majeſty admoniſheth all his Subjects to take warning as they will anſwer the contrary at their Peril.*

Given at the Court at *Lindhurſt* the 13 day of *Auguſt* in the 13th year of his Reign, 1637.

Having carried on this buſineſs as far as we can without breaking the rule of time in too groſs a manner, we muſt go back to the *Star-Chamber*, where we left the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ready to put in his Anſwer after many delaies. In which eſtate the buſineſs ſtood, when *Kilvert*, a *Proctor* in the Arches, who had been formerly imployed in hunting *Bennet*, a corrupt Judge of the Prerogative Court, to his final Sentence, was entertained to proſecute this Biſhop to the like confuſion; who having found by diligent inquiry, and ſubtle practices, that the Biſhops purgation depended moſt upon the teſtimony of one *Prigeon*, the Regiſter of the Court at *Lincoln*, he made it his chief work, by diſcrediting the Witneſs, to invalidate and make void his evidence, he laies a Baſtard to his charge, and there appeared ſufficient ground to indict him for it. The Biſhop apprehending himſelf neceſſitated to weight up *Prigeon* his repute, engaged himſelf more zealouſly therein than was conſiſtent with the gravity of ſo great a Prelate for ſo inconſiderable a perſon. The Fathering of this *Baſtard* is bandied betwixt *Prigeon* and one *Boone* from Seſſions to Seſſions, and from one year unto another, till the Mother of the Child was found to have been tampered with by ſome of the Biſhops Creatures to charge it wholly upon *Boone*. On the diſcovery of which practiſe *Kilvert* lets go his former hold, and exhibits a new Bill againſt the Biſhop for *ſubornation* of Witneſſes, a crime moſt proper for that Court. The Biſhop now finds himſelf at a loſs,

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

loſs, and endeavours a Compoſition with his Majeſty, being willing to lay down a good Sum of Money, for the purchaſing of his own Peace and his Majeſties Favour; which afterwards was urged againſt him, to prove him conſcious of the Crime which he ſtood accuſed for. On *Tueſday* the eleventh of *July* he received his Doom, which was to pay 8000 *l.* unto the King, to be Suſpended *à Beneficiis & Officiis*, and ſtand committed unto Priſon at his Majeſties Pleaſure. To this Sentence the Archbiſhop conſented amongſt the reſt, *aggravating* the fault of *Subornation* of *Perjury*, with a pathetical Speech of almoſt an hour long, ſhewing how the World was above three thouſand years old, before it was ripe enough to commit ſo great a Wickedneſs; That *Jezabel* was the firſt in Scripture, which had been branded with that Infamy, whoſe Witneſſes could find no other name in Scripture than the Sons of *Belial*: And therefore, That conſidering the greatneſs of the offence, though before he had been five times on his knees before his Majeſty in the Biſhops behalf, yet now he could not but agree to the heavieſt Cenſure. To which Sentence the whole Court concurred, his beſt Friends amongſt them, who gave themſelves not a little hope, that the rigour of it (eſpecially as unto the Fine) might receive mitigation; though in the end, his Majeſty looking on him, both as adjudged to be guilty, and well known to be ſolvent, it was no wonder if the utmoſt penny of it were exacted.

*Ch. Hiſt.* lib. 11. p. 157.

He had not lain long under this Suſpenſion and Impriſonment, but he began to find how dreadful a thing it was to fall into a Kings diſpleaſure; and thereupon made uſe of all his Friends at Court, for the re-obtaining of his own Liberty, and his Majeſties Favour: And to that end, he made means by the Queen to be admitted to a Reconciliation with him, offering both his Biſhoprick, and Deanry of *Weſtminſter*, in confidence that the King would ſo provide for him, that he ſhould not go much leſs than he was. The King, upon the Queens deſire, ſent the Earl of *Dorſet* (from whoſe mouth I had it) to accept the Biſhops Offer on the one ſide; and on the other ſide, to promiſe him in his Majeſties Name, the next good Biſhoprick which ſhould fall in *Ireland*. Which Propoſition being made, the Biſhop abſolutely refuſed to hearken to it, telling the Earl of *Dorſet*, That he had made a ſhift, by the Power and Mediation of his Friends, to hold out againſt his Enemies here for ſeven years together: but if they ſhould ſend him into *Ireland*, he ſhould there fall into the hands of a man, who once in ſeven Months would find out ſome old Statute or other to cut off his head. Which double dealing did ſo cool the Affections of his Friends in Court, that for three years and more there were no further Endeavours uſed for his Enlargement: During which time, he never went unto the Chappel of the *Tower*, where he was Impriſoned, to attend the *Divine Service* of the Church, or hear the *Sermon* there, or receive the *Sacrament*, as all other *Proteſtant* Priſoners had been uſed to do: but kept himſelf only

only to his Private Devotions, to which his neereſt Servants were not often admitted: Which whether it gave the greater ſcandal to the *Proteſtants*, *Puritans*, or *Papiſts*, it is hard to ſay.

But great Perſons muſt not fall alone. Three of his Servants which had been moſt active in the buſineſs, were cenſured at the ſame time alſo; *Walker* his Secretary, fined at 300 *l.* *Powell* an Officer of his Houſhold, fined no more than he: But *Land*, who left his Buſineſs in the Court of *Lincoln* to attend this Suit, at 1000 Marks. All of them cenſured to Impriſonment, which none ſuffered but he, and that but for a ſhort time neither. Nor were their Fines exacted of them, which (as the Biſhop after found to his coſt) were in ſhort time to be commuted into ſuch other Offices as they were to do for *Kilvert* againſt their Maſter: The Story whereof, deſireth the Readers further patience, though it come ſomewhat out of time, and is briefly this. *Osbaldſton* the late Schoolmaſter, and then Prebend of *Weſtminſter*, a profeſs'd Creature of the Biſhops, and much imployed by him in his greateſt buſineſſes, had written a Letter to him about *Chriſtmas*, in the year 1635. touching ſome Heats which hapned in that cold Seaſon, betwixt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*: *Osbaldſton* conceiving this to be a fit opportunity for the Biſhop to cloſe in with *Weſton*, and by his means to extricate himſelf out of thoſe Perplexities, in which this *Star-Chamber* Suit had ſo long intangled him. This Intelligence he diſguiſed in theſe expreſſions, *viz.* *The little Vermin, the Urchin and* Hocus Pocus, *is this ſtormy* Chriſtmas *at true and real variance with the great* Leviathan. And this conceit, the Biſhop out of too much jollity makes known to others, by whom at laſt it came to *Kilvert*; who laying hold on the Advantage, exhibits a new Bill againſt him, for divulging Scandalous Libels againſt Privy Counſellors; there being good proof to be produced, That by the names of *Little Vermin*, *Urchin*, and *Hocus Pocus*, the writer of that Letter deſigned no other than the Archbiſhop, and the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton* by the *Great Leviathan*. Both being made Parties to the Bill, *Osbaldſton* anſwers for himſelf, That by *Leviathan*, he intended Chief Juſtice *Richardſon*; and *Spicer* a Doctor of Laws, by the other *Character*: The differing ſtatures of the men, ſeeming to make good this *Conſtruction*, which the *Grammar* of the Text might bear, as well as the other. The Biſhop pleaded for his part, That he remembred not the receiving of any ſuch Letter; and that if any ſuch Letter had come unto him, it could not be brought within the compaſs of a *Libel*, becauſe not written in ſuch plain and ſignificant terms as might apparently decypher and ſet forth the Perſon intended in it. But all this proved to be but ſhifts on either ſide; for *Kilvert* had a Letter ready (which *Walker* was ſuppoſed to have put into his hands) to make ſure work of it; a Letter which the Biſhop had writ to the ſaid *Walker*, being then his Secretary, at the time of that falling out betwixt *Laud* and *Weſton*. *Here is a ſtrange thing*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

(ſaith that Letter) *Mr.* Osbaldſton *importunes me to contribute to my Lord Treaſurers uſe, ſome Charges upon the Little Great Man, and aſſures me they are mortally out. I have utterly refuſed to meddle in this buſineſs; and I pray you learn from Mr. S. and Mr. H. if any ſuch falling out be, or whether ſomebody hath not gulled the Schoolmaſter in theſe three laſt Letters; and keep it unto your ſelf, what I write unto you. If my Lord Treaſurer would be ſerved by me, he muſt uſe a more neer, ſolid, and truſty Meſſenger, and free me from the Bonds of the* Star-Chamber; *elſe let them fight it out for me.*

This Secret thus diſcovered, and the Myſtery opened, it was not long before the Cauſe was brought to Cenſure: For the two Letters being compared with the Time and Circumſtances, it was no hard matter to the Lords (who had their own Concerment in it) to conclude both of them to be guilty of the Crime called *Scandalum Magnatum*, a Libelling and defaming the Great Men of the Realm, prohibited and puniſhable by the Laws of the Land. So that no Buckler being found to bear off the Blow, a Fine of another 8000 *l.* was impoſed on the Biſhop, *Osbaldſton* fined 5000 *l.* to be deprived of all his Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, his Ears to be tack'd to the Pillory in the Palace-yard, and Dammages or Coſts of Suit to be paid by both to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. A Cenſure greater than the Crime (as moſt men conceived) in reſpect of *Osbaldſton*, whoſe Indiſcretion might have been corrected with far leſs ſeverity; and leſs ſeverity was intended, then the Sentence intimated; For though *Osbaldſton* at that time conceived the Archbiſhop to be his greateſt Enemy, yet the Archbiſhop was reſolved to ſhew himſelf his greateſt Friend, aſſuring the Author of this Hiſtory (before any thing was known of his ſuppoſed flight) that he would caſt himſelf at the Kings feet, for obtaining a diſcharge of that corporal puniſhment unto which he was Sentenced. Which may obtain the greater credit, firſt, in regard that no courſe was taken to ſtop his flight, no ſearch made after him, nor any thing done in order to his Apprehenſion. And ſecondly, By *Osbaldſtons* readineſs to do the Archbiſhop all good Offices in the time of his Troubles, upon the knowledge which was given him (at his coming back) of ſuch good intentions: For *Osbaldſton* not hoping for ſo much favour, and fearing more the ſhame of the Puniſhment, than the loſs of Preferment, had ſeaſonably withdrawn himſelf to a Friends Houſe in *London*, where he lay concealed, cauſing a noiſe to be ſpread abroad of his going beyond Sea, and ſignifying by a Paper which he left in his Study, *That he was gone beyond* Canterbury. But this hapned not till the latter end of the year next following, though I have laid it here together, becauſe of the coherence which it hath with the former Story.

To look back therefore where we left; The Biſhop of *Lincoln* was no ſooner Suſpended by the *High-Commiſſion* (that part of the Sentence being executed *July* 24.) but all the Profits of his Preferments

ments in the Church, were Sequeſtred to the Uſe of the King: A Privy Seal is ſent to the *Sub-Dean* and *Prebends* of the Church of *Weſtminſter*, requiring them to ſet apart all the Profits, certain and uncertain, which of right accrued unto that *Dean*, and to pay the ſame from time to time into the Receipt of the Exchequer. And that his Majeſties Profits might not ſuffer any diminution, nor the *Prebends* of that Church be puniſhed for the fault of their *Dean*, a Commiſſion was iſſued under the Great Seal of *England*, inabling them to Let and Set, to Renew Leaſes, keep Courts, and make Grants of Offices; and finally, to act and do all manner of things which concerned the Government of that Church, in as ample manner as if the *Dean* himſelf had been preſent at the doing of them. The like courſe alſo taken, in gathering in the Profits of his other Promotions; thoſe of the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln*, naturally flowing into the Exchequer, as in times of Vacancy. And as for his *Epiſcopal Juriſdiction*, that fell as naturally to the Archbiſhop of the *Province*, as the Temporal Revenue to the King; the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* exerciſing all kind of *Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction* throughout the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, not only as *Ordinary* of that Dioceſs, but as *Viſitor* of all thoſe Colledges which had any dependence on that See. Amongſt which Colledges, as that of *Eaton* was the chief, ſo there was ſomewhat in it which was thought to want a preſent Remedy; ſome Information being given, That they had diminiſhed the number of their Fellows from Ten to Seven. This being a matter eaſily to be proved, they were required to make up their number, according to their firſt Foundation by King *Henry* vi. But againſt this, the Fellows pleaded, That out of an hatred to their Founder, a great part of their Lands had been taken from them by King *Edward* iv. conferred by him upon the *Abby* of *Weſtminſter* and the Church of *Windſor*, and by them enjoyed until this day; and that they hoped his Grace would not tye them to maintain the whole number of their Fellows, with little more than half their Lands. To which ſo reaſonable a deſire, upon full proof made of the Suggeſtion, his Grace did readily conſent, and left them in the ſame ſtate in which he found them.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

The noiſe of theſe Proceedings in *England*, in the *June* and *July* of this year, being quickly poſted to the *Scots*, became a principal Incentive of thoſe Combuſtions, which not long after inflamed that Kingdom; For it could be no hard matter for the *Presbyterians* there, to poſſeſs the People with the ſenſe of the like ſmart Sufferings, by the Pride and Tyranny of their Biſhops, if they permitted them to grow great and powerful, and did not caſt about in time to prevent the miſchief. And to exaſperate them the more, the Superſtitions of the *Liturgie*, now at the point of being put in execution, were preſented to them; which if once ſettled amongſt them, as was then intended, would in ſhort time reduce them under the Obedience of the Church of *Rome*. They could not but confeſs, That

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

many things which were found fault with in the Engliſh *Liturgie*, were in this altered unto the better, the name of *Prieſt* (ſo odious unto them of the *Puritan* Faction) changed to that of *Presbyter*; no fewer than ſixty Chapters, or thereabouts, taken out of the *Apocrypha*, appointed to be read by the Church in the Engliſh Book, reduced to two, and thoſe two to be read only on the Feaſt of *All-Saints*; The new Tranſlation, Authoriſed by King *James*, being uſed in the *Pſalms*, *Epiſtles*, *Goſpels*, *Hymns*, and *Sentences* inſtead of the old Tranſlation ſo much complained of in their Books and Conferences. But what was this compared with thoſe Superſtitions, thoſe horrible Corruptions, and Idolatries, now ready to be thruſt upon them, in which this Liturgy as much exceeded that of *England*, as that of *England* had departed from the ſimplicity and purity of the holier Churches? Now therefore ſomewhat muſt be done to oppoſe the entrance of the Popiſh ſuperſtitious Service-Book, either now or never: But the *Presbyterian* Miniſters, who had gone thus far, did not alone bring fewel to feed this flame, to which ſome men of all degrees and qualities did contribute with them. The Lords and Gentry of the Realm, who feared nothing ſo much as the Commiſſion of *ſurrendries*, above mentioned, laid hold on this occaſion alſo; and they being ſeconded by ſome male-contented Spirits of that Nation, who had not found the King to be as prodigal of his bounties to them as his Father had been before, endeavoured to poſſeſs them with Fears and Jealouſies, that *Scotland* was to be reduced to the Form of a Province, and governed by a Deputy, or Lord Lieutenant, as *Ireland* was. The like done alſo by ſome Lords of ſecret Counſel, who before had governed as they liſted, and thought their power diminiſhed, and their perſons under ſome neglect, by the placing of a Lord Preſident over them to direct in Chief. So that the People generally being fooled into this opinion, that both their Chriſtian and Civil Liberty was in no ſmall danger, became capable of any impreſſion which the Presbyterian Faction could imprint upon them; nor did they want incouragements from the Faction in *England*, to whom the Publication of the Book for *Sports*, the tranſpoſing of the holy Table, the ſuppreſſing of ſo many *Lecturers*, and Afternoon Sermons, and the inhibiting of Preaching, Writing, Printing, in defence of *Calviniſm*, were as diſtaſteful and offenſive, as the new *Liturgie* with all the ſuppoſed ſuperſtitions of it, was to thoſe of *Scotland*.

This Combination made, and the ground thus laid, it is no wonder if the people brake out into thoſe diſtempers, which ſoon after followed. *Sunday* the 23 of *July* was the day appointed for the firſt reading of the New *Liturgy* in all the Churches of that Kingdom; and how it ſped at *Edenborough* (which was to be exemplary to all the reſt) ſhall be told by another, who hath done it to my hand already, "*July* 23. being *Sunday*, the *Dean* of *Edenborough* began to "read the Book in St. *Giles* his Church (the chief of that City) "but

"but he had no ſooner entred on it than the inferiour multitude be-
"gan in a tumultuous manner to fill the Church with uprore,
"whereupon the Biſhop of *Edenborough* ſtept into the Pulpit, and
"hoping to appeaſe them by minding them of the Sanctity of the
"place, they were the more enraged, throwing at him Cudgels,
"Stools, and what was in the way of Fury, unto the very endange-
"ring of his life. Upon this the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, Lord
"Chancellor, was enforced to call down from the Gallery the *Pro-*
"*voſt*, *Bailiffs*, and other Magiſtrates of the City to their aſſiſtance,
"who, with much ado, at length thruſt the unruly Rabble out of
"the Church, and made faſt the doors. This done, the Dean pro-
"ceeded in reading the Book, the multitude in the mean while rap-
"ping at the doors, pelting the Windows with ſtones, and endea-
"vouring what in them lay to diſturb the Sacred Exerciſe: but not-
"withſtanding all this clamour the Service was ended, but not the
"peoples rage, who waiting the Biſhops retiring to his Lodging,
"ſo aſſaulted him, as had he not been reſcued by a ſtrong hand, he
"had probably periſht by their violence. Nor was S. *Giles* his Church
"thus only peſtered and profaned, but in other Churches alſo
"(though not in ſo high a meaſure) the peoples diſorders were
"agreeable. The Morning thus paſt, the Lord Chancellor and
"Council aſſembled to prevent the like darings in the Afternoon,
"which they ſo effected as the Liturgy was read without any di-
"ſturbance: Only the Biſhop of *Edenborough* was in his return to
"his Lodging rudely treated by the people, the Earl of *Roxboroughs*
"Coach, in which he paſſed, ſerving for no protection to him;
"though *Roxborough* himſelf was highly favoured of the People, and
"not without ſome cauſe ſuſpected to have had a hand in the Com-
"motions of that day.

*Hiſt. K. C.* p. 153.

The buſineſs, having thus miſcarried in *Edenborough*, ſtood at a ſtand in all other Churches of that Kingdom; and therefore it will not be amiſs to enquire in this place into the cauſes and occaſions of it: it ſeeming very ſtrange to all knowing and diſcerning men, that the Child that had ſo long lain in the Womb, perfectly formed, and now made ready for the birth, ſhould not have ſtrength enough to be delivered. Amongſt which cauſes, if diſpoſed into ranke and order, that which appears firſt is the confidence which *Canterbury* had in the Earl of *Traquaire*, whom he had raiſed from the condition of a private Laird to be a Peer of that Realm, made him firſt *Treaſurer Depute* (*Chancellor* of the Exchequer we ſhould call him in *England*) afterwards Lord *Treaſurer* and Privy Counſellor of that Kingdom. This man he wrought himſelf ſo far into *Lauds* good liking, when he was Biſhop of *London* only, that he looked upon him as the fitteſt Miniſter to promote the Service of that Church, taking him into his neareſt thoughts, communicating to him all his Counſels, committed to his care the conduct of the whole Affair, and giving order to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of *Scotland* not to

do

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

do any thing without his privity and direction. But being an *Hamiltonian Scot* (either originally such, or brought over at last) he treacherously betrayed the cause, communicated his Instructions to the opposite Faction from one time to another, and conscious of the plot for the next daies tumult, withdrew himself to the Earl of *Mortons* house of *Dalkeith*, to expect the issue. And possible it is, that by his advice, the executing of the Liturgy was put off from *Easter*; at what time the reading of it was designed by his Majesty, as appears by the Proclamation of *December* 20. which confirmed the Book. By which improvident delay he gave the *Presbyterian* Faction the longer time to confederate themselves against it, and to possess the people with Fears and Jealousies, that by admitting of that book they should lose the Purity of their Religion, and be brought back unto the Superstitions and Idolatries of the Church of *Rome*. And by this means the People were inflamed into that Sedition, which probably might have been prevented by a quicker prosecution of the Cause at the time appointed, there being nothing more destructive of all publick Counsels than to let them take wind amongst the People, cooled by delaies, and finally blown up (like a strong Fortress undermined) by some subtle practice. And there were some miscarriages also amongst the Prelates of the Kirk in not communicating the design with the Lords of the Council, and other great men of the Realm, whose Countenance both in Court and Country might have sped the business. *Canterbury* had directed the contrary in his Letters to them, when the first draughts of the Liturgy were in preparation, and seems not well pleased in another of his to the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, bearing date *September* 4. that his advice in it was not followed, nor the whole body of the Council made acquainted with their Resolutions, or their advice taken, or their power called in for their assistance till it was too late. It was complained of also by some of the Bishops, that they were made strangers to the business, who in all Reason ought to have been trusted with the knowledge of that intention, which could not otherwise than by their diligence and endeavours amongst their Clergy, be brought to a happy execution. Nor was there any care taken to adulce the Ministers, to gain them to the Cause by fair hopes and promises, and thereby to take off the edge of such Leading men as had an influence on the rest; as if the work were able to carry on it self, or have so much Divine assistance as countervailed the want of all helps from man. And which perhaps conduced as much to the destruction of the Service as all the rest, a publick intimation must be made in all their Churches on the *Sunday* before, that the *Liturgie* should be read on the Lords day following, of purpose, as it were, to unite all such as were not well affected to it, to disturb the same.

*Cant. to Traquaire.* Sept. 11. *Hidd. Works*, p. 168.

And there were some miscarriages also, which may be looked on as *Accessories* after the Fact, by which the mischief grew remedi-

less,

leſs, and the malady almoſt incurable. "For firſt, the Archbiſhops "and Biſhops moſt concerned in it, when they ſaw what hapned, "conſulted by themſelves apart, and ſent up to the King without "calling a Council, or joyning the *Lay* Lords with them; whereas "all had been little enough in a buſineſs of that nature, and ſo much "oppoſed by ſuch Factious perſons as gathered themſelves on pur-"poſe together at *Edenborough* to diſturb the Service. A particular "in which the Lay Lords could not be engaged too far; if they had "been treated as they ought. But having run upon this error they "committed a worſe in leaving *Edenborough* to it ſelf, and retiring "every one to his own Dioceſs, except thoſe of *Galloway* and *Dum-*"*blaine*, For certainly they muſt needs think (as *Canterbury* writes "in one of his Letters to *Traquaire*) that the Adverſe party would "make uſe of the preſent time to put further difficulties upon the "work; and therefore that they ſhould have been as careful to up-"hold it, the Biſhop of *Roſs* eſpecially, whoſe hand had been as "much in it as the moſt. But poſſibly the Biſhops might conceive the place to be unſecure, and therefore could not ſtay with ſafety, neither the Lords of the Council, nor the Magiſtrates of the City having taken any courſe to bring the chief Ringleaders of the Tumult to the Bar of Juſtice: which muſt needs animate all diſaffected and ſeditious perſons, and almoſt break the hearts of thoſe who were well enclined. And ſuch indeed was the neglect of the Civil Magiſtrate that we hear of no man puniſhed, ſcarce ſo much as queſtioned, for ſo great a Riot, as was not to be expiated but by the death, or ſome proportionable puniſhment of the chief offenders. Which had it been inflicted on ſome three or four for a terror to others, it might have kept that City quiet, and the whole Kingdom in obedience for the time to come, to the ſaving of the lives of many thouſands (ſome hundreds of thouſands at the leaſt in all the three Kingdoms) moſt miſerably loſt in thoſe long and cruel Wars, which enſued upon it. But the Lords of *Scotland* were ſo far from looking before them, that they took care only for the preſent, and inſtead of executing Juſtice on the Malefactors, *ſuſpended* the *Liturgie* it ſelf as the cauſe of the Tumult, conceiving it a ſafer way to calm the differences than to encreaſe the ſtorm by a more rigorous and ſtrict proceeding. All that they did in order to his Majeſties Service, or the Churches peace, was the calling in of a ſcandalous Pamphlet, entituled, *A diſpute againſt the Engliſh Popiſh Ceremonies obtruded on the Kirk of* Scotland; which not being done till *October* 20 following, rather declared their willingneſs to ſuffer the ſaid Book to be firſt diſperſed and ſet abroad, then to be called in and ſuppreſſed.

Nor ſeemed the buſineſs to be much taken to heart in the Court of *England*, from whom the *Scots* expected to receive Directions: Nor Order given them for unſheathing the Sword of Juſtice, to cut off ſuch unſound and putrified Members, which might have ſaved

the

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

the whole Body from a *Gangreen*: the drawing of ſome Blood in the Body Politick, by the puniſhment of Malefactors, being like letting Blood in the Body Natural, which in ſome ſtrong Diſtempers doth preſerve the whole. Or granting that the Tumult had been grown ſo high, and ſo ſtrongly backed, that Juſtice could not ſafely have been done upon them; a way might have been found to have cooled the Fever, without loſs of Blood, by bringing the whole Corporation under the danger of a forfeiture of their Lands and Liberties in a Legal way; which courſe proved ſo ſucceſsful unto King *JAMES* on the like occaſion, *Anno* 1597. Or finally, ſuppoſing that the Cauſe admitted not ſuch a long delay, if then his Majeſty had but ſent a Squadron of the Royal Navy which he had at Sea, to block up their Haven, he had ſoon brought the *Edenburghers* unto his devotion, and conſequently kept all the reſt of the Kingdom in a ſafe Obedience. This was the way to keep them under; and of this courſe the People of the City were more afraid, than of any other. Somewhat they are to do, which might make his Majeſty hope better of them than they had deſerved; and nothing they could do which might better pleaſe him, than to expreſs their chearfulneſs in admitting the *Liturgie*. To this end they addreſſed their Letters to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as more concerned in this Affair than any other of the Lords which were neer his Majeſty, expreſſing in the ſame their great diſlike of the late Tumult; for their Innocency therein, they refer themſelves to his Majeſties Council in that Kingdom, declaring further their concurrence with the Biſhops which remained in the City, and the Miniſtry of the ſame, for ſettling the *Service-Book*; and offering Means above their Power, to ſuch as ſhould undertake the Reading of it; and finally, deſiring his Grace to make known to his Majeſty, how ready they were at all points to advance the Service, which they promiſed to accept as an accumulation of his Graces Favours unto them and their City. And that this Letter of theirs, which bears date the nineteenth of *Auguſt*, might bear the greater credit with him, they did not only ſeem induſtrious for the apprehending of ſome, and the inquiring after others of the Principal Actors; but bound themſelves by an Obligatory Act of the Common-Council, both for the Indempnity and Maintenance of ſuch as ſhould read the Book, the Miniſters of *Edenborough* refuſing to do their parts in it, without ſuch Encouragements. But the danger was no ſooner over, by the coming home of the Fleet, but they Petitioned the Lords of the Council to put them into the ſame condition with the reſt of the Subjects; and that the *Service-Book* ſhould be no further preſſed on them, than it had been in all the other parts of the Kingdom: To which they were encouraged by a general confluence of all ſorts of People, ſuch moſt eſpecially, as had moſt ſhewn their diſaffection to the work in hand.

*Hiſt. K. Ch. I.* H.L. *p.* 154.

For the Harveſt was no ſooner in, and the People at more leiſure than

than before to purſue that Quarrel: but the City ſwarmed with throngs of People from all parts, even to a formidable number, which moved the Lords to publiſh two Proclamations on the ſeventeenth of *October*; The firſt commanding all of them to repair to their Dwellings, except ſuch as ſhould ſhew ſufficient reaſon for their ſtay and continuance there: The ſecond, for Adjourning the Seſſions from *Edenborough*, to the Town of *Linlithgow*. But this ſerved rather like the powring on of Oyl, to encreaſe the Flame; than of Water, to quench it: For the next day the Biſhop of *Galloway* being to Sit with the Lord Chief Juſtice upon ſome eſpecial Buſineſs in the Council-Houſe, he was purſued all along the Street with bitter Railings to the very Door; and being drawn in from the rage of the People, they immediately beſet the Houſe, demanding the delivery of him, and threatning his deſtruction. The Earl of *Traquair* being advertiſed of the Biſhops danger (who formerly had been his Tutor) came to his Relief, and with much ado forced an Entrance thorow the Preſs: But being got in, he was in no better plight than the Biſhop, the Clamour ſtill encreaſing more and more, and encompaſſing the Council-Houſe with terrible Menaces. Hereupon the *Provoſt* and City-Council was called to raiſe the Siege: but they returned anſwer, That their condition was the ſame; for they were ſurrounded with the like Multitude, who had enforced them, for fear of their Lives, to ſign a Paper importing, Firſt, *That they ſhould adhere to them, in oppoſition to the Service-Book*: Secondly, *To reſtore to their Places* Ramſey *and* Rollock *two Silenced Miniſters, and one* Henderſon *a Silenced Reader*. No better Anſwer being returned, the Lord *Treaſurer*, with the Earl of *Wigton*, went in Perſon to the Town-Council-Houſe, where they found the heat of the fury ſomewhat abated, becauſe the Magiſtrates had ſigned the Paper; and returned with ſome hope that the Magiſtrates would calm the Diſorders about the Council-Houſe, ſo as the Biſhop might be preſerved: But they no ſooner preſented themſelves to the Great Street, than they were moſt boyſterouſly aſſaulted, the Throng being ſo furious, as they pulled down the Lord *Treaſurer*, took away his Hat, Cloak, and White Staff, and ſo haled him to the Council-Houſe. The Lords ſeeing themſelves in ſo great danger, at length pitch upon the beſt expedient for their ſafety, and ſent to ſome of the Noblemen and Gentry, who were diſaffected to the *Service-Book*, to come to their Aid. Theſe Lords and Gentlemen came, as was deſired, and offered both their Perſons and Power to protect them; which the Lords and the Council-Houſe readily embraced, and ſo were quietly guarded to *Holy-Rood*-Houſe, and the Biſhop to his Lodging. The Lords of the Council not thinking themſelves to be ſecure, publiſhed a Proclamation the ſame day in the afternoon, for repreſſing ſuch Diſorders for the time to come: But they found ſlender Obedience yielded to it, Commiſſioners being ſent unto them from the Citizens, in an inſolent manner, for demanding the Reſti-

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

tution of their Miniſters to their Place and Function, and performing all ſuch Matters as had been agreed on at the *Pacification*.

Theſe Riots and Seditions might have ſerved ſufficiently in another Reign, to have drawn a preſent War upon them, before they were provided in the leaſt degree to make any reſiſtance: But the *Edenburghers* knew well enough what they were to do, what Friends they had about the King, and what a Party they had got among the Lords of his Council, which Governed the Affairs of that Kingdom: And they were apt enough to hope, by the unpuniſhing of the firſt Tumult on *July* 23. That the King might rather have *patience* enough to bear ſuch Indignities, than *Reſolution* to revenge them; ſo that he came at laſt to that perplexity, which a good Author ſpeaks of, (*a*) That he muſt either *out-go* his Nature, or *fore-go* his Authority. For inſtead of uſing his juſt Power to correct their Inſolencies, he courts them with his Gracious Proclamation of the ſeventh of *December*, in which he lets them know, "How unwilling "he was that his Loyal and Faithful Subjects ſhould be poſſeſſed "with groundleſs and unneceſſary doubts and fears touching their "Religion; and therefore was pleaſed to declare, That as he abhor- "reth all Superſtitions of *Popery*, ſo he would be moſt careful that "nothing ſhould be allowed within his Dominions, but that which "ſhould moſt tend to the Advancement of the true Religion, as it "was preſently profeſſed within his Ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*; "and that nothing was nor ſhould be done therein, againſt the lau- "dable Laws of that his Native Kingdom. The Rioters perceived by this Proclamation, that the King was more afraid than hurt: And ſeeing him begin to ſhrink, they reſolved to put ſo many fears upon him one after another, as in the end might faſhion him to their deſires. Firſt therefore they began with a new Petition, not of a rude Multitude: but of Noblemen, Barons, Miniſters, Burgeſſes, and Commons (the very Flower of the whole Nation) againſt the *Liturgie* and *Canons*. This Petition being ſent to the Court, could do no leſs (and it did no more) than produce another Proclamation in Reply to the Subſtance of it, ſome Menaces being intermingled: but ſweetned in the cloſe, to give them the better reliſh. His Majeſty firſt lets them know the Piety of his Intent in appointing the *Liturgie*, aſſuring them, "That he had no other end in it, than the "maintenance of the true Religion there already profeſſed, and the "beating down of all Superſtition; That nothing paſſed in the ſaid "Book, but what was ſeen and approved by himſelf, before the ſame "was either divulged or printed; and that he was aſſured, That "the Book it ſelf would be a very ready means to preſerve the Re- "ligion there profeſſed, of which he doubted not to give them ſa- "tisfaction in his own time. Which ſaid, he lets them know, That "ſuch as had Aſſembled for ſubſcribing the ſaid Petition, had made "themſelves liable to his higheſt Cenſures, both in Life and "Fortune; That notwithſtanding, he was pleaſed to diſpence with the

(a) *Cum vel excidenda ſit natura, vel minuenda dignitas.* Vell. Paterc. *Hiſt.* L D. *Bib. Reg.* p. 1. & 144.

Ibid. p. 14.

" the errour (upon a confidence that it proceeded rather from a pre-
" poſterous Zeal, than a diſaffection to Sovereignty) on condition
" that they retired themſelves upon notice hereof, as became good
" and dutiful Subjects. He interdicted alſo the like Concourſe as
" had been lately made at *Edenborough*, upon pain of Treaſon; com-
" manding that none of them ſhould repair to *Sterling* (to which the
" Term was then Adjourned) or any other place of Counſel and
" Seſſion, without Warrant from the Lords of the Council; and
" that all ſuch, of what ſort ſoever (not being Lords of the Coun-
" cil or Seſſion) which were not Inhabitants of the Town, ſhould
" within ſix hours after publication thereof, depart the ſame, ex-
" cept they were ſo Licenced and Warranted as before is ſaid, un-
" der pain of *Treaſon:* And finally, he concludes with this, That
" he would not ſhut his ears againſt any Petition, upon this or any
" other Subject, which they ſhould hereafter tender to him; pro-
" vided that the matter and form thereof be not prejudicial to his
" Regal Authority.

Had his Majeſty followed at the heels of this Proclamation, with a powerful Army, according to the Cuſtom of his Predeceſſors, Kings of *England*, it might have done ſome good upon them. But Proclamations of Grace and Favour, if not backed by Arms, are but like Cannons charged with Powder, without Ball or Bullet, making more noiſe than execution; and ſerve for nothing in effect, but to make the Rebel inſolent, and the Prince contemptible, as it proved in this: For on the very day, and immediately after the reading of it, it was encountred with a Proteſtation, publiſhed by the Earl of *Hume*, the Lord *Lindſey*, and others, juſtifying themſelves in their Proceedings, diſclaiming all his Majeſties Offers of Grace and Pardon, and poſitively declaring their Reſolution to go on as they had begun, till they had brought the buſineſs to the end intended. And in purſuance hereof, they erected a new Form of Government amongſt themſelves, deſpotical enough in reſpect of thoſe who adhered unto them, and unaccountable to his Majeſty for their Acts and Orders. This Government conſiſted of four Tables, for the four Orders of the State, that is to ſay, the Noblemen, Barons, Burgeſſes, and Miniſters; each Order conſulting at his own Table, of ſuch things as were neceſſary for the carrying on of the Deſign; which being reduced into Form, were offered, debated, and concluded at the General Table, conſiſting of a choice number of Commiſſioners out of all the reſt. And that this new Government might be looked on with the greater reverence, they fixed themſelves in *Edenborough*, the Regal City, leaving the Lords of Council and Seſſion to make merry at *Sterling*, where they had little elſe to do than to follow their Pleaſures. The Tables were no ſooner formed, but they reſolved upon renewing of the Ancient *Confeſſion* of that *Kirk*, with a Band thereunto ſubjoined, but fitted and accommodated to the preſent occaſion, which had been ſigned by

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

King *James* on the 28th. of *January*, *Anno* 1580. after their Account, and generally ſubſcribed by all the Nation. And by this Band they entred Covenant for Maintenance of their Religion then profeſſed, and his Majeſties Perſon: but aiming at the deſtruction of both; as appeareth both by the Band it ſelf, and their Gloſs upon it: For by the one they had bound themſelues to defend each other againſt all Perſons whatſoever, the King himſelf not being excepted; and by the other they declared, That under the general Names of *Popery*, *Hereſie* and *Superſtition*, which were there expreſſed, they had abjured (and required all others ſo to do) not only the *Liturgie* and *Canons* lately recommended to them, but the *Epiſcopal Government*, and the five *Articles* of *Perth*, though confirmed by Parliament. And to this Covenant, in this ſenſe, they required an Oath of all the Subjects, which was as great an Uſurpation of the Regal Power, as they could take upon themſelves, for confirming their own Authority and the Peoples Obedience, in any Project whatſoever which ſhould afterwards iſſue from thoſe Tables.

In this Eſtate we leave the *Scots*, and return to *England*, where we ſhall find all things in a better condition, at leaſt as to the outward appearance, whatſoever ſecret workings were in agitation amongſt the Grandees and chief Leaders of the *Puritan* Faction. Little or no noiſe raiſed about the publiſhing of the Book for Sports, or ſilencing the *Calvinian* Doctrines, according to his Majeſties Declaration before the Articles: No clamour touching the tranſpoſing of the Holy Table, which went on leiſurely in moſt places, vigorouſly in many, and in ſome ſtood ſtill. The *Metropolitical Viſitation*, and the Care of the Biſhops, had ſettled theſe Particulars in ſo good a way, that mens Paſſions began to calm, and their Thoughts to come to ſome repoſe, when the Commands had been more ſeriouſly conſidered of, than at firſt they were. And now the Viſitation having been carried into all parts of the Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, his *Grace* began to caſt his eye upon the Iſlands of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, two Iſlands lying on the Coaſt of *Normandy*, to the Dukedom whereof they once belonged, and in the Right of that Dukedom to the Crown of *England*. *Jerſey*, the bigger of the two, more populous, and of richer ſoil: but of no great Trading. *Guernſey* the leſſer, the more barren: but nouriſhing a wealthier People, Maſters of many ſtout Barques, and managing a rich Trade with the neighbouring Nations. Attempted often by the *French*, ſince they ſeiſed on *Normandy*: but always with repulſe and loſs, the People being very affectionate to the *Engliſh* Government, under which they enjoy very ample Priviledges, which from the *French* they could not hope for. As parts of *Normandy*, they were ſubject in Eccleſiaſtical Matters to the Biſhops of *Conſtance* in that Dukedom, and ſo continued till the Reformation of Religion here in *England*, and were then added to the Dioceſs and Juriſdiction of the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*. But the *Genevian* Diſcipline being more agreeable to ſuch Preachers

Preachers as came to them from *France*, they obtained the Exerciſe thereof in the eighth year of Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1565. The whole Government diſtinguiſhed into two *Claſſes* or Colonies; that of *Jerſey* of it ſelf being one, and that of *Guernſey*, with the Iſlands of *Sark* and *Alderney*, making up the other; both *Claſſes* meeting in a *Synod* every ſecond or third year, according to the Order of their Book of Diſcipline, digeſted by *Snape* and *Cartwright*, (the two great Ring-leaders of that *Faction* here in *England*) in a *Synod* held at *Guernſey*, *June* 28. 1576. And this manner they continued till the time of King *James*, when the Churches in the Iſle of *Jerſey* falling into ſome diſorder, and being under an immediate Governour who was no great Friend to *Calvin's* Plat-form, they were neceſſitated, for avoiding of a greater miſchief, to caſt themſelves into the Arms of the Church of *England*. The principal Eccleſiaſtical Officer, whilſt they were under the Biſhops of *Conſtance*, had the Title of *Dean*; for each Iſland one; the ſeveral Powers both of the *Chancellor* and *Archdeacon*, being united in his Perſon. This Office is reſtored again, his Juriſdiction marked out, his Fees appointed, his Revenue ſettled: but made accountable for his Adminiſtration, to the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*. The *Engliſh Liturgie* is Tranſlated alſo into *French*, to be read in their Churches: *Inſtructions* firſt, and afterwards a Body of *Canons* framed, for Regulating both the Miniſters and People in their ſeveral Duties; thoſe *Canons* bearing date the laſt of *June*, in the one and twentieth year of that King.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

For the confirming of this Iſland in their Conformity to the Government and Forms of Worſhip there eſtabliſhed, and the reducing of the others to the like condition, it was reſolved, That the *Metropolitical Viſitation* ſhould be held in each of them, at the next opening of the Spring. And that it might be carried on with the greater aſſurance, the Archbiſhop had deſigned a Perſon for his Principal *Viſitor*, who had ſpent ſome time in either Iſland, and was well acquainted with the Bayliffs, Miniſters, and men of ſpecial note amongſt them: But the Affairs of *Scotland* growing from bad to worſe, this Counſel was diſcontinued for the preſent, and at laſt laid by for all together.

But theſe Iſlands were not out of his mind, though they were out of ſight, his care extending further than his Viſitation. The Iſlanders did uſe to breed ſuch of their Sons as they deſigned for the Miniſtry either at *Saumur* or *Geneva*, from whence they returned well ſeaſoned with the Leaven of *Calviniſm*. No better way to purge that old Leaven out of the Iſlands than to allure the people to ſend their Children to *Oxon* or *Cambridge*; nor any better expedient to effect the ſame than to provide ſome preferments for them in our Univerſities. It hapned, that while he was intent on theſe Conſiderations, that one *Hubbard*, the Heir of Sir *Miles Hubbard*, Citizen and Alderman of *London*, departed this Life; to whom, upon an inquiſition taken after his

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

his death in due form of Law, no Heir was found which could lay claim to his Eſtate. Which falling to the Crown in ſuch an unexpected manner, and being a fair Eſtate withal, it was no hard matter for the Archbiſhop to perſwade his Majeſty to beſtow ſome ſmall part thereof upon pious uſes. To which his Majeſty conſenting, there was ſo much allotted out of it, as for the preſent ſerved ſufficiently to endow three Fellowſhips for the perpetual Education of ſo many of the Natives of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*; not without ſome probable hope of doubling the number, as the old Leaſes of it ſhould expire. Theſe Fellowſhips to be founded in *Exeter*, *Jeſus*, and *Pembroke* Colledges; that being diſperſt in ſeveral Houſes, there might be an increaſe both of Fellows, and Revenues of the ſaid foundations. By means whereof he did both piouſly and prudently provide for thoſe Iſlands, and the advancement of Conformity amongſt them in the times to come. For what could elſe enſue upon it: but that the breeding of ſome Scholars out of thoſe Iſlands in that Univerſity, where they might throughly acquaint themſelves with the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worſhip eſtabliſht in the Church of *England*, they might afterwards at their return to their native Countries, reduce the Natives by degrees to conform unto it; which doubtleſs in a ſhort time would have done the work with as much honour to the King, and content to himſelf, as ſatisfaction to thoſe People.

It is not to be thought that the Papiſts were all this while aſleep, and that neither the diſquiets in *England*, nor the tumults in *Scotland* were husbanded to the beſt advantage of the Catholick Cauſe. *Panzani*, as before is ſaid, had laid the foundation of an Agency or conſtant correſpondence between the Queens Court and the Popes; and having ſo done, left the purſuit of the deſign to *Con* a *Scot*, by birth, but of a very buſie and pragmatical head. Arriving in *England* about the middle of Summer, *Anno* 1636. he brought with him many pretended reliques of Saints, Medals and Pieces of Gold with the Popes Picture ſtamped on them, to be diſtributed amongſt thoſe of that Party, but principally amongſt the Ladies of the Court and Country, to whom he made the greateſt part of his applications. He found the King and Queen at *Holdenby* Houſe, and by the Queen was very graciouſly entertained, and took up his chief Lodgings in a houſe near the new Exchange. As ſoon as the Court was returned to *Whitehall*, he applied himſelf diligently to his work, practiſing upon ſome of the principal Lords, and making himſelf very plauſible with the King himſelf, who hoped he might make ſome uſe of him in the Court of *Rome* for facilitating the reſtitution of the Prince *Elector*. And finding that the Kings Councils were much directed by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he uſed his beſt endeavours to be brought into his acquaintance. But *Canterbury* neither liked the man, nor the Meſſage which he came about, and therefore kept himſelf at a diſtance, neither admitting him to Complement,

plement, nor Communication. Howſoever by the Kings Connivence, and the Queens Indulgence, the *Popiſh* Faction gathered not only ſtrength, but confidence; multiplying in ſome numbers about the Court, and reſorting in more open manner to the Maſſes at *Somerſet* houſe, where the *Capuchins* had obtained both a *Chappel* and *Convent*. Of this none bears the blame but *Laud*, who is traduced in Libels and common talk for the principal Architect in the Plot, and the Contriver of the miſchief.

On this account, and the proceedings of the *Star-Chamber*, before remembred, one Libel is dropt at the *South* Gate of St. *Pauls*, on *Auguſt* 23. declaring that the Devil had left that houſe to him for the ſaying of Maſs, and other abominations of the Church of *Rome*; another two daies after faſtned to the *North* Gate of it, ſignifying that the Church of *England was like a Candle in a Snuff, going out in a ſtench*. His Speech in the *Star-Chamber* put into a kind of *Pillory*, and hanged up at the Standard in *Cheapſide*; and another ſhort Libel made againſt him in Verſe four daies after that. Awakened by ſo many Alarms he had good cauſe to look about him, but more at the great noiſe, not long after raiſed, about the ſeducing of the Counteſs of *Newport*, a Kinſwoman of the late Duke of *Buckinghams*, to the Church of *Rome*; effected by the Practices of *Walter Mountague*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and the importunities of *Toby Matthews*, (an undeſerving Son of a worthy Father) *Con* interpoſing in it as he found occaſion. The Archbiſhop had long ſtomackt at the Inſolencies of *Matthews*, and *Mountague*, and had forborn the taking of any publick notice of them, till he had almoſt loſt himſelf in the ſight of the people. But laying hold on this opportunity, he paſſionately declares himſelf at the Council Table, on *October* 22. in a full and free Speech to the King, concerning the increaſe of the *Roman* Party, the frequent reſort of Papiſts to *Somerſet* houſe, the unſufferable miſdemeanors of *Matthews*, and *Mountague*, in practicing upon his Subjects, and chiefly upon thoſe which lived within the verge of the Court, and were neareſt to him, humbly beſeeching him to put ſome ſtrong reſtraint upon them, whereby they either might be barred from coming into the Court at all, or to give no offence and ſcandal by their misbehaviours. Of this the Queen had notice that very night, who ſeemed much diſpleaſed at the matter, and let him ſee it in her Countenance, whenſoever he had any cauſe of coming where ſhe was. But the Pill was given in a very good hour, and wrought ſo effectually with the King, that *Mountague* and *Matthews* were purged out of the Court; the one betaking himſelf to his Country practice, the other for a time to his former travels in *France* and *Italy*. Which the Queen finding to be paſt remedy, and knowing how neceſſary a Servant the Archbiſhop was to his *Great Maſter*, and how uſeful he might be to her in her own affairs, ſhe admitted him to her ſpeech again in *December* following; and after ſome expoſtulations concerning

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

cerning *Mountague*, ſhe began to clear her Countenance, and to part fair with him.

Follow this buſineſs into the next year, and we ſhall find him moving for a Proclamation, about the calling in of a Popiſh Book, written in *French* by *Francis Sales* Biſhop of *Geneva*, tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and publiſhed by the name of an *Introduction to a devout life*, which Book being brought to *Haywood*, the Archbiſhops Chaplain, and by him purged of divers unſound paſſages apparently tending unto Popery before it was licenced to the Preſs, was notwithſtanding publiſhed as it came to his hands, without alteration, the Tranſlator inſerting the ſame paſſages into it again, and the Printer conniving at the ſame. The Printer was thereupon apprehended, and the Tranſlator diligently ſought for to be brought to Juſtice; his Majeſties care for maintaining the Religion profeſſed in the Church of *England* in its natural purity, being ſo remarkable that he cauſed the ſaid Book to be called in, and as many as could be ſeiſed on, to be publickly burned, But that which did moſt generally vindicate his Reputation, was the enlarging and re-printing of his *Conference* with *Fiſher* the *Jeſuite*, to which he had been moved by ſome of his private friends (none of them knowing that any other but himſelf had made the motion) when the Libellers were moſt fierce againſt him, and afterwards adviſed to it by the King himſelf at the Council Table. The former Propoſitions had diſpoſed him to it, and this deſire of the Kings ſerved for a command to confirm him in it: But multiplicity of buſineſs gave him ſo little leiſure to attend his Studies, that the year was almoſt ended before the Book could be made ready for the publick view. But at the laſt it came from the Preſs, and was preſented to his Majeſty on *Sunday* the tenth of *February*, and the next day expoſed unto open ſale. A Piece ſo ſolidly compacted, that one of our Hiſtorians (who ſhews himſelf to be none of his greateſt Friends) gives it the commendation of being *the exacteſt Maſter-piece of* Polemique *Divinity of* any *extant* at that time; further affirming, That *he declared himſelf therein to be ſo little theirs* (he means the *Papiſts*) *as he had for ever diſabled them from being ſo much their own as before they were.* And *DERING*, his moſt profeſſed Adverſary, in the Preface to his Book of Speeches, could not but confeſs, but that in his Book, eſpecially the laſt half of it, *he had muzzled the Jeſuite, and ſhould ſtrike the Papiſts under the fifth Rib, when he was dead and gone. And being dead, that whereſoever his grave ſhould be,* Pauls *would be his perpetual* Monument, *and his own Book his* Epitaph.

*Bibl. Regia*, Part I. p. 29

*Epiſt. to the King.* p. 8.

*H. H. K. C.* p. 187.

*Collection of Speeches.* P. 5.

But ſuch was his unhappy Fate, that many obſtinate and malicious *Puritans* would not be otherwiſe perſwaded of him, than before they were; which they ſpared not to expreſs upon this occaſion: One of his Majeſties Chaplains in *Ordinary* had Preached two Sermons in *January* foregoing on *Matt.* 13. 26. which being brought into diſcourſe at ſuch time as the Archbiſhops Book was newly publiſhed,

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

ſhed, it was affirmed by ſome moderate men, that the Doctor in thoſe two Sermons had pulled up Popery by the very roots; one of the company replying thereunto, That the Archbiſhop might Print, and the Doctor might Preach what they pleaſed againſt Popery, but that he ſhould never think them, or either of them, to be the leſs Papiſts for all that. A Cenſure of ſo ſtrange a nature, and ſo little ſavouring of Chriſtianity, that I believe it is not eaſie to be paralelled in the worſt of times. And when no Prieſt nor Jeſuite could be found ſo confident as to venture on an Anſwer to it, one of the *Presbyterian Scots* (for ſuch he was then generally affirmed to be) publiſhed an unlicenced Piece againſt him, under the Title of *A Reply to a Relation of the Conference betwixt* William Laud *and Mr.* Fiſher *the Jeſuite*, ſaid to be writ *by a Witneſs of Jeſus Chriſt*. In the whole courſe whereof the Author, whoſoever he was, moſt miſerably perverts his words, and miſtakes his meaning, wreſting the moſt Orthodox and innocent truths to his wicked ends, and putting his own corrupt Gloſs and ſenſe upon them. And which is yet moſt ſtrange of all, with an unparalelled impudence he dedicates it to his Sacred Majeſty, calling upon him, "To ſend out his Royal "Edict for the taking down of all Altars, (which where ever they "ſtand, are by him ſaid to ſtand in open defiance of Chriſt;) Ano-"ther for calling in the Book for Sports on the Lords day; A third, "for calling in his Declaration before the Articles of Religion; A "fourth for calling in of all Orders for the Reſtraint of Preaching; "A fifth, for reſtoring to their place and Miniſtry all thoſe who out "of Conſcience of their duty to God had by the Prelates been thruſt "out of all for refuſing to read the ſaid Book; And finally, for re-"leaſing and ſetting at liberty the three poor baniſhed priſoners, "the loud cry of whoſe oppreſſions might otherwiſe provoke the "thunderbolt of Divine Revenge to blaſt the beauty of his State.

Now as he laboured by theſe means to preſerve the Church of *England* from the growth of *Popery*, ſo he took care for preventing the ſubverſion of it, by the ſpreading of the *Socinian* Hereſies. He had before took care for ſuppreſſing all Books of that nature which had been imported into *England* out of other Countries, and had received thanks for it from the Pen of a Jeſuit: But *Burton* chargeth it upon him among his Crimes, reproaching him for ſuppreſſing thoſe books for no other reaſon but becauſe they magnified the Authority of the holy Scriptures; and by the late Decree for Printing (of which more anon) he had took ſuch order, that no Eggs of that peſtiferous Brood ſhould be laid in *England*, or if they were, ſhould ever peep out of the Shell, or appear in ſight. There had been publiſhed a Diſcourſe, called, *Diſquiſitio Brevis*, in which ſome of the principal *Socinian* Tenents were cunningly inſerted, pretending them for the beſt Expedients to appeaſe ſome Controverſies betwixt us and *Rome*: The Book aſcribed in common Speech to *Hales* of *Eaton*;

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

*ton*, a man of infinite reading, and no leſs ingenuity; free of Diſcourſe, and as communicative of his knowledge as the Cœleſtial Bodies of their light and influences. There paſt alſo up and down a Diſcourſe of *Schiſm*, not Printed, but tranſmitted from hand to hand in written Copies (like the Biſhop of *Lincolns* Letter to the *Vicar* of *Grantham*) intended chiefly for the encouragement of ſome of our great Maſters of Wit and Reaſon, to deſpiſe the Authority of the Church. Which being diſperſed about this time, gave the Archbiſhop occaſion to ſend for him to *Lambeth*, in hope that he might gain the man, whoſe abilities he was well acquainted with when he lived in *Oxon.* An excellent *Grecian* in thoſe daies, and one whom *Savil* made great uſe of in his *Greek* Edition of St. *Chryſoſtoms* Works. About nine of the Clock in the Morning he came to know his Graces pleaſure, who took him along with him into his Garden, commanding that none of his Servants ſhould come at him upon any occaſion. There they continued in diſcourſe till the Bell rang to Prayers, and after Prayers were ended, till the Dinner was ready, and after that too, till the coming in of the Lord *Conway* and ſome other Perſons of honour, put a neceſſity upon ſome of his Servants to give him notice how the time had paſſed away. So in they came, high coloured, and almoſt panting for want of breath; enough to ſhew, that there had been ſome heats between them, not then fully cooled. It was my chance to be there that day, either to know his Graces pleaſure, or to render an account of ſome former commands, but I know not which; and I found *Hales* very glad to ſee me in that place, as being himſelf a meer ſtranger to it, and unknown to all. He told me afterwards, That he found the Archbiſhop (whom he knew before for a nimble Diſputant) to be as well verſed in books as buſineſs; That he had been ferretted by him from one hole to another, till there was none left to afford him any further ſhelter; That he was now reſolved to be Orthodox, and to declare himſelf a true Son of the Church of *England*, both for Doctrine and Diſcipline; That to this end he had obtained leave to call himſelf his *Graces* Chaplain, that naming him in his Publick Prayers for his Lord and Patron, the greater notice might be taken of the Alteration. Thus was *Hales* gained unto the Church, and gaineda good preferment in it; promoted not long after by the Archbiſhops Commendation to be Prebend of *Windſor*, and to hold the ſame by ſpecial diſpenſation, with his place in *Eaton*.

Nor was the Archbiſhop leſs intent upon all Advantages for keeping down the *Genevian* Party, and hindring them from Printing and Publiſhing any thing which might diſturb the Churches Peace, or corrupt her Doctrine. To this end he procured a Decree to be paſs'd in the *Star-Chamber*, on *July* 1. *Anno* 1637. to Regulate the Trade of *Printing*, and prevent all Abuſes of that Excellent Art, to the diſturbance of the Church. By which Decree it had been Ordered, *That the Maſter-Printers from*

*from thenceforth ſhould be reduced to a certain number; and that if any other ſhould ſecretly or openly purſue that Trade, he ſhould be ſet in the Pillory, or whipped through the Streets, and ſuffer ſuch other Puniſhment as that Court ſhould inflict upon him; That none of the ſaid Maſter-Printers ſhould from thenceforth Print any Book or Books of Divinity, Law, Phyſick, Philoſophy, or Poetry, till the ſaid Books, together with the Titles, Epiſtles, Prefaces, Tables, or Commendatory Verſes, ſhall be lawfully Licenced, either by the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *or the Biſhop of* London *for the time being, or by ſome of their Chaplains, or by the Chancellors or Vice-Chancellors of either of the two Univerſities, upon pain of looſing the Exerciſe of his Art, and being proceeded againſt in the* Star-Chamber, *or the* High-Commiſſion *Court reſpectively; That no Perſon or Perſons do hereafter Re-print, or cauſe to be Re-printed, any Book or Books whatſoever (though formerly Printed with Licence) without being reviewed, and a new Licence obtained for the Re-printing thereof: That every Merchant, Bookſeller, or other Perſon, who ſhall Import any Printed Books from beyond the Seas, ſhall preſent a true Catalogue of them to the ſaid Archbiſhop or Biſhop for the time being, before they be delivered, or expoſed to Sale, upon pain of ſuffering ſuch Puniſhment as by either of the ſaid two Courts reſpectively ſhall be thought fit; That none of the ſaid Merchants, Bookſellers, or others, ſhall upon pain of the like Puniſhment, deliver any of the Books ſo Imported, till the Chaplains of the ſaid Archbiſhop or Biſhop for the time being, or ſome other Learned Man by them appointed, together with the Maſter and Wardens of the Company of* Stationers, *or one of them, ſhall take a view of the ſame, with Power to ſeize on all ſuch Books which they found to be Schiſmatical and Offenſive, and bring them to the ſaid Archbiſhop or Biſhop, or to the* High-Commiſſion *Office: And finally, That no Merchant, Bookſeller,* &c. *ſhould Print, or cauſe to be Printed beyond the Seas, any Book or Books, which either totally, or for the greateſt part, were written in the* Engliſh *Tongue, whether the ſaid Books have been here formerly Printed, or not; nor ſhall willingly or knowingly Import any ſuch Books into this Kingdom, upon pain of being proceeded againſt in either of the ſaid two Courts reſpectively, as before is ſaid.* By means of which Decree he had ſo provided both at home and abroad, That neither the Patience of the State ſhould be exerciſed (as in former times) with continual Libels; nor the Church troubled by unwarrantable and Out-landiſh Doctrines.

But good Laws are of no effect without execution; and if he took no care for that, he had loſt his labour. King *James* had manifeſted his diſlike of the *Genevian* Bibles, and the Notes upon them; ſome of which did not only teach Diſobedience to Kings and Princes, but the murthering of them alſo, if they proved Idolaters; and others did not only teach the Lawfulneſs of breaking Faith and Promiſe, when the keeping of it might conduce to the hurt of the Goſpel: but ranked Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all men in Holy

PART II. Anno Dom. 1638.

Orders, or *Academical Degrees*, amongſt thoſe *Locuſts* in the *Reve-lation*, which came out of the Pit. That King gave Order thereupon, That the Bible of the New Tranſlation ſhould be printed with no Notes at all; which courſe he alſo recommended to the *Synod* of *Dort*, to be obſerved in the new Tranſlation of the Bible into the *Dutch* or *German* Tongue, which was then intended. Upon this ground, the Printing of thoſe Bibles with Notes upon them had been forbidden in this Kingdom: but were Printed in *Holland* notwithſtanding, and brought over hither, the better to keep up the Faction, and affront Authority. Some of them had before been ſeiſed in *Holland*, by the care of *Boſwel* the Reſident at the *Hague*: And in the beginning of this year, he received Advertiſement of a new Impreſſion of the ſame deſigned for *England*, if the terrour of this Decree did not ſtop their coming. Becauſe *Holland*, and the reſt of the Provinces under the Government of the States, was made the Receptacle of many of our *Engliſh* Malecontents, who there and from thence vented their own Paſſions, and the Diſcourſes of their Party in this Kingdom, to the diſturbance of the Church; it concerned him to keep a careful watch over them and their Actions. Of theſe he had Advertiſement from time to time, by one *John Le Maire*; and thereupon, by the means of *Boſwell* his right truſty Friend, he dealt ſo effectually with the *States-General* of thoſe Provinces, that they made a Proclamation againſt the Printers and Spreaders of Libellous and Seditious Books againſt the Church and Prelates of *England*; and tooke Order with the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam* and *Rotterdam* (two great Towns in *Holland*) for apprehending and puniſhing of ſuch *Engliſhmen* as had Printed any of the ſaid Lawleſs and Unlicenced Pamphlets.

*Cant. Dan.* P. 349.

There was a time when Queen *Elizabeth* beheld the Pope as her greateſt Enemy, in reference to her Mothers Marriage, her own Birth, and conſequently her Title to the Crown of *England*; and many of the Books which were Printed in and about that time, were full of bitterneſs and revilings againſt the Church of *Rome* it ſelf, and all the Divine Offices, Ceremonies, and Performances of it. There was a time alſo when the *Calvinian* Doctrines were embraced by many for the Genuine Doctrines of this Church, to the great countenancing of the *Genevian* Diſcipline and Forms of Adminiſtration: And not a few of the Books then Printed, and ſuch as after were Licenced in *Abbot*'s Time, aimed principally at the Maintenance of thoſe Opinions, which the latter Times found inconſiſtent with the Churches Doctrines. With equal diligence he endeavoured by this Decree to hinder the Reprinting of the one and the other, that ſo the Church might reſt in quiet, without any trouble or moleſtation in her ſelf, or giving offence to any other.

As little Trouble could be feared from Lecturers, as they now were Regulated. The greateſt part of thoſe who had been Superinducted into other Mens Cures (like a *Doctor* added to the *Paſtor* in *Calvin*'s

*Calvin*'s Plat-form) had deſerted their Stations, becauſe they would not read the Common-Prayers in their Hoods and Surplices, according to the Kings Inſtructions before remembred; ſuch as remained being either founded on a conſtant or certain Maintenance, or ſeeing how little was to be gotten by a fiery and ungoverned Zeal, became more pliant and conformable to the Rules of the Church: Not a Lecturer of this kind found to ſtand out in ſome great Dioceſes, to keep up the Spirits of the Faction, and create diſturbances. And as for Combination-Lecturers, named for the moſt part by the Biſhops, and to them accountable, they alſo were required in ſome places to read the ſecond Service at the Communion-Table, to go into the Pulpit at the end of the *Nicene* Creed, to uſe no other form of Prayer than that of the 55th. *Canon*, after the Sermon ended, to go back to the Table, and there read the Service. All which being to be done in their Hoods and Surplices, kept off the greateſt part of the rigid *Calviniſts* from exerciſing their Gifts, as formerly in great Market-Towns. And as for the poſition of the Communion-Table, it was no longer left to private Inſtructions, as it was at the firſt, when the Inquiry went no further, than, *whether the Lords Table was ſo conveniently placed, that the Miniſter might beſt be ſeen and heard of the Congregation?* The more particular diſpoſing of it, being left to Inference, Conjecture, or ſome private Directions. It now began to be more openly avowed in the *Viſitation-Articles* of ſeveral Biſhops and Archdeacons, ſome of which we ſhall here produce, as a light to the reſt: For thus we find it in the Articles for the *Archdeaconry* of *Buckingham*, *Anno* 1637. *Art.* 5. *Have you a decent Table, or a Frame for the Holy Communion, placed at the Eaſt end of the Chancel? Is it Railed in or Encloſed, ſo as Men or Boys cannot ſit upon it, or throw their Hats upon it? Is the ſaid Rail and Incloſure ſo made with Settles and kneeling-Benches, at the foot or bottom thereof, as the Communicants may fitly kneel there at the Receiving of the Holy Communion?* The like for the Dioceſs of *Norwich* in the year before, where we find it thus; *viz. Have you in your Church a Communion Table, a Carpet of Silk? &c. And is the ſame placed conveniently; ſo as the Miniſter may beſt be heard in his Adminiſtration, and the greateſt number may reverently Communicate? To that end, Doth it ordinarily ſtand up at the Eaſt end of the Chancel, where the Altar in former times ſtood, the ends thereof being placed North and South?* And in another Article it is thus inquired, *viz. Do all your Pariſhioners, of what ſort ſoever, according as the Church expreſly them commandeth, draw neer, and with all Chriſtian Humility and Reverence, come to the Lords Table, when they are to receive the Holy Communion?* But becauſe theſe Articles might be thought too general, if not otherwiſe limited, certain *Injunctions* were annexed in Writing, in one of which it was required, *That the ſaid Tables ſhould be Railed in, to avoid Prophanations*; and ſecondly, *That all Communicants ſhould come up by Files, and Receive the Sacrament at the ſame.* Which

*Art. of the Viſit. of B. Wren.*

was

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

was performed in this manner: As many as could well kneel close to the Rails, came up out of the Church or Chancel, and then upon their knees received (from the Priest standing within the Rails) the Bread and Wine; who being thus Communicated, retired into the Church or Chancel, and made room for others. Which course was constantly observed, till they had all Received the Sacrament in their ranks and forms, according to the ancient Custom of the Church of *England*; till Novellism, and Compliance with the Forms of *Geneva*, had introduced a deviation from their own appointments.

In this condition stood that Diocess, as to these particulars, when *Wren*, translated unto *Ely*, left the place to *Mountague*; who though he was as zealous, and as forward as he in railing in the Communion Table at the East end of the Chancel where the Altar stood, (as appears by his Visitation Articles for this present year) yet he had fancied to himself a middle Course between receiving at the Rail and carrying the Communion to all parts of the Church, as had been most irreverently used in too many places. And therefore that he might do somewhat to be called his own, he caused a meeting of the Clergy to be held at *Ipswich* for the parts adjoyning, where he prescribed these following Orders: That is to say, "First, After the "the words, or Exhortation pronounced by the Minister (standing "at the Communion Table, the Parishioners as yet standing in the "body of the Church) *Draw near*, &c. all which intended to Com-"municate should come out of the Church into the Chancel, Se-"condly, That all being come in, the Chancel door should be shut, "and not opened till the Communion be done; That no Commu-"nicant depart till the Dismission; That no new Communicant "come in amongst them; And that no Boys, Girls, or Gazers be "suffered to look in as at a Play. Thirdly, That the Communi-"cants being entred should be disposed of orderly in their several "Ranks, leaving sufficient room for the Priest or Minister to go be-"tween them; by whom they were to be communicated one Rank "after another, till they had all of them received. Fourthly, and "finally, That after they had all received, the Priest or Minister "should dismiss them with the Benediction. Which though it differed very little from the Rules prescribed by his Predecessor, yet some diversity there was, for which he rendred an account to his Metropolitan, and was by *Wren* sufficiently answered in all points thereof. It was not coming up to the Raile, but going into the Chancel, which had been stomacked, and opposed by the Puritan Faction, who loved to make all places equal, and to observe as little reverence in the Participation as in all other Acts of Worship: Which *Mountague* either not considering or fancying to himself some hopes which he had no ground for, resolved to fall upon this course, which he conceived to be more agreeable to the course of Antiquity, and most consistent as he thought with the Rules of Politie. For by

by this condeſcenſion he preſumed, as himſelf informs us, to keep many men at home with their Wives and Families, in obedience to his Majeſties Laws, who otherwiſe were upon a reſolution of departing the Kingdom; wherein how much he was deceived, the event diſcovered.

For ſo it was, that the people in many great trading Towns, which were near the Sea, having been long diſcharged of the Bond of Ceremonies, no ſooner came to hear the leaſt noiſe of a Conformity, but they began to ſpurn againſt it. And when they found that all their ſtriving was in vain, that they had loſt the comfort of their Lecturers, and that their Miniſters began to ſhrink at the very name of a Viſitation, it was no hard matter for thoſe Miniſters and Lecturers to perſwade them to remove their dwellings, and tranſport their Trades. The Sun of Heaven, ſay they, doth ſhine as comfortably in other places, the Son of Righteouſneſs much brighter: Better to go and dwell in *Goſhen*, find it where we can, than tarry in the midſt of ſuch an *Egyptian* darkneſs as was then falling on this Land. The ſinful corruptions of the Church (ſaid they) were now grown ſo general, that there was no place free from that Contagion, and infections of it; and *therefore go out of her my people, and be not partaker of her ſins*. And hereunto they were the more eaſily perſwaded by ſeeing ſo many Dutch men with their Wives and Children to forſake the Kingdom; who having got Wealth enough in *England*, choſe rather to go back to their Native Countries, than to be obliged to reſort to their Pariſh Churches, as by the Archbiſhops Injunctions they were bound to do. Amongſt the firſt which ſeparated upon this account were *Goodwin*, *Nye*, *Burroughs*, *Bridge*, and *Sympſon*; who taking ſome of their followers with them, betook themſelves to *Holland*, as their City of Refuge. There they filled up their Congregations to ſo great a number, that it was thought fit to be divided; *Goodwin* and *Nye* retiring unto *Arnheim*, a Town of *Gelderland*; *Sympſon* and *Bridge* fixing at *Rotterdam* in *Holland*: but what became of *Burroughs* I am yet to ſeek. Theſe men affecting neither the ſevere Diſcipline of *Presbytery*, nor the Licenciouſneſs incident to *Browniſm*, embraced *Robinſons* Moddel of Church-Government in their Congregations, conſiſting of a Coordination of ſeveral Churches for their mutual comfort, not a Subordination of the one to the other, in the way of direction or command. Hence came that name of *Independents*, continued unto thoſe amongſt us, who neither aſſociate themſelves with the *Presbyterians*, nor embrace the Frenſies of the *Anabaptiſts*. But they ſoon found the Folly of their Diviſions, *Rotterdam* growing too narrow a place for *Bridge* and *Sympſon*, ſo that this laſt was forced to leave it, and *Ward* who ſucceeded him could not tarry long. More unity there was at *Arnheim*, where their Preachers did not think they had done enough in conforming their new Church to the Pattern which they ſaw in the Mount, if it were not Apoſtolical in the higheſt perfection: To which

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

which end they not only admitted of *Hymns*, and *Prophecyings* which the Sister-Congregations had not entertained: but of *Widows*, and the *holy Kiss*, cashiered for the avoiding of Scandal in the Primitive times; yea, and of the *Extreme Unction also*, the exercise whereof by *Kiffin* and *Patients* I had rather the Reader should take out of the *Gangræna*, than expect from me.

The curteous entertainment which these people found in the *Belgick* Provinces, might easily have served for a strong temptation to bring over the rest to enjoy the like: But the Country was too narrow for them, and the Brethren of the Separation desired elbow-room for fear of *Enterfeering* with one another. *New-England* was chiefly in their eye, a *Puritan* Plantation from the first beginning, and therefore fitter for the growth of the *Zuinglian* or *Calvinian* Gospel than any Country whatsoever. A Country first discovered to any purpose by one Captain *Gosnold*, *Anno* 1602. and in the next year more perfectly surveyed by some of *Bristol*; afterwards granted by King *James*, *Anno* 1606. unto a Corporation of Knights, Gentlemen, and Merchants, to be planted and disposed of for the Publick, under the Ordering and Direction of Chief Justice *Popham*, by whom a Colony was sent thither in the year next following; at what time they built St. *Georges* Fort to secure their Haven, that they might have a door open for their going thence, which soon after followed. And though the Adventurers made a further attempt in the year 1616, yet it never settled into Form till the building of *New-Plymouth*, in the year 1620. and some incouragements being sent thence to bring others on, it came in very short space to so swift a growth, that no *Plantation* for the time ever went beyond it; *New Bristol*, new *Boston*, and new *Barnstable*, being quickly added to the other. (*a*) The growth of old *Rome* and new *England* had the like foundation, both *Sanctuaries* for such of the neighbouring Nations as longed for Novelties and Innovations both in Church and State. But let the Reader take their Character from (*b*) *de Laet* a right good *Chorographer*, in the third Book of his Description of *America*, where he informeth us, that the first Planters, and those which followed after them were altogether of that Sect, which in *England* were called *Brownists* or *Puritans*; many of which had formerly betaken themselves to *Holland*, but afterwards departed thence to joyn with their Brethren in *New-England*. The Churches cast into the same mould with those before, all of them following the device of *Robinson*, that notorious *Schismatick*, at the spawning of the second separation in *Amsterdam*: Who, to distinguish his followers from the brethren of the first separation governed by a Try-formed *Presbytery* of Pastors, Elders, and Deacons, introduced a new way of his own, leaving as much Exercise of Church Discipline to the whole Congregation, as was elsewhere enjoyed by the Pastors and Elders.

In this estate they stood in the year 1633. at what time *John de Laet*

(a) *Ad quam turbas omnis ex finitimis gentibus, novarum rerum cupida confluxit.* Liv. Hist. lib. 1.

(b) *Primos hosce Colonos, ut & illos qui postea accesserint, potissimum aut omnino fuisse ex eorum hominum Secta quos in Anglia Brownistas & Puritanos vocant, &c.* lib. 3. cap. 8.

*Kent* made that Character of them: Exceedingly encreaſed in ſhort time after, both in Men and Buildings, by thoſe who frequently flocked thither from moſt parts of this Kingdom, either for fear of Puniſhment, or for danger of Debt, or to enjoy the folly of their Schiſm with the greater ſafety. But whatſoever were the cauſes of the Separation, certain I am, the Crime was laid on the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, amongſt the Articles of whoſe Impeachment by the Houſe of Commons, I find this for one, *viz.* "That in his own "Perſon, and his Suffragans, Viſitors, Surrogates, Chancellors, or other "Officers by his Command, he had cauſed divers Learned, Pious, "and Orthodox Preachers of Gods Word to be ſilenced, ſuſpended, "deprived, degraded, excommunicated, or otherwiſe grieved and "vexed without any juſt and lawful cauſe; whereby, and by divers "other means he hath hindred the Preaching of Gods Word, *and* "*cauſed divers of his Majeſties Subjects to forſake the Kingdom.* So is the Judge to be accuſed for all thoſe miſchiefs, which the condemned Malefactors, when they once break Priſon, may deſign and execute. The principal Bell-weathers of theſe Flocks, were *Cotton*, *Chancy*, *Wells*, *Hooker*, and perhaps *Hugh Peters*; the reſt, let them look after, who affect ſuch Company. Not much took notice of at the firſt, when they were few in Numbers, and inconſiderable for their Power: but growing up ſo faſt both in ſtrength and multitude, they began to carry a face of danger. For how unſafe muſt it be thought both to Church and State, to ſuffer ſuch a conſtant Receptacle of diſcontented, dangerous, and ſchiſmatical Perſons, to grow up ſo faſt; from whence, as from the Bowels of the *Trojan* Horſe, ſo many Incendiaries might break out to inflame the Nation? *New-England*, like the Spleen in the Natural Body, by drawing to it ſo many ſullen, ſad, and offenſive Humours, was not unuſeful and unſerviceable to the General Health: But when the Spleen is grown once too full, and emptieth it ſelf into the Stomach, it both corrupts the Blood, and diſturbs the Head, and leaves the whole man weariſom to himſelf and others. And therefore to prevent ſuch miſchiefs as might thence enſue, it was once under Conſultation of the chief Phyſicians, who were to take eſpecial care of the Churches Health, to ſend a Biſhop over to them, for their better Government; and back him with ſome Forces to compel, if he were not otherwiſe able to perſwade Obedience. But this Deſign was ſtrangled in the firſt Conception, by the violent breakings out of the Troubles in *Scotland*, which call upon us from this place to look towards them.

And now again we are for *Scotland*, where we ſpent the laſt year in doing nothing, and ſhall ſpend this in doing that which was worſe than nothing. The Inſolencies of the *Covenanters* were now grown ſo great, that ſome adviſed the King to take the Sword into his hand, and to reduce them to Obedience by force of Arms, before they had ripened their Intelligences, and formed a Party to their will both at

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1638. home and abroad: But the King would not hearken to it, resolved upon his Fathers way of sending Commissioners, and trying what he might effect by Treaty and Negotiation. Which Resolution being taken, the next Consideration was for the choice of the man. The well-affected *Scots* pitched on the Marquis of *Huntley*, a man of great Power in his own Country, true to the King, and a professed Enemy to the *Presbyterians*. And to this end the Earl of *Sterling* Principal Secretary of Estate, the Bishops of *Ross* and *Brechin* Privy-Counsellors both, *Hay* the Clerk-Register, and *Spotswood* Lord President of the *Sessions* (a most deserving Son of a Reverend Father) made a journey thence unto the King, and used their best Endeavours with him, to commit the managing of that great Trust into *Huntleys* hands: But the Court-Faction carried it for the Marquis *Hamilton*, whose Head was better than his Heart, a notable dissembler, true only to his own ends, and a most excellent Master in the Art of Insinuation, by which he *screwed* himself so far into his Majesties good opinion, that whosoever undertook the *unrivetting* of him, made him faster in it. And so far had the man prevailed by his Arts and Instruments, that the Duke of *Lenox* was brought over to contribute his Assistances to him; and rather chose to commend the known Enemy of his House to that great Employment, than that a private Country-Gentleman (such as *Huntley* was) should carry the Honour from them both. And therefore briefly in this place to speak of *Hamilton*, and his Proceedings in the weighty Charge committed to him (in which he hath been generally suspected to betray his Master) we will fetch the Story somewhat higher, that we may see what ends he aimed at for himself, and what enclined him rather to foment than quench the Flames which had been kindled in that Kingdom.

Know therefore, That the *Hamiltonian* Family derives it self from one *Hamilton* an *Englishman*, who went to try what Fortunes he could find in *Scotland*: Neither himself nor his Posterity of any great note, till *James* iii. bearing a great affection to Sir *James Hamilton*, married him to one of his Sisters whom he had forcibly taken from the Lord *Boyd* her former Husband. From this unlawful Marriage descended another *James*, the Grandchild of this, as impious and adulterous in his second Marriage, as his Grandmother had been before: For having married a Wife of one of the Noble Houses of *Scotland*, he put her shamefully away, and took into his Bed a Niece of Cardinal *Beton's*, who then swayed all things in that Kingdom. Of this last Marriage came *John* Earl of *Arran*, Created by King *James* vi. the first Marquis of *Hamilton*, the Father of *John*, and Grandfather of *James* Marquis of *Hamilton*, of whom we now speak. This man considering with himself, that he was descended from a Daughter of King *James* ii. (but without taking notice of any intervenient Flaws which occurred in the Pedigree) conceived by little and little, That a Crown would look as lovely upon his Head,

as

as on the Heads of any which deſcended from a Daughter of *James* v. To give ſome life unto his Fancies, he found the Great Men amongſt the *Scots* in high diſcontentments, about the Revocation of Church-Lands, which the King then buſily intended: The Popular Party in *England* no leſs diſcontented, by the Diſſolving of three Parliaments one after another; and the *Puritans* in both, by the great Power and Credit which ſome Biſhops had attained unto in either Kingdom. In which conjuncture, it was not hard for him to conceive, That he might make unto himſelf a ſtrong Party in That, without fear of any oppoſition to be made from This. And ſo far had his hopes gone with him, when he obtained the Conduct of an Army, intended by his Majeſty for aſſiſting of the King of *Sweden* in the Wars of *Germany*: An Army for the moſt part raiſed in *Scotland*, and moſt of the Commanders of that Nation alſo; whom he had ſo obliged unto him by his Arts and Flatteries, that a Health was openly begun by *David Ramſey* (a *boiſterous Ruffian* of that Court) to King *James* the Seventh: And ſo much of the Deſign was diſcovered by him unto *Donald Maukie* Baron of *Ree*, than being in the Marquiſſes Camp, that the Loyal Gentleman thought himſelf bound in duty to make it known unto the King. *Ramſey* denying the whole matter, and the Lords having no proof thereof (as in ſuch ſecret Practices it could hardly be) more than a confident aſſeveration, and the Engagement of his Honour, the King thought good to refer the Controverſie to the Earl of *Lindſey*, whom he made Lord High-Conſtable to that end and purpoſe. Many days were ſpent accordingly in purſuance of it: But when moſt men expected that the matter would be tried by Battel, as had been accuſtomed in ſuch caſes, the Buſineſs was huſhed up at Court, the Lord *Ree* diſmiſſed to his Employment in the Wars, and, contrary to the mind of all good men, the Marquis did not only continue in the Kings great Favour: but *Ramſey* was permitted to hold the Place of Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, which had been formerly procured for him.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

As for the Army of *Scots*, conſiſting of 7000. if my memory fail not, tranſported into *Germany* in the Summer before, *Anno* 1631. they mouldred away by little and little, without acting any thing; the King of *Sweden* being then in a proſperous condition, and not deſiring the *Scots* ſhould carry away any part of the Spoil and Honour which he doubted not of acquiring to his own Nation in the courſe of the War. This put the Marquis upon new Counſels; and in the courſe of theſe new Counſels, he was not only to foment thoſe Animoſities which had been raiſed in that Nation againſt the King, but to remove all thoſe Impediments which might lye in the way betwixt him and his affected Greatneſs. Two men there were whom he more feared than all the reſt, both of the Houſe of *Graham*, and both deſcended from a Son of King *Robert* the Second; and that too by a clearer Deſcent, than the *Hamiltons* could pretend from the

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

Daughter of King *James* ii. The first was *William* Earl of *Menteith*, descended from an Heir-general of *David* Earl of *Stratherne*, one of the younger Sons of King *Robert* ii. as before was said: A man of sound Abilities and approved Affections, and therefore by the King made President of the Council in *Scotland:* In which Office he behaved himself, and stood so stoutly in behalf of the King his Master upon all occasions, that nothing could be done for Advance of *Hamiltons* Designs, till he was removed from that Place. In order whereunto, it was put into his head by some of that Faction, that he should sue unto the King to be Created Earl of *Stratherne*, as the first and most honourable Title which belonged to his House; That his Merits were so great, as to assure him not to meet with a denial; and that the King could do no less, than to give him some nominal Reward for his real Services. On these Suggestions, he repaired to the Court of *England* 1632. where without any great difficulty, he obtained his Suit, and waited on the King the most part of the Summer-Progress; no man being so openly honoured, and courted by the *Scottish* Nation, as he seemed to be: But no sooner was he gone for *Scotland*, but the *Hamiltonians* terrified the King with the Dangers which he had run into by that Creation, whereby he had revived in that proud and ambitious Person, the Rights which his Ancestors pretended to the Crown of *Scotland*; That the King could not chuse but see how generally the *Scots* flock'd about him (after his Creation) when he was at the Court, and would do so much more when he was in *Scotland*: And finally, That the proud man already had so far declared himself, as to give it out, *That the King held the Crown of him.* Hereupon a Commission was speedily posted into *Scotland* (in which those of *Hamiltons* Faction made the greatest number) to inquire into his Life and Actions, and to consider of the Inconveniencies which might redound unto the King by his affecting this new Title. On the Return whereof, the poor Gentleman is removed from his Office, from being one of the Privy Council; and not only deprived of the Title of the Earl of *Stratherne*, but of that also of *Menteith*, which for a long time had remained in his Ancestors. And though he was not long after made Earl of *Airth*, yet this great fall did so discourage him from all Publick Businesses, that he retired to his own House, and left the way open to the *Hamiltonians* to play their own Game as they listed. Faithful for all this to the King, in all changes of Fortune; neither adhering to the *Covenanters*, nor giving the least countenance to them, when he might not only have done it with safety, but with many personal Advantages which were tendred him.

The other Bar to be thrust back, was the Earl of *Montross*, of the same House, and descended from the same Original; as plausible with the Souldiers and Men of War, as his Cosin of *Menteith* was powerful at the Council-Table. This man returning out of *France* in the flower and Bravery of his Age, had an intent of putting himself

himſelf into the Kings Service, and was adviſed to make his way by the Marquis of *Hamilton*; who, knowing the Gallantry of the Man, and fearing a Competitor in his Majeſties Favour, cunningly told him, That he would do him any Service: but that the King was ſo wholly given up to the *Engliſh*, and ſo diſcountenanced and ſlighted the *Scottiſh* Nation, that were it not for doing Service to his Country (which the King intended to reduce into the form of a Province) he could not ſuffer the Indignities which were put upon him. This done, he repairs unto the King, tells him of the Earls return from *France*, and of his purpoſe to attend him at the time appointed: but that he was ſo Powerful, ſo Popular, and of ſuch eſteem amongſt the *Scots*, by reaſon of an old Deſcent from the Royal Family, that if he were not *nipped in the bud* (as we uſe to ſay) he might indanger the Kings intereſt and affairs in *Scotland*. The Earl being brought unto the King, with very great demonſtrations of affection on the *Marquis* his part, the King without taking any great notice of him, gave him his hand to kiſs, and ſo turned aſide; which confirmed him in the truth of that falſe Report, which *Hamilton* had delivered to him: So that in great diſpleaſure and diſdain, he makes for *Scotland*. There finds he Colonel *Alexander Leſly* (an obſcure fellow, but made rich with the Spoils of *Germany*) as diſcontented as himſelf, for being denied the honourable Title of a *Baron*, which he ambitiouſly ſought for at the Kings being there. And he found them there alſo, who perceived on what foot he halted, and knew well how to work on ſuch humours as he brought along with him, till by ſeconding the Information which he had brought from *Hamilton*, they had faſhioned him wholly to their will: For they prevailed ſo far upon him, that at the firſt he cordially eſpouſed their Quarrel againſt the *Liturgie* and *Canons*, and whatſoever elſe they found fault withal in the Publick Government; he being one of thoſe Great Perſons (and as forward as any of them all) who publiſhed a *Proteſtation* at the Croſs in *Edenborough*, againſt one of his Majeſties Proclamations of Grace and Favour: But afterwards, being diſpleaſed that *Leſly* was preferred before him in Commanding the Army; and looking thereupon more carefully into the depth of the Deſign than at firſt he did, he eſtranged himſelf from them by degrees, and at laſt became the moſt eminent Inſtrument that ever his Majeſty imployed in his Wars with that People.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

But *Hamilton* had another remove to make, without which all the reſt were nothing; and that was the removing of the Earl of *Mar* from the Cuſtody and Command of the Caſtle of *Edenborough* (ſome time Hereditary to that Houſe) and gaining it unto himſelf. To this Remove the Earl conſented, becauſe he found how earneſtly his Majeſty deſired it of him, from whom he received a Compenſation in Money for it. At ſo great charge was the King, to put *Hamilton* into as full poſſeſſion of the Strengths of that City, as he had got before in the hearts of the Citizens. The way being thus prepared,

and

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

and all Rubs removed, on *Saturday May* 26. he ſet forwards for *Scotland*, and in ſhort time came to *Dalkeith*, an Houſe of the Earl of *Mortons* four Miles from *Edenborough*, where he repoſed himſelf a while; that he might make his Entry into the City with the greater honour. After ſome ſeeming diffidences betwixt him and the *Covenanters*, he puts himſelf into *Holy-Rood* Houſe, where the firſt thing he did, was the waving of his Attendance at the Reading of the *Engliſh Liturgie*, which had been ſettled in the Chappel-Royal of that Houſe by the care of King *James*, *Anno* 1617. and after ſome neglects and intermiſſions, reſtored by the Piety of King *Charles*, *Anno* 1633. as before was ſignified. It was no hard matter to diſcern by his Acts in this, whoſe Game it was he meant to play, for what it was that he had held the ſhuffling of the Cards ſo long, and who was like to win the Set, when none but he had the dealing of them: For he ſo plied the King from one time to another, ſometimes by repreſenting the extreme difficulties, and ſometimes the apparent dangers in which his Affairs there ſtood involved; That he drew him to fling up all in leſs than three Months, which King *James* and he had been projecting above thrice ten years. For firſt, by his Proclamation bearing date *June* 28. he ſuſpends the preſent execution of the *Canons* and *Liturgie*, diſchargeth all Acts of Council made for the Eſtabliſhment of them, and promiſeth ſo to regulate the *High-Commiſſion*, that it ſhould neither impugn the Laws, nor be a juſt grievance to the Subject. By a ſecond, bearing date *September* 9. he diſchargeth the *Liturgie*, *Canons*, and *High-Commiſſion* (this laſt being of King *James* his inſtituting, *Anno* 1610.) reſcinding all Proclamations and Acts whatſoever, which had been made for the Eſtabliſhing of the ſame; and by the ſame, ſuſpends the executing of the Five Articles of *Perth*, though confirmed by Parliament. By the ſame alſo he ſubjecteth all his Miniſters, as well *Eccleſiaſtical* as *Civil*, to the Cenſure of Parliaments, General Aſſemblies, or any other competent Judicatory: And frees all Miniſters at their Entry from taking the Oath of *Canonical Obedience*, that againſt *Symonie*, or any other not enjoined by Acts of Parliament. By the ſame alſo he commands the Subſcribing of the *Confeſſion of Faith*, with the *Band* thereunto annexed, which the *Covenanters* before had preſs'd on the People, and upon which they had placed ſuch a great part of their confidence, that they ſolemnly proteſted to *Hamilton* at his firſt coming thither, *That they would rather renounce their* Baptiſm, *than relinquiſh their* Covenant. And this he did for no other Reaſon, as appears by a Letter of the ſame date to the Lords of the Council, than to legitimate the Rebellion; *Becauſe not being Warranted before by Regal Authority, it muſt needs be in it ſelf ineffectual,, and prejudicial to the Ancient Form of Government kept within that his Kingdom of* Scotland. And finally, by his *Royal Edict*, bearing date the 22d. of the ſame Month, he gives Order for a *General Aſſembly*, to be held at *Glaſco* on *November* 21. next following; in which he could

*Bill. Reg.* p. 1. p. 151.

could not but be ſure, that after ſo many previous Condeſcenſions on his part, they would be able to do whatſoever they liſted in defiance of him. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

For, before the Aſſembly was Indicted, the *Covenanters* had ſo laid the Plot, that none but thoſe of their own Party ſhould have Suffrage in it; as afterwards by ſeveral Orders from their Tables, they directed that no Chaplain, nor Chapter-man, nor any who have not ſubſcribed the *Covenant*, ſhould be choſen to it; not ſuffering the Archbiſhops or Biſhops to ſit as Moderators in their *Presbyteries*, where the Elections were to paſs; and citing them to appear as Criminal Perſons at the ſaid Aſſembly: by means of which Excluſions and Prelimitations, the greateſt part of the Aſſembly did conſiſt of ſuch as either were irregularly choſen by the over-ruling Voices of *Lay-Elders* which were thruſt upon them, or elſe not capable of being Elected, ſome of them being under the Cenſures of the *Kirk* of *Scotland*, others under the Cenſures of the Church of *Ireland*, and ſome not having taken the Oath of *Supremacy* required by the Laws of the Land. Upon which juſt and weighty Reaſons, as alſo the Admiſſion of the Schiſmatical Clergy to ſit as Judges over their Biſhops; the intruſion of ſo many *Lay-Elders*, contrary to the Conſtitution of former *General Aſſemblies*; the countenancing of a ſcandalous Libel againſt their Function and Perſons; and the prejudging of their Cauſe in their ſeveral *Presbyteries*, by excluding them from having any Vote in the ſaid *Aſſembly*, when they were not preſent to interpoſe or ſpeak any thing in their own behalf, the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, in the name of themſelves, and all which did adhere unto them, prepared their *Declinator* or Proteſtation againſt the ſaid *General Aſſembly*, and all the Acts and Concluſions of it, as being void, and null in Law to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever. The day being come, *Hamilton* marcheth to the place appointed for the Seſſion, in the equipage of a High-Commiſſioner, the Sword and Seal being carried before him, the Lords of the Council, and all the Officers of State, attending on him like a King indeed. The reading of his Commiſſion, the putting in and rejecting of the *Declinator*, the chuſing of *Henderſon* to be Moderator of the Aſſembly, the conſtituting of the Members of it, and ſome Debates touching the Votes and Suffrages, challenged by *Hamilton* for ſuch as were Aſſeſſors to him, took up all the time between their firſt Meeting and their Diſſolution, which was by Proclamation ſolemnly declared on the twenty ninth of the ſame Month, having ſate only eight days by the Kings Authority.

For notwithſtanding the ſaid Diſſolution, the Members of the ſaid Aſſembly continued and kept their Seſſion, and therein paſſed many Acts for the utter overthrow of the Polity and Government of the Church, the infringing of his Majeſties Prerogative Royal, and violating the Authority of Parliaments. For they not only Excommunicated the Biſhops and their Adherents, but condemned the very

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

very Function it ſelf to be *Antichriſtian*, and utterly to be aboliſhed out of the Church; notwithſtanding that ſeveral Parliaments had confirmed the ſame. The like Cenſure they alſo paſt on the *Service Book* and *Canons*, with the five *Articles* of *Perth*; though the two firſt received the Stamp of Royal Authority, and the five laſt were confirmed in *Parliament* alſo. They condemned in one breath all the *Arminian* Tenents, in caſe of *Predeſtination*, without examining the Arguments on which they were built; and declared all men ſubject to *Excommunication*, and other Cenſures of the Church, who ſhould refuſe to yield obedience to all their unlawful Actings and Determinations, And though his Majeſty by the ſame Proclamation had commanded all his faithful Subjects not to yield any obedience to their Acts and Ordinances, and bound himſelf in the Word of a King to defend them in it; yet thoſe of the Aſſembly were reſolved to maintain their Authority. For notwithſtanding his Majeſties late Declaration and Commands, not only the Biſhops and Clergy, but alſo as many of the Layty as had refuſed to ſubſcribe to the Acts thereof, were deprived of their Offices and Preferments, baniſhed their Country, and forced to fly into *England*, or other places, the King not being able to protect them from the power and malice of their Adverſaries. For having loſt the opportunity of ſuppreſſing them in their firſt Inſurrection in the year precedent, and afterwards of reducing them by force of Arms in the year next following, he was forced to ſhuffle up ſuch a Pacification in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, *Anno* 1641. as left his Party deſtitute of all protection, but what they found in *England* by his Majeſties Favour in providing the Clergy of ſome ſmall Benefices for their preſent ſubſiſtance, which poſſibly might amount to more than formerly they enjoyed in their own Country.

And yet the Covenanters did not play all parts in this Aſſembly, the King and his Commiſſioner had one part to act, which was the preſenting of a Declaration, containing the ſum and ſubſtance of all his Majeſties gracious Condeſcenſions, expreſt in the ſeveral Proclamations before remembred, and a Command to have it regiſtred in the Acts and Records thereof. But upon what conſiderations and reaſons of State his Majeſty might be moved to commit that Paper to be regiſtred amongſt the Acts of *Aſſembly*, is beyond my reach. For though many times the wiſeſt Princes have ſent out Proclamations of Grace for redreſs of Grievances, and pardoning of fore-paſt offences; yet were thoſe Proclamations and Acts of Grace beheld no otherwiſe than as temporary and occaſional Remedies for the preſent miſchiefs, not to be drawn into Example, and much leſs put upon Record for the times enſuing; his Majeſties Condeſcenſions had been large enough, and too much to the prejudice of his Crown and Dignity without this Enrolment. Nor wants it ſomewhat of a Riddle, that at ſuch time as *Hamilton* tendred the Paper of his Majeſties gracious Conceſſions for diſcharging of the *Service Book*, &c.

to

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

to be enrolled amongſt the Acts of the *Aſſembly*, he both declared, and proteſted that his ſo doing ſhould be no acknowledgment of the lawfulneſs and validity of that *Convention* which was inſtantly to be diſſolved: or that his Majeſtie ſhould give order to have thoſe Acts of Grace and Favour enrolled in the Records of the Aſſembly, to ſtand full and ſure to all his good Subjects for their aſſurance of and in the true Religion; which *Aſſembly* at the ſame time he declared to be illegal, and all the Acts thereof to be null and void. I muſt confeſs I am not *Oedipus* enough for ſo dark a *Sphinx*, and muſt therefore leave this depth of State-craft to more able heads. Only I cannot chuſe but note, how little his Majeſty got by thoſe Condeſcenſions; the ſtubborn and rebellious *Scots* being ſo far unſatisfied with theſe Acts of Grace, that they not only forced all thoſe who adhered unto him to fly the Country: but intercepted his Revenues, ſeazed on all his Forts and Caſtles, and put themſelves into a Poſture of open War. And that they might be able to manage it with the greater credit, they called home ſome of their Commanders out of *Germany*, and ſome which ſerved under the Pay of the States General; ſo far prevailing with thoſe States as to continue ſuch Commanders in their Pay and Places as long as they remained in the Service of the *Scottiſh Covenanters*. A favour which his Majeſty could not get at their hands, nor had he ſo much reaſon to expect it as the others had, if conſidered rightly. It had been once their own caſe, and they conceived they had good reaſon to maintain it in others.

It may deſervedly be a matter of no ſmall amazement, that this poor and unprovided Nation, ſhould dare to put ſuch baffles and affronts upon their Lawful King; the King being backt by the united Forces of *England* and *Ireland*, obeyed at home, and rendred formidable unto all his Neighbours by a puiſſant Navy, they muſt have ſome aſſurances more than ordinary which might enflame them to this height; and what they were it may not be amiſs to enquire into. Firſt then they had the King for their natural Country-man, born in that Air, preſerving a good affection for them to the very laſt; and who by giving them the Title of his *Ancient* and *Native Kingdom* (as he did moſt commonly) gave them ſome reaſon to believe, that he valued them above the *Engliſh*. They had in the next place ſuch a ſtrong Party of *Scots* about him, that he could neither ſtir or ſpeak, ſcarce ſo much as think, but they were made acquainted with it. In the *Bed-Chamber* they had an equal number of Gentlemen, and ſeven Grooms for one; in the *Preſence-Chamber* more than an equal number amongſt the Gentlemen Uſhers, Quarter-Waiters, *&c.* In the *Privy-Chamber*, beſides the *Carvers* and *Cup-bearers*, ſuch a diſproportion of the Gentlemen belonging to it, that once at a full Table of Waiters, each of them having a Servant or two to attend upon him, I and my man were the only *Engliſh* in all the Company. By which the King was ſo obſerved, and betrayed

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

trayed withal, that as far as they could find his meaning by Words, by Signs, and Circumſtances, or the ſilent language of a *ſhrug*, it was poſted preſently into *Scotland*, ſome of his Bed-Chamber being grown ſo bold and ſaucy, that they uſed to Ranſack his Pockets when he was in bed, to tranſcribe ſuch Letters as they found, and ſend the Copies to their Countrymen in the way of intelligence. A thing ſo well known about the Court, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in one of his Letters, gave him this *memento*, that he ſhould not truſt his Pockets with it. For Offices of truſt and credit they were as well accomodated as with thoſe of ſervice, *Hamilton*, Maſter of the Horſe, who ſtocked the Stables with that People; The Earl of *Morton*, Captain of his Majeſties Guard; The Earl of *Ancram*, Keeper of the Privy Purſe; The Duke of *Lenox*, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Conſtable of *Dover Caſtle*; *Balfore* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, the Fortreſs of moſt power and command in *England*; And *Wemmys*, the Maſter Gunner of his Majeſties Navy, who had the iſſuing of the Stores, and Ammunition, deſigned unto it. Look on them in the Church, and we ſhall find ſo many of that Nation beneficed and preferred in all parts of this Country, that their Eccleſiaſtical Revenues could not but amount to more then all the yearly Rents of the Kirk of *Scotland*; and of all theſe ſcarce one in ten, who did not cordially eſpouſe and promote their Cauſe amongſt the People. They had beſide no leſs aſſurance of the *Engliſh Puritans* than they had of their own; thoſe in Court (of which there was no very ſmall number) being headed by the Earl of *Holland*, thoſe in the Country by his Brother the Earl of *Warwick*; The firſt being aptly called in a Letter of the Lord *Conways* to the Lord Archbiſhop, *The ſpiritual, and inviſible head*, the other, *The viſible and temporal head* of the *Puritan* Faction. And which was more than all the reſt, they had the Marquiſs of *Hamilton* for their Lord and Patron, of ſo great power about the King, ſuch Authority in the Court of *England*, ſuch a powerful influence on the Council of *Scotland*, and ſuch a general Command over all that Nation, that his pleaſure amongſt them paſt for Law, and his words for Oracles; all matters of Grace and Favour aſcribed to him, matters of harſhneſs or diſtate to the King or *Canterbury*. To ſpeak the matter in a word, he was grown King of *Scots* in Fact, though not in Title; His Majeſty being looked on by them as a Cypher only in the *Arithmetick* of State.

But notwithſtanding their confidence in all theſe *Items*, taking in the *Imprimis* too, they might have reckoned without their Hoſt in the *Summa Totalis*, the Engliſh Nation being generally diſaffected to them, and paſſionately affecting the Kings quarrel againſt them. The ſenſe and apprehenſion of ſo many indignities prevailed upon the King at laſt to unſheath the Sword, more juſtly in it ſelf, and more juſtifiably in the ſight of others; the Rebels having rejected all his offers of Grace and Favour, and growing the more inſolent by his

his Condeſcenſions. So that reſolved, or rather forced upon the War, he muſt bethink himſelf of means to go thorow with it: To which end *Burrows* the Principal King of Arms, is commanded to ſearch into the Records of the Tower, and to return an Extract of what he found relating to the War of *Scotland*; which he preſented to the Archbiſhop in the end of *December*, to this effect, *viz.* 1. "That "ſuch Lords and others as had Lands and Livings upon the Borders, "were commanded to reſide there with their Retinue; and thoſe "that had Caſtles there, were enjoined to Fortifie them. 2. That "the Lords of the Kingdom were Summoned by Writ, to attend the "Kings Army with Horſe and Armour at a certain time and place, "according to their Service due to the King; or repair to the Ex-"chequer before that day, and make Fine for their Service: As alſo "were all Widows, Dowagers of ſuch Lords as were deceaſed; and "ſo were all Biſhops and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons. 3. That Procla-"mations were likewiſe made by Sheriffs in every County, That all "men holding of the King by *Knights-Service* or *Sergeancy*, ſhould "come to the Kings Army, or make Fines as aforeſaid; with a "ſtrict command, That none ſhould conceal their Service under a "great Penalty. 4. As alſo, That all men having 40 *l.* Land *per* "*Annum*, ſhould come to the Kings Army with Horſe and Armour; "of which if any failed to come or to make Fine, their Lands, "Tenements, Goods, and Chattels were diſtrained by the Sheriff "upon Summons out of the Exchequer. 5. That Commiſſions "ſhould be iſſued out for Levying of Men in every County, and "bringing them to the Kings Army: That the like be done for Mu-"ſtering and Arraying the Clergy throughout *England*; or other-"wiſe, to furniſh the King with a proportion of Armed Men for "the preſent Service. 6. That Writs be iſſued out into all Coun-"ties, for certifying the King what number of Horſe and Foot every "County could afford him in his Wars with *Scotland*. 7. The "like alſo to the Borders, requiring them to come unto the Kings "Army well armed; Commiſſions to be made for puniſhing ſuch "as refuſed. 8. That the Sheriffs of the Counties were command-"ed by Writ to make Proviſions of Corn and Victuals for the Kings "Army, and to cauſe them to be carried to the place appointed. "The like Command ſent to the Merchants in the Port-Towns of "*England* and *Ireland*; and the Ships of the Subject taken to Tranſ-"port ſuch Proviſions to the place aſſigned. 9. Several Sums of "Money raiſed by Subſidies and Fifteens from the *Engliſh* Subject, "and Aid of Money given and lent by the Merchant-Strangers, to-"ward the Maintenance of the War. 10. That the King uſed to "ſuſpend the payment of his Debts for a certain time, in regard "of the great occaſions he had to uſe Money in the Wars of *Scot-*"*land*. Other Memorials were returned to the ſame effect: but theſe the principal.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

According to theſe Inſtructions, his Majeſty directs his Letters to

PART II. *Ann. Dom.* 1638.

the Temporal Lords, his Writs to the High-Sheriffs, his Orders to the Lord-Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants in their ſeveral Counties, his Proclamations generally to all his Subjects; Requiring of them all ſuch Aids and Services in his preſent Wars, as either by Laws, or Ancient Cuſtoms of the Land, they were bound to give him. He cauſed an Order alſo to be made by the Lords of the Council, directed to the two Archbiſhops, *January* 29. by which they were Required and Commanded, "To write their ſeveral and "reſpective Letters to all the Lords Biſhops in their ſeveral Provin-"ces reſpectively, forthwith to convene before them all the Clergy "of Ability in their Dioceſes, and to incite them by ſuch ways and "means as ſhall be thought beſt by their Lordſhips, to aid and aſſiſt "his Majeſty with their ſpeedy and liberal Contributions, and other-"wiſe, for defence of his Royal Perſon, and of this Kingdom: And "that the ſame be ſent to the Lord Treaſurer of *England* with all di-"ligence: Subſcribed by the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, the Biſhop of *London* Lord Treaſurer, the Earl of *Mancheſter* Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Lindſey* Lord Great Chamberlain, the Earl of *Arundel* Earl-Marſhal, the Earl of *Dorſet* Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, the Earl of *Pembroke* Lord Chamberlain to the King, the Earl of *Holland* Chancellor of *Cambridge*, *Cottington* Maſter of the Wards, *Vane* Treaſurer of the Houſhold, *Cooke* and *Windebank* the two Principal Secretaries. Which Warrant, whether it proceeded from the Kings own motion, or was procured by the Archbiſhop himſelf to promote the Service, is not much material: Certain I am, that he conformed himſelf unto it with a chearful diligence, and did accordingly direct his Letters to his Suffragan Biſhops in this following form.

My very good Lord;

*I Have received an Order from the Lords of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, giving me notice of the great Preparations made by ſome of* Scotland, *both of Arms and all other Neceſſaries for War: And that this can have no other end, than to invade or annoy this his Majeſties Kingdom of* England. *For his Majeſty having a good while ſince, moſt graciouſly yielded to their Demands for ſecuring the Religion by Law eſtabliſhed amongſt them, hath made it appear to the World, That it is not Religion but Sedition that ſtirs in them, and fills them with this moſt irreligious Diſobedience, which at laſt breaks forth into a high degree of Treaſon againſt their Lawful Sovereign. In this Caſe of ſo great danger both to the State and Church of* England, *your Lordſhips, I doubt not, and your Clergie under you, will not only be vigilant againſt the cloſe workings of any Pretenders in that kind: but very free alſo to your Power and Proportion of Means left to the Church, to contribute toward the raiſing of ſuch an Army, as, by Gods Bleſſing and his Majeſties Care, may ſecure this Church and Kingdom from*

*from all intended Violence. And according to the Order ſent unto me by the Lords (a Copy whereof you ſhall herewith receive) theſe are to pray your Lordſhip to give a good Example in your own Perſon; and with all convenient ſpeed to call your Clergie, and the abler Schoolmaſters (as well thoſe which are in Peculiars, as others) and excite them by your ſelf, and ſuch Commiſſioners as you will anſwer for, to contribute to this Great and Neceſſary Service; in which if they give not a good Example, they will be much to blame. But you are to call no poor Curates, nor Stipendaries: but ſuch as in other Legal ways of Payment have been, and are by Order of Law bound to pay. The Proportion I know not well how to preſcribe you: but I hope they of your Clergie whom God hath bleſſed with better Eſtates than Ordinary, will give freely, and thereby help the want of Means in others. And I hope alſo your Lordſhip will ſo order it, as that every man will at the leaſt give after the Proportion of* 3 s. 10 d. *in the Pound, of the valuation of his Living, or other Preferment, in the Kings Books. And this I thought fit to let you further know, That if any man have double Benefices, or a Benefice and a Prebend, or the like, in divers Dioceſſes; yet your Lordſhip muſt call upon them only for ſuch Preferments as they have within your Dioceſs, and leave them to pay for any other which they hold, to the Biſhop in whoſe Dioceſs their Preferments are. As for the time, your Lordſhip muſt uſe all the diligence you can, and ſend up the Moneys if it be poſſible by the firſt of* May *next. And for your Indempnity, the Lord Treaſurer is to give you ſuch diſcharge, by ſtriking a* Tally *or* Tallies *upon your ſeveral Payments into the Exchequer, as ſhall be fit to ſecure you without your Charge. Your Lordſhip muſt further be pleaſed to ſend up a Liſt of the Names of ſuch as refuſe this Service within their Dioceſs: but I hope none will put you to that trouble. It is further expected, That your Lordſhip. and every other Biſhop, expreſs by it ſelf, and not in the general Sum of his Clergie, that which himſelf gives. And of this Service you muſt not fail. So to Gods bleſſed Protection I leave you, and reſt,*

*Lambeth, Jan. ult.* 1638.

Your Lordſhips very Loving Friend and Brother,

WILL. CANT.

On the receiving of theſe Letters, the Clergy were Convented in their ſeveral Dioceſſes, encouraged by their ſeveral Ordinaries not to be wanting to his Majeſty in the Preſent Service, and divers Preparations uſed beforehand to diſpoſe them to it; which wrought ſo powerfully and effectually on the greateſt part of them (thoſe which wiſh'd well unto the *Scots*, ſeeming as forward in it as any other) that their Contributions mounted higher than was expected. The Benevolence of the Dioceſs of *Norwich* only amounting to 2016 *l.* 16 *s.* 5 *d.* The Archdeaconry of *Wincheſter* only, to the ſum of

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

of 1305 *l.* 5 *s.* 8 *d.* And though we may not conclude of all the reſt by the greatneſs of theſe, yet may it be very ſafely ſaid, that they did all exceeding bountifully in their ſeveral proportions, with reference to the extent of their Dioceſſes, and the ability of their Eſtates. Nor were the Judges of the ſeveral Benches of the Courts at *Weſtminſter*, and the great Officers under them, Protonotaries, Secondaries, and the like, deficient in expreſſing their good affections to this general cauſe; in which the ſafety of the Realm, was as much concerned as his Majeſties honour. And for the Doctors of the Laws, Chancellors, Commiſſaries, Officials, and other Officers belonging to the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, they were ſpurred on to follow the example of the Secular Judges (as having a more particular concernment in it) by a Letter ſent from the Archbiſhop to the Dean of the *Arches*, on *February* 11. and by him communicated to the reſt. By which Free-will offerings on the one ſide, ſome commanded duties on the other, and the well-husbanding of his Majeſties Revenue by the Lord Treaſurer *Juxon*, he was put into ſuch a good condition, that he was able both to raiſe and maintain an Army with no charge to the Common Subject: but only a little Coat and Conduct money at their firſt ſetting out. Theſe preparations were ſufficient to give notice of a War approaching without any further denouncing of it by a publick Herald; and yet there was another accident which ſeemed as much to fore-ſignifie it as theſe preparations. *Mary de Medices*, the Widow of King *Henry* IV. of *France*, and Mother to the Queens of *England* and *Spain*, arrived at *Harwich* on *October* 19. and on the laſt of the ſame was with great State conducted through the Streets of *London* to his Majeſties Palace of St. *James*. A Lady which for many years, had not lived out of the ſmell of Powder, and a guard of Muskets at her door, embroyled in wars and troubles when ſhe lived in *France*, and drew them after her into *Flanders*. where they have ever ſince continued. So that moſt men were able to preſage a Tempeſt, as Mariners by the appearing of ſome Fiſh, or the flying of ſome Birds about their ſhips, can foreſee a ſtorm. His Majeſty had took great care to prevent her comming, knowing full well how chargeable a gueſt ſhe would prove to him, and how unwelcome to the Subject. To which end *Beſwel* was commanded to uſe all his wits for perſwading her to ſtay in *Holland*, whither ſhe had retired from *Flanders* in the year precedent. But ſhe was wedded to her will, and poſſibly had received ſuch invitations from her Daughter here, that nothing but everlaſting foul weather at Sea, and a perpetual croſs-wind, could have kept her there.

All things provided for the War, his Majeſty thought fit to ſatisfie his good Subjects of both Kingdoms, not only of the Juſtice which appeared in this Action: but in the unavoydable neceſſity which enforced him to it. To which end he acquaints them by his Proclamation, of the 20 of *February*, "How traiterouſly ſome of "the

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1638. *Bibl. Regia* P. 173.

" the *Scottiſh* Nation had practiced to pervert his Loyal Subjects of
" this Realm, by ſcattering abroad their Libellous and Seditious
" Pamphlets, mingling themſelves at their publick meetings, and
" reproaching both his Perſon and Government; That he had never
" any intention to alter their Religion or Laws, but had condeſcend-
" ed unto more for defence thereof than they had reaſon to expect;
" That they had rejected the *Band* and Covenant which themſelves
" had preſt upon the people, becauſe it was commended to them
" by his Authority; and having made a Covenant againſt God and
" him, and made ſuch Hoſtile preparations, as if he were their
" ſworn Enemy, and not their King; That many of them were men
" of broken Fortunes, who becauſe they could not well be worſe,
" hoped by engaging in this War to make themſelves better; That
" they had aſſumed unto themſelves the power of the Preſs, one of the
" chief markes of the Regal Authority, prohibiting to Print what he
" commanded, and commanding to Print what he prohibited, and
" diſmiſſing the Printer whom he had eſtabliſhed in that Kingdom;
" That they had raiſed Arms, blockt up and beſieged his Caſtles,
" laid Impoſitions and Taxes upon his people, threatned ſuch as
" continued under Loyalty, with force and violence; That they had
" contemned the Authority of the Council Table, and ſet up Ta-
" bles of their own, from which they ſend their Edicts throughout
" all parts of the Kingdom, contrary to the Laws therein eſtabli-
" ſhed, pretending in the mean time that the Laws were violated by
" himſelf; That the queſtion was not now, whether the Service-
" Book ſhould be received or not, or whether Epiſcopacy ſhould
" continue or not, but whether he were King or not; That many
" of them had denied the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance (for
" which ſome of them had been committed) as inconſiſtent, and in-
" compatible with their holy Covenant; That being brought under
" a neceſſity of taking Arms, he had been traduced in ſome of their
" writings for committing the Arms he had then raiſed, into the hands
" of profeſſed *Papiſts*, a thing not only diſhonourable to himſelf,
" and the ſaid noble perſons, but falſe and odious in it ſelf; *That*
" *ſome of power in the Hierarchy had been defamed for being the cauſe of*
" *his taking Arms to invade that Kingdom, who on the contrary had*
" *been only Counſellors of peace, and the chief perſwaders (as much as*
" *in them lay) of the undeſerved moderation wherewith he had hither-*
" *to proceeded toward ſo great Offenders*; That he had no intent by
" commending the Service-Book unto them to innovate any thing
" at all in their Religion, but only to create a conformity between
" the Churches of both Kingdoms, and not to infringe any of their
" Liberties which were according to the Laws; That therefore he
" required all his loving Subjects not to receive any more of the
" ſaid ſeditious Pamphlets, but to deliver ſuch of them as they had
" received, into the hands of the next Juſtice of the Peace, by him
" to be ſent to one of his Majeſties principal Secretaries; And final-

" ly,

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

"ly, That this his Proclamation and Declaration be read in time of "Divine Service in every Church within the Kingdom, that all "his People to the meaneſt, might ſee the notorious carriages "of theſe men, and likewiſe the Juſtice and Mercy of all his pro-"ceedings.

And now his Majeſty is for Action, beginning his Journey towards the *North*, *March* 27. being the Anniverſary day of his Inauguration. His Army was advanced before, the beſt for quality of the Perſons, compleatneſs of Arms, number of ſerviceable Horſe, and neceſſary Proviſion of all ſorts, that ever waited on a King of *England* to a War with *Scotland*. Moſt of the Nobility attended on him in their Perſons; and ſuch as were to be excuſed for Age and indiſpoſition, teſtified their affections to his Majeſties Service in good Sums of money. The Flower of the Engliſh Gentry would not ſtay behind, but chearfully put themſelves into the Action, upon a confidence of getting honour for themſelves, as well as for their King or Country; many of which had been at great charge in furniſhing themſelves for this Expedition, on an aſſurance of being repaid in Favours what they ſpent in Treaſure. And not a few of our old Commanders, which had been trained up in the Wars of *Holland*, and the King of *Sweden*, deſerted their Employments there to ſerve their Soveraign, whether with a greater gallantry or affection, it is hard to ſay. The Horſe computed to 6000. as good as ever charged on a ſtanding Enemy; The Foot of a ſufficient number, though not proportionable to the Horſe, ſtout men, and well affected for the moſt part to the Cauſe in hand; the Canon, Bullets, and all other ſorts of Ammunition, nothing inferiour to the reſt of the Preparations. An Army able to have trampled all *Scotland* under their feet, (Gods ordinary providence concurring with them) and made the King as abſolutely Maſter of that Kingdom as any Prince could be of a conquered Nation. The chief Command committed to the Earl of *Arundel*, who, though not biaſſed toward *Rome*, (as the *Scots* reported him) was known to be no friend to the *Puritan* Faction: The Earl of *Holland* having been Captain of his Majeſties Guard, and formerly appointed to conduct ſome freſh Recruits to the Iſle of *Rhee*, was made *Lieutenant* of the Horſe. And the Earl of *Eſſex*, who formerly had ſeen ſome ſervice in *Holland*, and very well underſtood the Art of War, *Lieutenant-General* of the Foot. Beſides which power that marcht by Land, there were ſome other Forces embarqued in a conſiderable part of the Royal *Navy*, with plenty of Coin and Ammunition, which was put under the command of *Hamilton* (who muſt be of the *Quorum* in all buſineſſes) with order to ply about the Coaſts of *Scotland*, and thereby to ſurpriſe their Ships, and deſtroy their Trade, and make ſuch further attempts to Landward, as opportunity ſhould offer, and the nature of affairs require.

It is reported (and I have it from a very good hand) that when the

the old Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, came to take his leave of the King, at his ſetting forward toward the *North*, he deſired leave to give his Majeſty three Advertiſements before his going. The firſt was, That his Majeſty would ſuffer none of the Scottiſh Nation to remain in his Army; aſſuring him that they would never fight againſt their Countrymen: but rather hazard the whole Army by their tergiverſation. The ſecond was, that his Majeſty would make a Catalogue of all his Counſellors, Officers of Houſhold, and domeſtick Servants; and having ſo done, would with his Pen obliterate and expunge the *Scots*, beginning firſt with the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* himſelf who had given the Counſel; conceiving (as he then declared) that no man could accuſe the King of Partiality, when they found the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, who had ſo faithfully ſerved his Father and himſelf, about ſixty years, ſhould be expunged amongſt the reſt. A third was, That he muſt not hope to win upon them by Condeſcenſions, or the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, or by Acts of Grace: but that he ſhould reſolve to reduce them to their duty by ſuch waies of Power as God had put into his hands. The Reaſon of which Counſel was, becauſe he found upon a ſad experience of ſixty years, that generally they were a people of ſo croſs a grain, that they were gained by Puniſhments, and loſt by Favours. But contrary to this good Counſel, his Majeſty did not only permit all his own Servants of that Nation to remain about him: but ſuffered the Earls of *Roxborough* and *Traquaire*, and other Noblemen of that Kingdom with their ſeveral Followers and Retinues to repair to *York*, under pretence of offering of ſome expedient to compoſe the differences. Where being come, they plyed their buſineſs ſo well, that by repreſenting to the Lords of the *Engliſh* Nation the dangers they would bring themſelves into by the Pride and Tyranny of the Biſhops, if the *Scots* were totally ſubdued, they mitigated the diſpleaſures of ſome, and ſo took off the edge of others, that they did not go from *York*, the ſame men they came thither. On the diſcovery of which Practice, and ſome intelligence which they had with the *Covenanters*, they were confined to their Chambers (the firſt at *York*, the other at *Newcaſtle*) but were preſently diſmiſſed again, and ſent back to *Scotland*. But they had firſt done what they came for, never men being ſo ſuddenly cooled as the Lords of *England*; or ever making clearer ſhews of an alteration in their words and geſtures.

This change his Majeſty ſoon found, or had cauſe to fear; and therefore for the better keeping of his Party together, he cauſed an Oath to be propounded to all the Lords, and others of chief Eminency which attended on him, before his departure out of *York*; knowing full well, that thoſe of the inferiour Orbs would be wholly governed by the motion of the higher Spheres. The Tenor of which Oath was this that followeth:

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

I A. B. *do Swear before the Almighty and Ever-living God, That I will bear all faithful Allegiance to my true and undoubted Sovereign King* CHARLES, *who is Lawful King of this Iſland, and all other his Kingdoms and Dominions both by Sea and Land, by the Laws of God and Man, and by Lawful Succeſſion; And that I will moſt conſtantly and moſt chearfully, even to the utmoſt hazard of my Life and Fortunes, oppoſe all Seditions, Rebellions, Conjurations, Conſpiracies whatſoever, againſt his Royal Dignity, Crown, and Perſon, raiſed or ſet up under what pretence or colour ſoever: And if it ſhall come vailed under pretence of Religion, I hold it more abominable both before God and Man. And this Oath I take voluntarily, in the Faith of a good Chriſtian and Loyal Subject, without Equivocation or mental Reſervation whatſoever; from which I hold no Power on Earth can abſolve me in any part.*

Such was the Tenour of the Oath; which being refuſed by two, and but two of the Lords, of which one would not *Say* it, nor the other *Brook* it, the ſaid Refuſers were committed to the Cuſtody of the Sheriffs of *York*; and afterwards, for their further Tryal, Interrogated upon certain Articles touching their approbation or diſlike of the War: To which their Anſwers were ſo doubtful and unſatisfactory, that his Majeſty thought it ſafer for him to diſmiſs them home, than to keep them longer about him to corrupt the reſt: By means whereof he furniſhed them with an opportunity of doing him more diſſervice at home, where there was no body to attend and obſerve their Actions, than poſſibly they could have done in the Army, where there were ſo many eyes to watch them, and ſo many hands to pull them back if they proved extravagant.

As to the carrying on of the War, the Earl of *Eſſex* was Commanded by his Majeſty, at his firſt coming to *York*, to put a Garriſon into *Berwick*, and to take with him ſuch Proviſions of Canon, Arms, and Ammunition as were aſſigned for that Imployment: Which as he chearfully undertook, ſo he couragiouſly performed it, notwithſtanding all the terrours and affrightments which he found in his March. For being encountred in his way with the Earls of *Roxborough*, *Traquaire*, and the reſt of the *Scots* then going to *York*, they laboured all they could to diſſwade him from it, aſſuring him, That either the *Scots* would be in the Town before him; or that their whole Army would be ſo near, that he muſt needs run the hazard of loſing all, without doing any thing. Which notwithſtanding, he went on, entred the Town, repaired the Breaches in the Walls, and placed his Cannon on the ſame, proceeding in the Work as became a Souldier. With leſs fidelity and courage dealt the Earl of *Holland*, at the Kings coming near the Borders, where long he had not been encamped, when he had Intelligence that the *Scots* Army was advancing; on which Advertiſement, he diſpatch'd *Holland* with a great

great Body of Horſe to attend upon them. *Leſly* had drawn his Army into a very large Front, his Files exceeding thin and ſhallow: but intermingled with ſo many Enſigns, as if every twenty or thirty men had been a Regiment; and behind all, a great Herd of Cattel, which raiſed up ſo much duſt with their feet, as did cloud the Stratagem. *Holland* diſmayed with ſuch a formidable appearance, or being afraid that his great Horſe would be under-ridden with the *Galloway* Nags, ſent Meſſenger after Meſſenger to acquaint the King with his preſent condition, who ſent him order to draw off and retire again, and not to hazard himſelf and the Forces under him, on ſuch a *viſible diſadvantage*. How *Hamilton* behaved himſelf, we are next to ſee; who having anchored his Fleet in the *Frith* of *Edenborough*, and landing ſome of his ſpent men in a little Iſland, to give them breath, and ſome refreſhments, received a Viſit from his Mother, a moſt rigid and pragmatical *Covenanter*; the *Scots* upon the ſhore ſaying with no ſmall laughter, *That they knew the Son of ſo good a Mother, could not do them hurt*: And ſo it proved; for having loytered thereabouts to no purpoſe, till he heard that the Treaty of the *Pacification*, was begun neer *Berwick*, he left his Ships, and came in great haſte, as it was pretended, to diſturb the buſineſs, which was to be concluded before he came thither.

For ſo it hapned, That as ſoon as *Eſſex* had brought his Forces into *Berwick*, the *Scots* began to fear the approaching danger which they had drawn upon themſelves; and thereupon ſome Chiefs amongſt them addreſſed their Letters to him on the 19th. of *April*, "laying the cauſe of all theſe Troubles to ſome ill Countrymen of "their own, whom they conceived to have provoked the King againſt "them; endeavouring to make the Remedy of their Evils, and the "ſcope of their deſerved Puniſhment, the beginning of an incurable "Diſeaſe betwixt the two Nations, to whom the Quarrel ſhould "in no way extend. They complained alſo, That there were many "of the *Engliſh* in Place and Credit, whoſe Private Byaſs did run "clean contrary to the Publick Good; ſuch as did riſe early to poyſon the Publick Fountain, and to ſow the Tares of unhappy Jealouſies and Diſcords between the Kingdoms, before the good Seed "of our Love and Reſpect to the *Engliſh* Nation, could take place "in their hearts. They declared next, how ſtrange and unexpected it was unto them, to ſee his Forces drawn toward the Borders, which they could not but interpret as a pregnant preſumption of ſome further Project againſt their Nation by his Power; "which muſt needs cauſe them to beſtir themſelves in time, for their "own preſervation. And though they gave themſelves ſome aſſurance, grounded upon the Reputation of his former Life, that "his Lordſhip would be very wary to begin the Quarrel, at which "Enemies only would rejoyce and catch advantage; yet at the laſt "(fearing that neither Threats nor Complements would do the buſineſs) they fall to a downright begging of a *Pacification*. For having

*Bill. Regia*, p. 1. p. 363.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

" ving taken God to witneſs, That they deſired no National Quarrel " to ariſe betwixt them, or to taſte any of the bitter Fruit, which " might ſet their Childrens Teeth on edge; They profeſſed themſelves " obliged in conſcience to God, their Prince, Nation, and Brethren, " to try all juſt and lawful means for the removal of all Cauſes of " Difference betwixt the two Nations, and to be always ready to " offer the occaſion of greater Satisfaction, for clearing of their Loy- " al Intentions to their Prince, and to all thoſe whom it may con- " cern: but more particularly to his Lordſhip, in regard of his " Place and Command at that time; And this to do by any means " whatſoever, which ſhould be thought expedient on both ſides. But *Eſſex*, though perhaps he might like their Cauſe, did not love their Nation (the Affront put upon him by *Carr* Earl of *Somerſet* running ſtill in his mind); ſo that the Practice edified very little with him, for ought I can find; whatſoever it might do with others about the King, to whom the Letter was communicated, which in duty he was bound to do on the firſt receiving.

With greater comfort they applied themſelves to the Earl of *Arundel*, whom at firſt they feared more than all the reſt: but had now placed the greateſt part of their confidence on him. For whilſt the *Puritans* in both Kingdoms ſtood at a gaze upon the Iſſue of this War, one *Moſely* Vicar of *Newark* upon *Trent*, obtained leave to paſs through the Army into *Scotland*: A man of zeal enough to be put upon any buſineſs which the wiſer ones durſt not be ſeen in; and of ſuch ſillineſs withal, that no body could fear any danger from him. By this Man (as appears by their Letter) they underſtood of his Lordſhips particular Affection to the continuance of the Common Peace betwixt the Nations, being before aſſured of his Noble Diſpoſition in the general (as the Letter words it.) And this being ſaid, they ſignifie unto him, and wiſh that they could do the like to all the good Subjects of *England*, " That they were neither " weary of *Monarchical* Government, nor had entertained the leaſt " thoughts of caſting off the yoke of Obedience, or invading *Eng-* " *land*; That they deſired nothing elſe than peaceably to enjoy their " Religion, and the Liberties of their Country, according to the " Laws; and that all Queſtions about the ſame, might be decided " by Parliament and National Aſſemblies, which they conceived his " Lordſhip would judge to be moſt equitable, and for which no " National Quarrel (as they hoped) could juſtly ariſe. And finally, " That they had ſent him a Copy of the Supplication, which they " intended to preſent unto the King, as ſoon as he was prepared for it; " to the end that by the mediation of his Lordſhip, and other Noble " Lords of *England*, to whom they had written in like manner, his " Majeſty might be pleaſed to hear them at large, and grant ſuch " things as they had deſired; which they conceived to tend to his " Majeſties great Glory, to put an end to all the preſent Queſtions " to their mutual rejoycing, and to make the bleſſed Inſtruments of

ſo

"ſo good a work to be thankfully remembred to Poſterity. In their letter to the Earl of *Holland*, of the ſeventh of *June*, they expreſs more confidence (as being more aſſured of him then of any other) not only juſtifying themſelves in their former proceedings: but requeſting his aſſiſtance to promote their deſires in a petition tendred to his Majeſty hands, deſcending by degrees to this particular, "That by a meeting in ſome convenient place, and of ſome "prime and well affected men to the Reformed Religion and the "Common Peace, all matters might be ſo well amended, and "with ſuch expedition, that their evils (through further delays) "might not prove incurable.

Theſe preparations being made, they found an eaſier buſineſs of it, then they had any reaſon to expect or hope, to bring his Majeſty to meet them in the middle way; who was ſo tender of their caſe that he was more ready to accept their ſupplication, then they were to offer it. It was not his intent to fight them, (as I have heard from a perſon of great truſt and honour) but only by the terrour of ſo great an Army to draw the *Scots* to do him reaſon. And this I am the more apt to credit, becauſe when a Noble and well experienced Commander offered him (then being in Camp near *Berwick*) that with two thouſand horſe (which the King might very well have ſpared) he would ſo waſte, and ſpoil their Countrey, that the *Scots* ſhould creep upon their bellies to implore his mercy, he would by no means hearken to the propoſition. And having no purpoſe of out-going *Muſter* and *Oſtentation*, it is no wonder if he did not only willingly give way to the preſenting of their Petition, and cheerfully embraced all *Overtures* tending to a *Pacification*: but make choice alſo of ſuch perſons, to Negotiate in it, who were more like to take ſuch terms as they could get, then to fight it out. Commiſſioners being on both ſides appointed, they came at laſt to this concluſion on the ſeventeenth of *June*, viz. Firſt, *That his Majeſty ſhould confirm whatſoever his Commiſſioner have already granted in his Majeſties name, and that from thenceforth all matters* Eccleſiaſtical *ſhould be determined by the Aſſemblies of the Kirk, and all matters* Civil *by the Parliament*; *and to that end a General Aſſembly to be Indicted on the ſixth of* Auguſt, *and a Parliament on the* twentieth *of the ſame Moneth, in which Parliament an Act of Oblivion was to paſs for the common peace and ſatisfaction of all parties*; *that the* Scots *upon the publication of the accord, ſhould within fourty eight hours disband all their Forces, diſcharge all pretended Tables, and Conventicles, reſtore unto the King all his Caſtles, Forts and Ammunition of all ſorts*; *the like Reſtitution to be made to all his good Subjects, of their Liberties, Lands, Houſes, Goods, and Means whatſoever, taken and detained from them, ſince the late* pretended General Aſſembly *held at* Glaſco; *that thereupon his Majeſty ſhould preſently recal his Fleet, and retire his Land Forces, and cauſe Reſtitution to be made of all perſons of their Ships and Goods Detained and Arreſted ſince the firſt of* February. But as for the

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

the proceedings of the Aſſembly of *Glaſco*, as his Majeſty could not allow them with Honour on the one ſide; ſo neither do I find that they were condemned, or that the *Scots* were bound to abandon the concluſions of it, ſo that it ſeems to have been left in the ſame condition, (as to all the Acts, Determinations, and Reſults there) in which it ſtood before his Majeſties taking Arms; Which as it was the chief ground of the Quarrel, ſo the King doing nothing in Order to the Abrogating of it, and the concluſions therein made, when he was in the head of a powerful Army, he could not give himſelf much hopes, that the *Scots* could yield to any ſuch Abrogation, when he had no ſuch Army to compel obedience.

And this appeared immediately on his Majeſties ſigning the Agreement, and the diſcharging of his Forces upon the ſame. For the Declaration of this accord was no ſooner publiſhed, but the Covenanters produced a Proteſtation; "Firſt, of adhering to their "late General Aſſembly at *Glaſco*, as a full and free Aſſembly of their "Kirk, and to all the proceedings there; eſpecially the ſentences of "Deprivation, and Excommunication of the ſometimes pretended "Biſhops of that Kingdom: And ſecondly, of adhering to their "Solemn Covenant, and Declaration of the Aſſembly, whereby the "office of Biſhop is abjured. Thirdly, that the pretended Arch-"biſhops and Biſhops, that uſurp the title and office abjured by the "Kirk and be contemners of the ſentences of Kirk, have been ma-"licious Incendiaries of his Majeſty againſt this Kingdom, by their "wicked calamnies; and that if they return to this Kingdom, they "be eſteemed and uſed as accurſed, and they delivered up to the "Devil, and caſt off from Chriſt his body, as *Ethnicks*, and *Publi-"cans*: And fourthly, that all the entertainers of the Excommu-"cated Biſhops, ſhould be orderly proceeded againſt with Excom-"munication, conform to the Acts, and Conſtitutions of this Kirk. And this they did as well to juſtifie their proceeding in the ſaid *Aſſembly*, as to terrifie and affright the Biſhops from preſenting themſelves as members of Aſſembly and Parliament at the next Conventions. Which done they diſperſed abroad a ſcandalous Paper, pretending to contain the heads of the late Agreement; but drawn ſo advantageouſly for themſelves, ſo diſagreeably to the true intention of his Majeſty, that he could do no leſs in honour then call it in, and cauſe it to be publickly burnt by the hand of the Hangman. And being conſcious to themſelves how much his Majeſty, muſt be incenſed with theſe Indignities, they continued their meetings and Conſultations as before they did, maintained their Fortifications at *Leith* the Port Town to *Edenborough*, diſquieted moleſted, and frighted all of different inclinations, and kept their Officers and Commanders in continual pay, to have them in a Readineſs on the next occaſion. With which diſorders his Majeſty being made acquainted, he ſent for ſome of the Chiefs of them to come to him to *Berwick*: but was refuſed in his Commands under pretence, that there

there was ſome intention to entrap them at their coming thither; and that his Majeſty might be ſtaved off from being preſent at the next *Aſſembly* in *Edenborough*, as he had both promiſed, and reſolved, they commit a riotous aſſault on the Earls of *Kinnoul*, and *Traquaire*, Chief Juſtice *Elphinſton*, and Sir *James Hamilton*, all Privy Counſellors of that Kingdom. Theſe they pulled violently out of their Coach, on a ſuſpicion that ſome Biſhops were diſguiſed amongſt them; but really that the King might have ſome cauſe to ſuſpect that there could be no ſafety for him in ſuch a place, and amongſt people ſo enraged, notwithſtanding his great clemency ſhewed unto them in the *Pacification*.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

His Majeſty was now at leiſure to repent the loſs of thoſe Advantages which God had put into his hands. He found the *Scots* ſo unprovided (not having above 3000. compleat Arms amongſt them) that he might have ſcattered them like the duſt before the wind at the very firſt onſet. By making this agreement with them he put them into ſuch a ſtock of Reputation, that within the compaſs of that year they furniſhed themſelves out of *Holland* with Cannon, Arms, and Ammunition upon days of Payment without diſburſing any money, which he knew they had not. He came unto the borders with a gallant Army, which might aſſure him (under God) of a very cheap and eaſie victory; an Army governed by Colonels, and other Officers of approved Valour, and mingled with the choiceſt of the *Engliſh* Gentry, who ſtood as much upon his honour as upon their own. This Army he disbanded without doing any thing which might give ſatisfaction to the world, himſelf, or them. Had he retired it only to a further diſtance, he had done as much as he was bound to by the Capitulations: But he diſbanded it before he had ſeen the leaſt performance on their parts of the points agreed on; before he had ſeen the iſſue and ſucceſs of the two Conventions, in which he did expect a ſettling of his peace and happineſs; which had he done, he had in all reaſonable probabilities preſerved his honour in the eye of Foraign Nations, ſecured himſelf from any danger from that people, and cruſht thoſe Practices at home which afterwards undermined his Peace, and deſtroyed his Glories. But doing it in this form and manner, without effecting any thing which he ſeemed to Arm for, he animated the *Scots* to commit new Inſolencies, the *Dutch* to affront him in his own Shores, by fighting and deſtroying the *Spaniſh* Navy, lying under his protection, and (which was worſt of all) gave no ſmall diſcontentment to the *Engliſh* Gentry. Who having with great charge engaged themſelves in this Expedition out of hope of getting honour to the King, their Country, and themſelves by their faithful ſervice, were ſuddenly diſmiſſed, not only without the honour which they aimed at, but without any acknowledgment of their Love and Loyalty. A matter ſo unpleaſing to them, that few of them appeared in the next years Army; many of them turned againſt him in the following

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

ing troubles, the greateſt part looking on his Succeſſes with a careleſs eye, as unconcerned in his Affairs, whether good or bad.

In this condition of Affairs he returned toward *London* in the end of *July*, leaving the *Scots* to play their own Game as they liſted; having firſt nominated *Traquaire* as his High Commiſſioner for managing both the Aſſembly, and the following Parliament. In the firſt meeting of the two, they acted over all the parts they had plaid at *Glaſco*, to the utter abolition of *Epiſcopacy*, and the deſtruction of all thoſe which adhered unto it; their Actings in it being confirmed in his name by the High Commiſſion. In the Parliament they altered the old form of chuſing the Lords of the *Articles*, erected a third Eſtate out of *Lairds* and Barons, inſtead of the Biſhops; invaded the Soveraign power of Coynage; Reſolved upon an Act for abrogating all former Statutes concerning the Judicature of the Exchequer for making of Proxies, and governing the Eſtates of Wards; and finally, conceived the King to be much in their debt by yielding to a prorogation till a further time. The news whereof reduced the King to ſuch a ſtand, that he was forced to ſend for *Wentworth* out of *Ireland*, where he had acted things in ſettling the Eſtate of that broken Kingdom, beyond expectation or belief. This charged on *Canterbury*, as a project and crime of his, and both together branded for it in a Speech made by the Lord *Faulkland*, in the firſt year of the Long Parliament, where ſpeaking firſt of the Biſhops generally, he tells the Speaker, "That they had both kindled and "blown the fire in both Nations; and more particularly, that they "had both ſent and maintained that book, of which the Author hath "no doubt long ſince wiſhed with *Nero* (*Utinam neſciſſem Literas*) "And of which more than one Kingdom hath cauſe to wiſh, that "he who writ it, had rather burned a *Library*, though of the "value of *Ptolomies*. And then he adds, We ſhall ſee then (ſaith "he) who have been the firſt and principal cauſe of the breach, I "will not ſay of, but ſince the *Pacification* at *Berwick*. We ſhall find "them to have been the almoſt ſole Abettors of my Lord of *Straf-* "*ford*, whilſt he was practicing upon another Kingdom that manner "of Government which he intended to ſettle in this, where he com- "mitted ſo many, ſo mighty, and ſo manifeſt enormities, as the like "have not been committed by any Governour in any Government "ſince *Veires* left *Sicily*. And after they had called him over from "being *Deputy* of *Ireland* to be in manner *Deputy* of *England* (all "things here being governed by a *Juntillo*, and that *Juntillo* gover- "ned by him) to have aſſiſted him in the giving of ſuch Counſels, "and the purſuing of ſuch courſes, as it is a hard and meaſuring "caſt, whether they were more unwiſe, more unjuſt, or more unfor- "tunate, and which had infallibly been our deſtruction, if by the "grace of God their ſhare had not been as ſmall in the ſubtilty of "Serpents as in the innocence of Doves. But theſe were only the

Evapora-

Evaporations of ſome Diſcontents, which that noble Orator had contracted; of which more elſewhere. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

*Wentworth* being called unto this Service, was preſently made Lord Leiutenant of *Ireland*, and not long after with great ſolemnity Created Earl of *Strafford* in the County of *York*. As Lord Lieutenant he had Power to appoint a Deputy, that ſo he might the better attend the Service here, without any prejudice to that Kingdom; which Office he committed to *Wansford* a *Yorkſhire* Gentleman, and an eſpecial Confident of his, whom he had took along with him into *Ireland* at his firſt going thither. And becauſe great Counſels are carried with moſt faith and ſecrecy, when they are entruſted but to few, his Majeſty was pleaſed to commit the Conduct of the *Scottiſh* Buſineſſes to a *Junto* of three; that is to ſay, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the new Lord Lieutenant, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*; which laſt the other two knew not how to truſt, and therefore communicated no more of their Counſels to him, than ſuch as they cared or feared not to make known to others. By theſe three joyned in Conſultations, it was conceived expedient to move his Majeſty to try his fortune once more in calling a Parliament, and in the mean time to command ſome of the Principal *Covenanters* to attend his Pleaſure at the Court, and render an account of their late Proceedings. In order to the firſt, they had no ſooner ſignified what they thought fit for his Majeſties Service, but it was chearfully entertained by the Lords of the Council, who joined together with them in the Propoſition; promiſing his Majeſty to aſſiſt him in extraordinary ways, if the Parliament ſhould fail him in it, as they after did. Upon theſe Terms his Majeſty yielded to the Motion on the fifth of *December*, cauſing an Intimation to be publickly made of his Intent to hold a Parliament on the 13th. of *April*, then next following: An Intimation which the *Londoners* received with great ſigns of joy, and ſo did many in the Country: but ſuch withal, as gave no ſmall matter of diſturbance unto many others, who could not think the calling of a Parliament in that point of time, to be ſafe or ſeaſonable. The laſt Parliament being diſſolved in a Rupture, the Cloſets of ſome Members ſearched, many of them impriſoned, and ſome fined; it was not to be thought but that they would come thither with revengeful Spirits. And ſhould a breach happen betwixt them and the King, and the Parliament be Diſſolved upon it, as it after was, the breach would prove irreparable, as it after did. Beſides which fear, it was preſumed, that the interval of four Months time, would give the diſcontented Party opportunity to unite themſelves, to practice on the Shires and Burroughs, to elect ſuch Members as they ſhould recommend unto them; and finally, not only to conſult, but to conclude on ſuch Particulars as they intended to inſiſt upon, when they were Aſſembled. In which Reſpects, the calling a Parliament at that time, and with ſo long warning beforehand, was conceived unſafe: And if it was unſafe, it was more

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

*unſeaſonable*. Parliaments had now long been diſcontinued, the People lived happily without them, and few took thought who ſhould ſee the next: And which is more, the Neighbouring Kings and States beheld the King with greater Veneration, than they had done formerly, as one that could ſtand on his own Legs, and had raiſed up himſelf to ſo great Power both by Sea and Land, without ſuch diſcontents and brabbles as his Parliaments gave him. So that to call a Parliament, was feared to be the likelieſt way to make his Majeſty ſeem leſs in eſtimation both at home and abroad, the eyes of men being diſtracted by ſo many objects.

But whatſoever others thought, it was thought by *Wentworth*, that he could manage a Parliament well enough to the Kings Advantage; eſpecially by ſetting them ſuch a Leſſon as ſhould make them all aſhamed of not writing after ſuch a Copy. Two ends they had in adviſing the Intimation of the Parliament to be given ſo long before the Sitting. Firſt, That the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* might in the mean time hold a Parliament in that Kingdom, which he did accordingly, and governed the Affair ſo well, that an Army of 8000 Horſe and Foot (ſome of our Writers ſay 10000) was ſpeedily raiſed, and Money granted by the Parliament to keep them in pay, and furniſh them with Ammunition, Arms, and all other Neceſſaries. Secondly, That by the Reputation of a following Parliament, he might be the better enabled to borrow Money for the carrying on of that War, if the Parliament ſhould chance to fail of doing their Duty; wherein the Lords performed their parts, in drawing in great Sums of Money upon that account. For cauſing a Liſt to be made of moſt of the Perſons of Ability, which had relation to the Courts of Judicature, either Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, of ſuch as held Offices of the Crown as attained unto his Majeſties Service, or otherwiſe were thought to be well affected to the preſent Cauſe, and had not formerly contributed toward it, they called them to the Council-Table, where they endeavoured, by the prevailing Rhetorick of Power and Favour, to perſwade them to a bountiful Contribution, or a chearful Loan, according to the Sums proportioned and requeſted of them. In which they did proceed ſo well, that money came flowing in apace, enough to put the King into a condition of making new Levies of Men both for Horſe and Foot, Liſting them under their Commanders, and putting them into a Poſture for the War approaching. And that they might be ſure to ſpeed the better, by the encouragement of a good Example, the Lord Lieutenant ſubſcribed for a Loan of 20000 *l.* the other Lords with the ſame Loyalty and Affection proportioning their Engagements to their Abilities, and thereby giving Law to moſt of the Noblemen in all parts of the Kingdom. Nor was the Queen wanting for her part to advance the Service; For knowing how great a ſhare ſhe had in his Majeſties Fortune, ſhe employed her Secretary *Winter*, *Mountague*, *Digby*, and others of her Confidents of that Religion, to negotiate with

with the reſt of their party, for being Aſſiſtant to his Majeſty in ſo juſt a quarrel. In which deſign ſhe found ſuch a liberal correſpondence from the *Roman Catholicks*, as ſhewed them to be ſomewhat ambitious of being accounted amongſt the moſt Loyal and beſt affected, of his Majeſties Subjects. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

Theſe preparations being Reſolved on and in ſome part made, it was thought convenient that his Majeſty ſhould take the opportunity of the coming of ſome Commiſſioners from the *Scots* to call for an account of their late proceedings. According unto which advice his Majeſty appointed a Select Committee from the reſt of the Council, to bring thoſe Commiſſioners to a reckoning, to hear what they could ſay for themſelves and the reſt of their fellows, and to make report thereof to his Majeſty; The Commiſſioners were the Earl of *Dumfermelling*, the Lord *Loudon*, *Douglas* and *Barkley*, both of inferiour rank, but of like Authority; Of which the Speakers part was performed by *Loudon*, A confident bold man, of a Pedantical expreſſion, but one that loved to hear himſelf above all men living. Being Commanded to attend the Committee at the time appointed, they ranted high, touching the Independency of the Crown of *Scotland*, and did not think themſelves obliged to Treat with any, but his Majeſty only. His Majeſties vouchſafeing his preſence at the ſaid Committee; *Loudon* begins with a defence of their proceedings, both in the General Aſſembly, and the late Parliament held at *Edenborough* by his Majeſties Order; Alledged that nothing was done in them contrary to the Laws of the Land, and the Precedents of former times; and finally beſought his Majeſty to ratifie and confirm the Acts, and Reſults of both Commiſſions. They could ſhew none to qualifie them in the nature of Publick Agents; Nor had they any power to Oblige their party in the performance of any thing which might give his Majeſty full ſatisfaction for the time to come, whatſoever ſatisfaction he was able to give them in debating the buſineſs. His Majeſty endeavoured not by reaſon only, but by all fair and gentle means, to let them ſee the unreaſonableneſs of their demands, the legality of their proceedings, and the danger which would fall upon them, if they continued obſtinate in their former courſes. But *Loudon* governed all the reſt, who being of a fiery nature in himſelf, and a dependent on the Earl of *Argile*, who had declared himſelf for the Covenanters at the *Aſſembly* at *Glaſco*, reſolved to ſtand to the Concluſion which he brought along with him, though he found himſelf unable to make good the Premiſes; ſo that ſome days being unprofitably ſpent in theſe debates, the Archbiſhop and the reſt of the Committee, made a report of the whole buſineſs to the reſt of the Council, who upon full conſideration of all particulars, came to this Reſult: That ſince the *Scots* could not be reclaimed to their obedience by other means, they were to be *reduced by Force*.

This was no more then what the *Scots* could give themſelves

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

Reaſon to expect; and therefore they beſtirred themſelves as much on the other ſide. Part of the Walls of the Caſtle of *Edenborough*, with all the Ordnance upon it, had fallen down on the nineteenth of *November* laſt, being the *Anniverſary* day of his Majeſties Birth (not without ſome preſage of that ill fortune which befel him in the courſe of this War) for the Repair whereof, they would neither ſuffer Timber, nor any other Materials to be carried to it: but on the contrary, they began to raiſe Works and Fortifications againſt it, with an intent to block it up, and render it unuſeful to his Majeſties Service: And to keep the Souldiers therein Garriſoned (moſt of them *Engliſh*) to hard meats, they would not ſuffer them to come into the Market to recruit their Victuals. They made Proviſions of great quantity of Artillery, Munition and Arms from Foreign Parts; laid Taxes of ten Marks in the hundred upon all the Subjects, according to their ſeveral Revenues, which they Levied with all curſed Rigour, though bruiting them abroad to be *Free-will Offerings*; ſcattered abroad many Seditious and Scandalous Pamphlets, for juſtifying themſelves and ſeducing others, ſome of which were burnt in *England* by the hand of the Hangman; Fortified *Inchgarvie* and other places, which they planted with Ordnance; Impriſoned the Earl of *Southesk*, and other Perſons of Quality, for their fidelity to the King; took to themſelves the Government of the City of *Edenborough*, contrary to their Charters and Immunities, by which the Citizens were diſabled from ſerving his Majeſty in any of his juſt Commands; and finally, employed their Emiſſaries in all Parts of *England*, to diſſwade thoſe who were too backward of themſelves, from contributing to the War againſt them, and to ſollicit from them ſuch ſeveral Aids as might the better enable them to maintain the War againſt their Sovereign.

But their chief Correſpondence was with *France* and *Ireland*. In *France* they had made ſure of Cardinal of *Richelieu*, who Governed all Affairs in that Kingdom. Following the *Maxim* of Queen *Elizabeth*, in ſecuring the Peace of his own Country by the Wars of his Neighbours, he practiſed the Revolt of *Portugal*, and put the *Catalonians* into Arms againſt their King, to the end that he might waſte the fiery Spirit of the *French* in a War on *Flanders*, with the better fortune and ſucceſs. But knowing that it was the Intereſt of the Crown of *England*, to hold the Balance even between *France* and *Spain*; and that his Majeſty by removing the Ships of *Holland*, which lay before *Duynkirk*, *Anno* 1635. had hindred the *French* from making ſuch a Progreſs by Land, as might have made them Maſters of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; he held it a chief piece of State-Craft (as indeed it was) to excite the *Scots* againſt their King, and to encourage them to ſtand it out unto the laſt, being ſo excited. "Upon which ground "he ſent *Chamberlain*, a *Scot* by Birth, his Chaplain and Almoner, "to aſſiſt the Confederates in advancing the buſineſs, and to at-"tempt all ways for exaſperating the *firſt heat*; with Order not to

"depart

" depart from them, till (things ſucceeding as he wiſhed) he might " return with good News: And on the ſame appointed one of his Secretaries to reſide in *Scotland*, to march along with them into *England*, to be preſent at all Councils of War, and direct their buſineſs. And on the other ſide, *Hamiltons* Chaplains had free acceſſes unto *Con* the ſame Countryman alſo, at ſuch time as *Chamberlain* was Negotiating for the Cardinal, to foment the Flames, which had begun to rage already. And by a Letter ſubſcribed by the Earl of *Rothes*, and others of chief note amongſt the *Covenanters*, they craved the Aſſiſtance of that King, caſt themſelves upon his Protection, beſeeching him to give credit to *Colvill* the Bearer thereof, whom they had inſtructed in all Particulars which concerned their Condition and Deſires. In *Ireland* they had a ſtrong Party of Natural *Scots*, planted in *Ulſter* by King *James*, upon the forfeited Eſtates of *Tir-Owen*, *Tir-Connel*, *Odighirtie*, &c. not *Scots* in Birth and Parentage only, but Deſign and Faction. But *Wentworth* was not to be told of their ſecret Practices; he ſaw it in their general diſpoſition to Schiſm and Faction, and was not unacquainted with their old Rebellions. It muſt be his care that they brake not into any new; which he performed with ſuch a diligent and watchful eye, that he cruſhed them in the very beginning of the Combination, ſeiſing upon ſuch Ships and Men as came thither from *Scotland*, Impriſoning ſome, Fining others, and putting an Oath upon the reſt: By which Oath they were bound to abjure the *Covenant*, not to be aiding to the *Covenanters* againſt the King, nor to *Proteſt* againſt any of his *Royal Edicts*, as their Brethren in *Scotland* uſed to do. For the refuſing of which Oath he Fined one (*a*) Sir *Henry Steward* and his Wife (Perſons of no leſs Power than Diſaffection) at no leſs than 5000 *l.* apiece; two of their Daughters, and one *James Gray* of the ſame Confederacy, at the Sum of 3000 *l.* apiece; committing them to Priſon for not paying the Fines impoſed upon them. All which he juſtified when he was brought unto his Trial, on good Reaſons of State; There (*b*) being at that time one hundred thouſand Souls in *Ireland* of the *Scottiſh* Nation, moſt of them paſſionately affected to the Cauſe of the *Covenanters*, and ſome of them conſpiring to betray the Town and Caſtle of *Carickfergus* to a Nobleman of that Country, for which the Principal Conſpirator had been juſtly Executed. Nor ſtaid he here, but he gave finally a Power to the Biſhop of *Down* and *Connor*, and other Biſhops of that Kingdom, and their ſeveral Chancellors, to attach the Bodies of all ſuch of the meaner ſort, who either ſhould refuſe to appear before them upon Citation, or to perform all Lawful Decrees and Orders made by the ſaid Biſhops and their Chancellors; and to commit them to the next Gaol, till they ſhould conform, or anſwer the Contempt at the Council-Table. By means whereof, he made the poorer ſort ſo pliant, and obedient to their ſeveral Biſhops, that there was good hopes of their Conformity to the Rules of the Church.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

(a) *Impeachment of* Strafford, *Art.* 19.

(b) *Relation of the Anſwers of the E. of* Straff. P. 34.

Having

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

Having thus carried on the affairs of *Scotland* till the end of this year, we must return to our Archbishop; whom we shall find intent on the preservation of the *Hierarchy*, and the Church of *England*, against the Practices of the *Scots*, and *Scotizing English*: and no less busied in digesting an Apologie for vindicating the *Liturgie* commended to the Kirk of *Scotland*. In reference to the last, he took order for translating the *Scottish Liturgy* into the Latine Tongue; that being published with the *Apologie*, which he had designed, it might give satisfaction to the world of his Majesty Piety, and his own great care, the Orthodoxie and simplicity of the Book it self, and the perverseness of the *Scots* in refusing all of it. Which Work was finished and left with him, but it went no further; the present distemper of the times, and the troubles which fell heavily on him putting an end to it in the first beginning. But the best was, that the English *Liturgie* had been published in so many Languages, and the *Scottish* so agreeable to the *English* in the Forms and Offices, that any man might judge of the one by perusing the other. The first Liturgie of King *Edward* vi. translated into Latine by *Alexander Alesius*, a learned *Scot*, for the better information of *Martin Bucer*, when he first came to live amongst us; the second *Liturgie* of that King with Queen *Elizabeths* Emendations by *Walter Haddon*, President of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxon.* and Dean of *Exeter*; and his Translation rectified by Dr. *Morket*, in the times of King *James*, according to such Explications and Additions as were made by order from the King. The same translated into *French*, for the use of the Isle of *Jersey*, by the appointment of the King also; into the *Spanish* for the better satisfaction of that Nation, by the prudent care of the Lord Keeper *Williams*; And finally, by the countenance and encouragement of this Archbishop, translated into Greek by *Petley*, much about this time, that so the *Eastern* Churches might have as clear an information of the *English* Piety as the *Western* had.

In order to the other he recommended to *Hall*, then Bishop of *Exon.* the writing of a book in defence of the *Divine Right of Episcopacy*, in opposition to the *Scots* and their Adherents. *Exeter* undertakes the Work, and sends him a rude draught or *Skeleton* of his design, consisting of the two main points of his intended discourse, together with the several Propositions which he intended to insist on in pursuance of it. The two main points which he was to aim at, were, "First, That Episcopacy is a lawful, most ancient, holy, and di- "vine institution (as it is joyned with imparity, and superiority of "Jurisdiction) and therefore where it hath through Gods provi- "dence obtained, cannot by any humane power be abdicated with- "out a manifest violation of Gods Ordinance. And secondly, That "the *Presbyterian* Government, however vindicated under the glo- "rious names of Christs Kingdom, and Ordinance, hath no true "footing either in Scripture, or the Practice of the Church in all "Ages from Christs time till the present; and that howsoever it"

"may

" may be of uſe in ſome Cities or Territories, wherein Epiſcopal " Government through iniquity of times cannot be had; yet to ob- " trude it upon a Church otherwiſe ſettled under an acknowledged " *Monarchy*, is utterly incongruous and unjuſtifiable. In which two points he was to prediſpoſe ſome Propoſitions (or *Poſtulata*, as he calls them) to be the ground of his proceedings; which I ſhall here preſent in his own conceptions, that ſo we may the better judge of thoſe corrections which were made upon them. The *Poſtulata* were as followeth, *viz.* " 1. That Government which was " of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, cannot be denied to be of Divine Right. " 2. Not only that Government which was directly com- " manded and enacted, but alſo that which was practiced and re- " commended by the Apoſtles to the Church, muſt juſtly paſs for an " Apoſtolical Inſtitution. 3. That which the Apoſtles by " Divine Inſpiration inſtituted, was not for the preſent time, but for " continuance. 4. The univerſal Practice of the Church, im- " mediately ſucceeding the Apoſtles, is the beſt and ſureſt Com- " mentary upon the Practice of the Apoſtles, or upon their Expreſ- " ſions. 5. We may not entertain ſo irreverent an opinion of " the Saints and Fathers of the Primitive Church, that they who " were the immediate Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, would, or durſt " ſet up a Government, either faulty, or of their own heads. " 6. If they would have been ſo preſumptuous, yet they could not " have diffuſed an uniform form of Government through the world " in ſo ſhort a ſpace. 7. The ancient Hiſtories of the " Church, and Writings of the eldeſt Fathers, are rather to be be- " lieved in the report of the Primitive Form of the Church-Go- " vernment, than thoſe of this laſt Age. 8. Thoſe whom the " ancient Church of God, and the holy and Orthodox Fathers con- " demned for Hereticks, are not fit to be followed as Authors of " our Opinion or Practice for Church-Government. 9. The ac- " ceſſion of honourable Titles or Priviledges, makes no difference in " the ſubſtance of the calling. 10. Thoſe Scriptures wherein " a new Form of Government is grounded, have need to be very " clear and unqueſtionable, and more evident than thoſe whereon " the former rejected Politie, is raiſed. 11. If that Order " which, they ſay, Chriſt ſet for the Government of the Church " (which they call the Kingdom and Ordinance of Chriſt) be but " one, and undoubted, then it would, and ſhall have been ere this, " agreed upon againſt them, what, and which it is. 12. If " this (which they pretend) be the Kingdom, and Ordinance of " Chriſt, then if any Eſſential part of it be wanting, Chriſts King- " dom is not erected in the Church. 13. Chriſtian Poli- " tie requires no impoſſible or abſurd thing. 14. Thoſe " Tenets which are new and unheard of in all Ages of the Church, " (in many, and Eſſential points) are well worthy to be ſuſpected. " 16. To depart from the Practice of the Univerſal Church

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

" of

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

" of Chriſt ( ever from the Apoſtles times ) and to betake our ſelves " voluntarily to a new Form, lately taken up, cannot but be odious " and highly ſcandalous.

Theſe firſt Delineations of the Pourtraicture being ſent to *Lambeth*, in the end of *October*, were generally well approved of by the *Metropolitan*. Some lines there were which he thought to have too much *ſhadow* and *umbrage*, might be taken at them, if not otherwiſe qualified with a more perfect Ray of Light. And thereupon he takes the Penſil in his hand, and with ſome Alterations of the Figure, accompanied with many kind expreſſions of a fair acceptance, he ſent them back again to be compleatly Limned and Coloured by that able hand. Which alterations, what they were, and his reaſons for them, I ſhall adventure to lay down, as they come before me, that ſo the Reader may diſcern as well the clearneſs of his apprehenſion, and the excellency of his judgment in the points debated. The Letter long, and therefore ſo diſpoſed of without further coherence, that ſo it may be peruſed or pretermitted without diſturbance to the ſequel; ſome preparations being made by the hand of his Secretary, he proceeds thus to the reſt.

Cant. Dom. p. 233.

*The reſt of your Letter is fitter to be anſwered by my own hand, and ſo you have it. And ſince you are pleaſed ſo worthily and brother-like to acquaint me with the whole plot of your intended work, and to yield it up to my cenſure, and better advice ( ſo you are pleaſed to write ) I do not only thank you heartily for it: but ſhall in the ſame brotherly way, and with equal freedom put ſome few Animadverſions, ſuch as occur on the ſudden, to your further conſideration, aiming at nothing but what you do, the perfection of the work in which ſo much is concerned. And firſt, for Mr.* George Graham ( *whom* Hall *had ſignified to have renounced his Epiſcopal Function* ) *I leave you free to work upon his buſineſs, and his ignorance as you pleaſe, aſſuring my ſelf that you will not depart from the gravity of your ſelf, or the cauſe therein. Next you ſay in the firſt head,* That Epiſcopacy is an ancient, holy, and divine Inſtitution. *It muſt needs be ancient and holy, if divine. Would it not be more full, went it thus? So ancient as that it is of Divine Inſtitution. Next you define Epiſcopacy by being joyned with imparity and ſuperiority of Juriſdiction, but this ſeems ſhort; for every* Archpresbyters *or* Archdeacons *place is ſo, yea, and ſo was Mr.* Henderſon *in his Chair at* Glaſco, *unleſs you will define it by a diſtinction of Order. I draw the ſuperiority, not from the Juriſdiction which is attributed to Biſhops* jure poſitivo, *in their Audience of Eccleſiaſtical matters: but from that which is intrinſical and original in the power of Excommunication. Again, you ſay in the firſt point; That where Epiſcopacy hath obtained, it cannot be abdicated without violation of Gods Ordinance. This Propoſition I conceive is* inter minus habentes; *for never was there any Church yet, where it hath not obtained. The Chriſtian Faith was never yet planted any where, but the very firſt feature of a Church was*

*ly,*

*by, or with* Epiſcopacy; *and whereſoever now Epiſcopacy is not ſuffered to be, it is by ſuch an Abdication, for certainly there it was* à Principio. *In your ſecond head you grant that the Presbyterian government may be of uſe, where Epiſcopacy may not be had. Firſt, I pray you conſider whither this converſion be not needleſs here, and in it ſelf of a dangerous conſequence: Next I conceive there is no place where Epiſcopacy may not be had, if there be a Church more then in Title only. Thirdly, ſince they challenge their Presbyterian Fiction to be Chriſts Kingdom and Ordinance (as your ſelf expreſſeth) and caſt out Epiſcopacy as oppoſite to it, we muſt not uſe any mincing terms, but unmask them plainly; nor ſhall I ever give way to hamper our ſelves for fear of ſpeaking plain truth, though it be againſt* Amſterdam *or* Geneva: *and this muſt be ſadly thought on.* LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

*Concerning your* Poſtulata *I ſhall pray you to allow me the like freedom; amongſt which the two firſt are true, but (as expreſt) two reſtrictive. For Epiſcopacy is not ſo to be aſſerted unto Apoſtolical Inſtitution, as to bar it from looking higher and from fetching it materially and originally in the ground and Intention of it, from Chriſt himſelf; though perhaps the Apoſtles formalized it. And here give me leave a little to enlarge. The adverſaries of Epiſcopacy are not only the furious* Arian *Hereticks (out of which are now raiſed,* Prynne, Baſtwick, *and our* Scottiſh *Maſters) but ſome alſo of a milder and ſubtler alley both in the* Genevian *and* Roman *Faction. And it will become the Church of* England *ſo to vindicate it againſt the furious* Puritans *as that we may not lay it open to be wounded by either of the other two, more cunning, and more learned adverſaries. Not to the* Roman *faction for that will be content, it ſhall be* Juris Divini mediati, *by, far, from, and under the Pope, that ſo the Government of the Church may be Monarchical in him; but not* Immediati, *which makes the Church* Ariſtocratical *in the Biſhops. This is the* Italian *Rock, not the* Genevan; *for that will not deny Epiſcopacy to be* Juris Divini, *ſo you will take it,* ut ſuadentis vel approbantis *but not* imperantis; *for then they may take and leave as they will, which is that they would be at. Nay (if I much forget not)* Beza *himſelf is ſaid to have acknowledged* Epiſcopacy *to be* Juris Divini Imperantis, *ſo you will not take it as* univerſaliter imperantis, *For then* Geneva *might eſcape:* & citra conſiderationem durantis; *for then though they had it before, yet now upon wiſer thoughts they may be without it, which* Scotland *ſays now, and who will may ſay it after, if this be good Divinity: and then all in that time ſhall be* Democratical. *I am bold to add, becauſe in your ſecond* Poſtulatum *I find, that* Epiſcopacy *is directly commanded: but you go not ſo far as to meet with this ſubtilty of* Beza, *which is the great Rock in the Lake of* Geneva. *In your nine* Poſtulatum, *that the Acceſſion of Honourable Titles, or Priviledges, makes no difference in the ſubſtance of the calling, You mean the titles of Archbiſhops, Primates,* Metropolitans, *Patriarcks, &c.* 'Tis well, *And I preſume you do ſo: But then in any caſe take heed you aſſert it ſo, as that the Fa-*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

*ction lay not hold of it, as if the Biſhops were but the Title of Honour, and the ſame calling with a Prieſt; For that they all aim at,* &c. *The eleventh* Poſtulatum *is larger, and I ſhall not Repeat it; becauſe I am ſure you retein a Copy of what you write to me, being the Ribbs of the work; nor ſhall I ſay more to it, then that it muſt be warily handled for fear of a ſaucy Anſwer, which is more ready with them a great deal then a Learned one. I preſume I am pardoned already for this freedom by your ſubmiſſion of all to me. And now I heartily pray you to ſend me up, (keeping a Copy to your ſelf againſt the accidents of Carriage) not the whole work together, but each particular head or* Poſtulatum, *as you finiſh it; that ſo we here may be the better able to conſider of it, and the work come on faſter. So to Gods bleſſed Protection,* &c.

Such was the freedom which he uſed in declaring his judgement in the caſe, and ſuch the Authority which his reaſons carried along with them, that the Biſhop of *Exon* found good cauſe to correct the obliquity of his opinion according to the Rules of theſe Animadverſions; agreeably unto which the book was writ and publiſhed not long after, under the name of *Epiſcopacy* by *Divine Right*, &c.

Such care being taken to prevent all inconveniencies which might come from *Scotland*, he caſts his eye toward the Execution of his former Orders for Regulating the *French* and *Dutch* Churches here in *England*. It had been to no purpoſe in him to endeavour a Conformity amongſt the *Scots*, as long as ſuch examples of ſeparation did continue amongſt the *Engliſh*. If the *poſt-nati* in thoſe Churches, born and bred in *England*, ſhould not be bound to repair with other of their Neighbours to their Pariſh Churches, it might create a further miſchief then the preſent Scandal, and come up cloſe at laſt to formal Schiſm. His Order had been publiſhed in all the Congregations of ſtrangers within his Province, as before is ſaid; but Executed more or leſs, as the Miniſter and Church-wardens ſtood affected to thoſe Congregations. And therefore that the Church-wardens might more punctually proceed in doing their duty, It was thought fit that certain Articles ſhould be framed and commended to them for their future direction. The Reformation being purſued in his own Dioceſs, and the Metropolitical City firſt, it was to be preſumed, that thoſe in other places would gladly follow the Example. Of laying taxes on thoſe ſtrangers in their ſeveral Pariſhes for repairing of, and adorning their ſeveral Pariſh-Churches, and providing Ornaments for the ſame they were in all places careful enough; becauſe their own profit was concerned in it. "And for their proceedings in the reſt they were "directed by theſe Orders to inquire of all ſuch ſtrangers as lived "amongſt them, the names of all married perſons in their Con-"gregations as of the ſecond deſcent in their ſeveral Pariſhes, to "the end that order might be taken for decent ſeats for them, ac-

cording

" cording to their Eſtates and qualities: that they ſhould return the " names and ages of thoſe unmarried of the ſecond deſcent, and " whoſe children and ſervants they were; to the end that the like " care might be taken of their due reſort to the Church, there to " be Catechiſed, and Communicate according to their ages: that " thoſe at ſixteen years and upwards, that had not already Com- " municated ſhould prepare themſelves to receive the bleſſed Sa- " crament in their Pariſh Church at the next Communion; and " from thence forward thrice in the year afterwards as the Canons " of the Church require, as they would avoid preſentment to " their *Ordinary* for their neglect therein: that ſuch as were Pa- " rents and Maſters of Families of the firſt and ſecond deſcent, did " thenceforth every Lords day, half an hour after Evening Prayer, " ſend all ſuch, their Children and Servants as were under ſixteen " to their Pariſh Church, there to be Catechiſed according to the " Orders of the Church, as they themſelves upon preſentment " would anſwer the Contrary. Theſe Articles being given in the middle of *April*, were Executed for the reſt of the year more punctually then in any of thoſe before. But it held not much longer then the reſt of that year: The troubles which the Archbiſhop fell into, in the year next following diſſolving all his Orders and Injunctions of this kind, as if never made.

With equal conſtancy he governed his Counſels in all other particulars. Some informations had been given him of certain miſdemeanours and corruptions in *Merton* Colledge, of which he was the Ordinary, and immediate Viſitor, in the Right of his See; and in that Right he reſolves upon a Viſitation both in Head, and Members. To this employment he deputes his Right Truſty Friend and Aſſured Servant, The *Dean* of the *Arches*; who entring on his charge in the year foregoing 1638. made this Enquiry amongſt others, *viz.* *Whither they made due Reverence (by bowing towards the Altar or Communion Table)* when they *came into the Chappel.* And finding by a return to this enquiry, that *Corbet*, and *Cheynel* two of the Fellows, not only had neglected but refuſed to make any ſuch Reverence, he tryed all fair and plauſible perſwaſions by himſelf and others to induce them too it. But not prevailing either way, he certified the Archbiſhop of his Proceedings, who thereupon cauſed ſome *Injunctions* to be ſent to the Colledge for their future Governance, Amongſt which I find this for one, that they uſe due and lowly Reverence towards the Lords Table, at their firſt entrance into the Quire. Upon the coming whereof there was no more diſpute about it, thoſe Reverences being made by moſt, and conſtantly continued by them till the Parliament of *Novem.* 3. In matters which concerned the Warden, it was thought fit by *Lamb* the Chief Commiſſioner, to do nothing without further direction, but only to acquaint the Archbiſhop, in what State he found them; who thereupon recalled the buſineſs to himſelf. The parties to appear before him *Octob.* following, at which time he ſpent three days in hearing

*Habeat debitam reverentiam, ad menſam Dominii, &c.*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

and examining the Points in difference between *Brent* the Warden, and ſuch of the Fellows of the Colledge as complained againſt him: But for determining the Cauſe (*the Warden appearing very foul*, as himſelf acknowledgeth) he took time till the firſt of *July* in this preſent year, that *Brent* might have the better opportunities to content his Fellows, for the Errors of his Government in the times precedent, and give them ſome aſſurance of a Reformation for the time to come. Which noble Favour notwithſtanding, and that he went off with no other Cenſure than a fair and Fatherly *Admonition*: yet *Brent* unmindful of ſo great a moderation toward him, expres'd more readineſs in contributing towards his Condemnation in the time of his Trial, than any of thoſe who did moſt eagerly deſire his Ruine.

The courſe and method of my buſineſs having brought me to *Oxon*. I cannot depart thence, without taking notice of his further Bounty and Munificence to that Univerſity. He had before entertained ſome thoughts of clearing the great Square betwixt St. *Maries* and the *Schools*, intending to have raiſed a fair and capacious Room, advanced on Pillars; the upper part to ſerve for Convocations and Congregations, which till that time were held in the Church it ſelf; the lower for a Walk or place of Conference, in which Students of all ſorts might conſer together, at their repairing to the Schools, the Library, or any other buſineſs which concerned the Publick. But finding the Owners of thoſe Houſes not ſo willing to part with them, as he had probably preſumed, he was fain to ſhift the Scene, though he held his purpoſe, which fell out very happily for that Univerſity: For being reſolved to free St. *Maries* Church from thoſe Inconveniencies, which the continual keeping of the Publick Convocations and Congregations muſt of neceſſity carry with it, he erected a ſtately and moſt elegant Pile at the Weſt end of the Divinity School, and Publick Library; The lower part whereof was fitted and accommodated for the Convocations, and other Publick Meetings of that Famous Body: The upper part, opening into the *Bodleian Library*, he trimmed with all the Curioſities of Art and Coſt, to ſerve as a Repoſitory for ſuch Learned Writings, as the Piety of enſuing Times might confer upon it. And that it might not be reported, that he had given them nothing but an empty Box, he furniſhed it with no fewer than 1276 Manuſcripts in ſeveral Languages, 700 whereof had been ſent before at divers times, when this beautiful Structure was in raiſing: The reſt were ſent on *June* 28. in this preſent year; 100 of theſe laſt being in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Arabick* and *Perſian* Tongues. And that he might make ſome Acknowledgment to the Town of *Reading*, in which he was born, and in the Grammar-School whereof he had received the firſt part of his Education, he beſtowed upon it about this time alſo a Revenue of no leſs than 200 *l. per Annum*, to be thus diſpoſed of; that is to ſay, 120 *l.* thereof to be parcelled out every two years, for the placing of Apprentices, and ſetting up of young Beginners who had honeſtly

honeſtly ſerved out their Times; and every third year, for the Marriage of five young Maidens which had lived with one Maſter or Miſtreſs for ſeven years together; 50 *l.* of it to be yearly added for an Augmentation to the Miniſter of the Pariſh-Church of St. *Laurence* in which he was born, whoſe means before was miſerably ſhort of that which ſome call a *Competency*; and having purchaſed the perpetual Parſonage of it, he conferred it on St. *John*'s Colledge in *Oxon.* to be a fit Preferment for any one of the Fellows of that Houſe for the time to come: 20 *l.* of it he alotted yearly to encreaſe the Stipend of the Schoolmaſter there; 8 *l.* for the yearly Entertainment of the Preſident and Fellows of St. *John*'s Colledge, whom he made his Viſitors, to ſee that all things ſhould be carried as fairly on, as by him prouſly intended; the remaining 40 *s.* being added as a yearly Fee to the Town-Clerk, for Regiſtring the Names of thoſe who ſhould from time to time enjoy the benefit of ſo great a Charity. Some other great Deſigns he had, but of a far more Publick and Heroick Nature; as the encreaſing of the Maintenance of all the poor Vicars in *England*; To ſee the Tythes of *London* ſettled between the Clergy and the City; For ſetting up a *Greek* Preſs at *Oxon.* and procuring Letters and Mattrices for the ſame, wherewith to Print and Publiſh all ſuch *Greek* Manuſcripts as were to be found in that Library; For obtaining the like Grant from his Majeſty for buying in all Impropriations, as had been made for the Repairing of St. *Pauls*: but not to take beginning, till that Work was finiſhed; For procuring an *Extract* of all the *Records* of the *Tower* relating to the Church and Clergy, to be written in a fair Vellom Book, which had been drawn down from the 20th. of *Edward* I. to the 14th. of *Edward* iv. with an intent to carry on the Work till the laſt year of King *Henry* viii. that ſo the Church might underſtand her own Power and Priviledges. But the proſecution of this Work from the ſaid 14th. of King *Edward* iv. and of all the reſt before-mentioned, which he had hammered in deſign, were moſt unfortunately intermitted, by the great alteration of Affairs which ſoon after followed. I cannot tell whether Poſterity will believe or not, That ſo many great and notable Projectments could be comprehended in one Soul; moſt of them Ripened in a manner, the reſidue in the Bud or Bloſſom, and ſome of them bringing forth the Fruits expected from them. But the beſt is, that none of his Deſigns were carried in ſo cloſe a manner, or left in ſo imperfect a condition, as not to give ſome viſible Remembrances, as well of his Univerſal Comprehenſions, as his Zeal and Piety.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

For notwithſtanding the preſent Diſtractions which the Faction and Tumultuouſneſs of the *Scots*, had drawn upon him (enough to have deterred a right *Conſtantine*) let us look on him in the purſuit of his former purpoſes, and we ſhall find him ſtill the ſame. The Biſhop of *Exeter*'s Book being finiſhed, and recommended by the Author to his laſt peruſal before it went unto the Preſs, he took the pains

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

pains to read it over with care and diligence; in the peruſal whereof he took notice, amongſt other things, that the ſtrict Superſtition of the *Sabbatarians* was but lightly touch'd at; whereas he thought, that ſome ſmarter Plaiſter to that Sore, might have done no harm. He obſerved alſo, that he had paſſed by this Point, *viz. whether* Epiſcopacy *be an Order or Degree*, as not much material; whereas in the Judgment of ſuch Learned Men as he had conſulted, it was the main ground of the whole Cauſe: And therefore he deſired him to weigh it well, and to alter it with his own Pen as ſoon as might be. But that which gave him moſt offence was, That the Title of *Antichriſt* was poſitively and determinately beſtowed upon the *Pope*; Which being ſo contrary to the Judgment of many Learned *Proteſtants*, as well as his own, he allowed not of: but howſoever thought it fit to acquaint his Majeſty with the Buſineſs; and having ſo done, to ſubmit it to his Will and Preaſure. Concerning which, he writes thus to the Biſhop in his Letter of *January* 14. this preſent year, *viz. The laſt (with which I durſt not but acquaint his Majeſty) is about* Antichriſt, *which Title in three or four places you beſtow upon the* Pope *poſitively and determinately; whereas King* James *of Bleſſed Memory, having brought ſtrong proof in a Work of his, as you well know, to prove the Pope to be* Antichriſt: *yet being afterwards challenged about it, he made this Anſwer, when the King that now is went into* Spain, *and acquainted him with it;* That he writ, that not *concludingly*, but by way of *Argument* only: *that the* Pope *and his Adherents might ſee, there was as good and better Arguments to prove him* Antichriſt, *than for the* Pope *to challenge Temporal Juriſdiction over Kings. The whole Paſſage being known to me, I could not but ſpeak with the King about it, who commanded me to write unto you, that you might qualifie your Expreſſion in theſe Particulars, and ſo not differ from the known Judgment of his Pious and Learned Father. This is eaſily done with your own Pen; and the rather, becauſe all* Proteſtants *join not in this Opinion of* Antichriſt. According to which good advice, the Biſhop of *Exon.* qualified ſome of his Expreſſions, and deleted other, to the Contentment of his Sovereign, the Satisfaction of his *Metropolitan*, and his own great Honour.

But whileſt the Archbiſhop laboured to ſupport *Epiſcopacy* on the one ſide, ſome of the *Puritan* Party did as much endeavour to ſuppreſs it, by lopping off the Branches firſt, and afterwards by laying the Ax to the root of the Tree. *Bagſhaw* a Lawyer of ſome ſtanding of the Middle Temple, did firſt prepare the way to the ruine of it, by queſtioning the Biſhops Place and Vote in Parliament, their Temporal Power, and the Authority of the *High-Commiſſion*. For being choſen *Reader* by that Houſe for the *Lent* Vacation, he firſt began his *Readings* on *February* 24. ſelecting for the Argument of his Diſcourſings the Statute 25 *Edw.* 3. *cap.* 7. In proſecuting whereof, he had diſtributed his Conceptions into ten Parts, and each Part into ten ſeveral Caſes; by which account he muſt have had one hundred

blows

blows at the Church in his ten days Reading. His main Deſign was in the firſt place, intended chiefly for the defence of ſuch Prohibitions as formerly had been granted by the Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall* to ſtop the Proceedings of the *Court Chriſtian*, and ſpecially of the *High-Commiſſion*; and in the next place, to deny the Authority of the Commiſſion it ſelf, as before was noted. In order whereunto, he began firſt to ſtate theſe Queſtions, *viz.* 1. *Whether it be a good Act of Parliament without the Aſſent of the Lords Spiritual*? which he he held affirmatively. 2. *Whether any Beneficed Clerk were capable of Temporal Jurisdiction at the time of making that Law*? which he held in the negative. And 3. *Whether a Biſhop, without calling a Synod, have Power as* Dioceſan *to convict an* Heretick? which he maintained in the negative alſo. The News whereof being brought to *Lambeth*, there was no need of warning the Archbiſhop to look about him, who was not to be told what a ſtrong Faction ſome of the *Scotizing Lawyers* had made againſt the Church in Queen *Elizabeths* Time, carried it on under the Government of King *James*, and now began to threaten as much danger to it as in former times. He thereupon informs his Majeſty both of the Man and his Deſign, and how far he had gone in juſtifying the Proceedings of the *Scottiſh Covenanters*, in decrying the Temporal Power of Church-men, and the undoubted Right of Biſhops to their Place in Parliament. His Majeſty hereupon gives Order to *Finch* the new Lord Keeper, to interdict all further Reading on thoſe Points, or any others of like nature, which might adminiſter any further Flame to the preſent Combuſtions. The Lord Keeper having done his part, and the Reader addreſſing himſelf to him, that by his leave he might proceed in the courſe of his Exerciſe, it was ſoon found, that nothing could be done therein without leave from the King; and no ſuch leave to be obtained, but by the Approbation and Conſent of the Lord Archbiſhop. To *Lambeth* therefore goes the *Reader*, where he found no admittance till the making of his third Addreſs, and was then told, *That he was fallen upon a Subject neither ſafe nor ſeaſonable, which ſhould ſtick cloſer to him than he was aware of.* *Bagſhaw* endeavoured ſomething in his own defence, as to the choice of the Argument; and ſomewhat alſo, as to the impoſſibility of ſettling to any other Subject in the preſent Conjuncture, deſiring his Grace to be a means unto the King, that he might proceed in performance of the Task he had undertaken. To which the Archbiſhop ſtoutly anſwered, *That his Majeſty was otherwiſe reſolved in it*; *and that perhaps it had been better for the Reader himſelf to have given over at the firſt, than have incurred his Majeſties Royal Indignation by that unſeaſonable Adventure.* No better Anſwer being given him, away goes *Bagſhaw* out of Town, accompanied with forty or fifty Horſe (and it was a great Honour to the Houſe that he had no more) who ſeemed to be of the ſame Faction and Affections alſo, as their deſigned *Reader* was, being inſtructed, though too late, that they could not have ſo great a

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

care

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

care of their Courts and Profit, as the Archbiſhops had of the Churches power. Such was the conſtancy of his ſpirit, that notwithſtanding the Combuſtions in *Scotland*, the ill proſecuting of the laſt Summers Action, and the uncertainties of what might happen in the next, he alwaies ſteered his courſe with a ſteady hand to the port he aimed at, though it pleaſed God to let him ſuffer ſhipwrack in the mouth of the Haven.

The interrupting of this man in the courſe of his Reading, the holding of ſo ſtrict an hand over the Congregations of the *French* and *Dutch* within his Province, and theſe compliances on the other ſide with the Church of *Rome*, were made occaſions of the clamour, which was raiſed againſt him concerning his deſign to ſuppreſs the Goſpel, and to bring in *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*; or at the leaſt to make a Reconciliation betwixt us and *Rome*, towards which the Doctrine of *Arminius* was given out for a certain Preamble. Which general clamour being raiſed againſt him and the reſt of the Biſhops, I find thus flouriſht over by one of their Orators in the Houſe of Commons. "A little ſearch (ſaith he) will find them to have been "the deſtruction of Unity under pretence of Uniformity; To have "brought in Superſtition and Scandal under titles of Reverence and "Decency; To have defiled our Church by adorning our Churches; "To have ſlackned the ſtrictneſs of that Union which was formerly "between us and thoſe of our Religion beyond the Seas, An action "as unpolitick as ungodly: Or we ſhall find them to have reſembled "the Dog in the Manger, to have neither preached themſelves, nor "imployed thoſe that ſhould, nor ſuffered thoſe that would; To "have brought in Catechiſing only to thruſt out Preaching, and "cried down Lectures by the name of Factions, either becauſe "their induſtry in that duty appeared a reproof to their neglect of "it, or with intention to have brought in darkneſs, that they might "the eaſier ſow their tares while it was night: and by that introduction of ignorance, introduce the better that Religion which accounts it the Mother of Devotion. In which (ſaith he) they "have abuſed his Majeſty, as well as his People; for when he had "with great wiſdom ſilenced on both parts thoſe opinions which "have often tormented the Church, and have, and always will trouble the Schools, They made uſe of this Declaration to tye up one "ſide, and to let the other looſe, whereas they ought either in diſcretion to have been equally reſtrained, or in juſtice to have been equally tolerated. And it is obſervable, that the party to which they "gave this Licence, was that, whoſe Doctrine, though it was not "contrary to Law, was contrary to Cuſtome, and for a long while "in this Kingdom was no oftner Preached than Recanted, *&c.* We "find them introducing ſuch Doctrines, as admitting them to be "true, the truth could not recompence the ſcandal; Or ſuch as "were ſo far falſe, as Sir *Thomas More* ſaies of the *Caſuiſts*, their "buſineſs was not to keep men from ſinning, but to inform them,

*Speech of the L. Falkland's p. 3. 1641.*

"*Quam*

" *Quam prope ad peccatum, ſine peccato liceat accedere.* So it ſeemed LIB. IV.
" their work was to try how much of a *Papiſt* might be brought in *Anno Dom.*
" without *Popery*, and to deſtroy as much of the Goſpel without 1639.
" bringing themſelves into danger of being deſtroyed by Law. To
" go yet further, ſome of them have ſo induſtriouſly laboured to
" deduce themſelves from *Rome*, that they have given great ſuſpicion
" that in gratitude they deſire to return thither, or at leaſt to meet
" it half way; ſome have evidently laboured to bring in an *Engliſh*,
" though not a *Roman* Popery. I mean not only the outſide and
" dreſs of it, but equally abſolute, a blind dependance on the Peo-
" ple upon the Clergy, and of the Clergy upon themſelves; and have
" oppoſed the *Papacy* beyond the Seas, that they might ſettle one be-
" yond the water.

Such being the general charge which was laid againſt him, we will conſider in this place what may be ſaid in order to his defence, as to ſome ſeeming *Innovations* into the Worſhip of God, his deſign to bring in Popery by the back-door of *Arminianiſm*, and his endeavouring of a Reconciliation betwixt us and *Rome*. And firſt, as touching ſuch *Innovations* in the Worſhip of God, he makes a general purgation of himſelf in his Speech made in the *Star-Chamber*, the ſum and ſubſtance whereof you have ſeen before. Out of which I ſhall only take this ſhort and pithy Declaration which he makes of himſelf, in relation to this part of his charge. *viz.* " I can ſay it
" clearly and truly, as in the preſence of God, that I have done no-
" thing, as a Prelate, to the utmoſt of what I am conſcious, but
" with a ſingle heart, and with a ſincere intention for the good Go-
" vernment and honour of the Church, and the maintenance of the
" Orthodox truth, and Religion of Chriſt, profeſſed, eſtabliſhed,
" and maintained in the Church of *England*. For my care of this
" Church, the reducing it to Order, the upholding of the Exter-
" nal Worſhip of God in it, and the ſettling of the Rules of its
" firſt Reformation, are the cauſe (and the ſole cauſe, whatſoever
" is pretended) of this malicious ſtorm that hath lowred ſo black
" upon me, and ſome of my Brethren. The like Declaration he alſo makes in his firſt Speech to the Lords, at the time of his tryal, where we find it thus: " Ever ſince I came into place (ſaith he) I
" have laboured nothing more than that the External Worſhip of
" God (ſo much ſlighted in divers parts of this Kingdom) might
" be preſerved; and that with as much Decency and Uniformity as
" might be; For I evidently ſaw, that the publick neglect of Gods
" Service in the outward face of it, and the naſty lying of ma-
" ny places dedicated to that Service, had almoſt caſt a damp upon
" the true and inward Worſhip of God, which while we live in the
" body needs External helps, and all little enough to keep it in any
" vigour. And this I did to the utmoſt of my knowledge accord-
" ing both to Law and Canon, and with the conſent and liking of
" the People; nor did any Command iſſue out from me againſt the

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639. "one or the other. And finally, we ſhall find the like Declaration made by him on the Scaffold at the time of his death, in which ſad hour there was no diſſembling (and I conceive all charitable men will believe ſo of it) before God or man. But becauſe it relates alſo to the next particular, we ſhall there meet with it.

P. 54.

And for the next particular, concerning the deſigning to bring in *Popery*, it hath been further aggravated by his correſpondency with the Popes Miniſters here in *England*, and his indulgence to that Party upon all occaſions. But of this he cleanſed himſelf ſufficiently in the Star-Chamber Speech before remembred, in which he publickly avowed: "Firſt, That he knew of no plot or purpoſe of altering "the Religion eſtabliſhed. Secondly, That he had never been far "from attempting any thing that may truly be ſaid to tend that way "in the leaſt degree. And thirdly, having offered his Oath for the "other two, that if the King had a mind to change Religion (which "he knew he had not) his Majeſty muſt ſeek for other Inſtruments, "how baſely ſoever thoſe men had conceived of him. The like aſſurance he gives alſo in the laſt hour of his life, when he was going to render an account of all his Actions before Gods Tribunal. "Here is a Clamour that I would have brought in Popery, but I was "born and baptized (ſaith he) in the boſome of the Church of "*England*, eſtabliſhed by Law; in that profeſſion I have ever ſince "lived, and in that I come now to dye. This is no time to diſſem-"ble with God, leaſt of all in matters of Religion; and therefore I "deſire it may be remembred, I have alwaies lived in the Proteſtant "Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, and in that I come now to die. And then he adds with reference to the point before, "What, Cla-"mours and ſlanders I have endured for labouring to keep an Uniformity in the External Service of God, according to the Doctrine and "Diſcipline of this Church, all men know; and I have abundantly "ſelt. His *Conference* with *Fiſher* the *Jeſuite*, in the year 1622. and his enlarging of that *Conference*, *Anno* 1637. with *Derings* atteſtation to it, which before we had, do moſt abundantly evince this truth, that he approved not the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. And as as he approved not of their Doctrines, ſo he as much diſliked their practices for gaining Proſelytes, or multiplying their followers in all parts of the Kingdom: concerning which he tells his Majeſty, "That "though he never had adviſed a *perſecution* of the Papiſts in any "kind, yet God forbid (ſaith he) that your Majeſty ſhould let both "Laws and Diſcipline ſleep for fear of a *Perſecution*, and in the "mean time let Mr. *Fiſher* and his Fellows *Angle* in all parts of your "Dominions for your Subjects. If in your Grace and Goodneſs "you will ſpare their perſons: yet I humbly beſeech you to ſee to "it, that they be not ſuffered to *lay* either their *Weels*, or *bait* their "*Hooks*, or *caſt* their *Nets* in every ſtream, leaſt the *Temptation* "grow both too general, and too ſtrong. So he in the Epiſtle Dedi-

P. 14.

catory

catory to his *Large Relation* of the Conference between him and *Fiſher*, publiſhed in the end of the year forgoing. Aſſuredly it muſt needs ſeem extremely ridiculous to others, and contradictory to it ſelf, to confute the chief Doctrines of the Papiſts, and oppoſe their practicings, if he had had any ſuch deſign to bring in *Popery*. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

And being thus averſe from them in point of Doctrine he declined all correſpondence and acquaintance with them, whereby he might come under the ſuſpicion of ſome ſecret Practice. I hold it probable enough, that the better to oblige the Queen unto him (of whoſe Prevalency in the Kings affections he could not be ignorant) he might conſent to *Con's* coming hither over from the Pope, to be aſſiſtant to her in ſuch affairs as the nature of her Religion might occaſion with the Sea of *Rome*: But he kept himſelf at ſuch a diſtance, that neither *Con*, nor *Panzani* before him (who acted for a time in the ſame capacity) could faſten any acquaintance on him. The Pamphlet called, *The Popes Nuncio*, Printed in the year 1643. hath told us, "That *Panzani* at his being here, did deſire a Conference with the Archbiſhop "of *Canterbury*, but was put off and procraſtinated therein from "day to day; That at the laſt he departed the Kingdom without any "Speech with him. The like we find in the diſcovery of *Andreas ab Habernfield*, who tells us of this *Con*, "That finding the Kings "Judgment to depend much on the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, his "faithful Servant, he reſolved to move every ſtone, and bend all his "ſtrength to gain him to his ſide: being confident he had prepared, "the means. For he had a command to make offer of a Cardinals "Cap to the Lord Archbiſhop in the name of the Pope of *Rome*; and "that he ſhould allure him alſo with higher promiſes, that he might "corrupt his ſincere mind; yet a fitting occaſion was never offered "whereby he might inſinuate himſelf into the Lord Archbiſhop, to "whom free acceſs was to be impetrated by the *Earl* and *Counteſs* of "*Arundel*, as alſo by Secretary *Windebank*, all whoſe interceſſions "he neglected, and did ſhun (as it were the Plague) the company "or Familiarity of *Con*. He was alſo ſollicited by others of no mean "Rank, well known to him, and yet he continued unmovable. And whereas ſome found a way to help at laſt by making *Windebank* the *Internuncio* betwixt him and them, that only ſerves to make the matter rather worſe than better, there being a great ſtrangeneſs grown betwixt him and *Windebank*; not only before *Con*'s coming into the Realm: but before *Panzani* had ſettled any courſe of intelligence in the Court of *England*.

*Pop. Nunc.* p. 7.

*Subolfecit ab Domino, Archiepiſcopo Regi fideliſſimo totum animum Regis in eis pendulum*, Rq Maſtr. p. 16.

As for his favours towards thoſe of the Catholick Party, and his connivence of their Practices, which is next objected; as he had good reaſon for the one: ſo there could be no reaſon to object the other. He had good reaſon for the one, *viz.* That by ſhewing favours to the *Papiſts* here, they might obtain the like favours for ſuch Proteſtants as lived in the Dominion of Popiſh Princes. Upon which ground King *James* extended many favours to them in his time, as

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

appears by the letter written on their behalf by the Bishop of *Lincoln* then Lord *Keeper*. And yet perhaps he had a better Reason for it then this, which was, That seeing the *Puritans* grown so strong even to the endangering of our Peace both in Church and State, by the negligence and remissness of the former Government, he thought it necessary to shew some countenance to the *Papists*; that the ballance being kept even between the parties, the Church and State might be preserved (as indeed they were) in the greater safety. And this appeareth to be his Chief inducement to it, in regard, that when the Protestant party was grown strong enough to stand and go without such Cautels, he then declared himself openly before the King at a Council Table against *Mountague*, *Matthews*, and the like; and wrought so far, that he removed them from the Court to learn more moderation: and this may sufficiently absolve him from all such connivence as without Reason is objected. And yet I have another Demonstration to discharge him of it. In the *November* of this year I received a message from him to attend him the next day at two of the Clock in the After-noon. The Key being turned which opened the way into his Study, I found him sitting in a Chair holding a Paper in both hands, and his eyes so fixed upon the Paper that he observed me not at my coming in. Finding him in that Posture I thought it fit in manners to retire again; but the noise I made by my retreate, bringing him back unto himself, he recalled me to him, and told me after some short pause, that he well remembred he had sent for me, but could not tell for his life what it was about. After which he was pleased to say (not without tears in his eyes) that he had then newly received a letter, acquainting him with the Revolt of a Person of quality in *North wales* to the Church of *Rome*; that he knew that the increase of *Popery*, by such frequent Revolts would be imputed unto him, and his brethren the Bishops, who were least guilty of the same; that for his part he had done his utmost so far forth as it might consist with the Rules of prudence, and the preservation of the Church, to suppress that party, and to bring the chief sticklers in it to condigne punishment. To the truth whereof (lifting up his wet eyes to heaven) he took God to witness; conjuring me (as I would answer it to God at the day of Judgement) that if ever I come to any of those places, which he and his Brethren by reason of their great age were not likely to hold long, I would imply all such abilities as God had given me, in suppressing the Romish party, who by their open undertakings, and secret practices were like to be the ruine of this flourishing Church.

Finally touching the design of working a *Reconciliation* betwixt us and *Rome*. I find it charged upon him by another writer who holds it as unlawful to be undertaken, As it was impossible to be effected. 2. Most apparent it is (saith he) by several passages in [illegible] that he endeavoured to take up many controversies be-

"twixt

"twixt us and the Church of *Rome*, ſo to compriſe the difference, LIB. IV.
"and to bring us to a vicinity, if not *contiguity* therewith, An im- *Anno Dom.*
"poſſible deſign (if granted lawful) as ſome every way his equals, 1639.
"did adjudge. For compoſition is impoſſible with ſuch, who will
"not agree unleſs all they ſue for, and all the charges of the ſuit
"be to the utmoſt farthing awarded to them. Our *Reconciliation*
"with *Rome* is clogged with the ſame impoſſibilities; ſhe may be
"gone to, but will never be met with, ſuch her *pride* or *Peeviſh-*
"*neſs*, not to ſtir a ſtep to obviate any of a different Religion. *Rome*
"will never ſo far *Unpope* her ſelf, as to part with her pretended
"*Supremacy*, and *Infallibility*, which cuts of all poſſibility of Pro-
"teſtants *treating* with her, if poſſible without prejudice to Gods
"glory and truth, other controverſies might be compoſed. Which
"done *England* would have been an Iſland as well in Religion, as
"ſituation, cut of from the Continent of Foraign Proteſtant
"Churches, in a ſingular poſture by it ſelf, hard to be imagined, but
"harder to be effected.

But unto this it hath been Anſwered, that if it be a *Crime*, it is *Animad.* *Novum Crimen*, that is to ſay, a Crime of a new ſtamp never coyned P. 201. before. I thought when our Saviour ſaid, *Beati Pacifici*, it had been ſufficient warrant unto any man to endeavour peace, to build up the breaches in the Church, and to make *Jeruſalem* like *a City which is at unity in it ſelf*; eſpecially where it may done not only *Salva Charitate*, without breach of *Charity*; but *ſalva fide* too, without wrong to *faith*: the greateſt part of the controverſies betwixt us and the Church of *Rome* not being in the *Fundamentals*, or in any Eſſential point in the Chriſtian Religion, I cannot otherwiſe look upon it, but as a moſt pious work, to endeavour an attonement in the ſuperſtructures. But hereof the writer ſeems to doubt: firſt whither ſuch endeavours to agree and compoſe the differences be *lawful* or not, and ſecondly whither they be *poſſible*. As for the Lawfulneſs thereof, I could never ſee any Reaſon produced againſt it, not ſo much as any queſtion made of it, till I found it here: Againſt the *Poſſibility* thereof it hath been objected, that ſuch and ſo great is the pride of the Church of *Rome* that they will condeſcend to nothing; and therefore if any ſuch compoſition be made, it muſt not be by their meeting us, but by our going to them: But as that Writer ſays, that many of the Archbiſhops *Equals adjudged the deſign* of his to be *impoſſible*; ſo may I ſay (without making any ſuch odious comparisons) that many men of eminence for their parts and piety have thought otherwiſe of it. It was the Petulancy of the *Puritans* on the one ſide, and the Pragmaticalneſs of the *Jeſuites* on the other, which made the breach wider then it was at firſt; and had thoſe hot ſpirits on both ſides been calmed a while, moderate men might poſſibly have agreed upon ſuch equal terms, as would have laid a ſure foundation for the peace of Chriſtendom. Now that all thoſe in the Church of *Rome* are not ſo ſtifly wedded to their own

opinion

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

opinions as that Writer makes them, appears first by the Testimony of the Archbishop of *Spalato*, declaring in the *High Commission* a little before his going hence, that *he acknowledged the Articles of the Church to be true, or profitable at the least; and none of them to be Heretical.* It appears secondly by a Tractate of *Franciscus à Sancta Clara*, (as he calls himself) in which he putteth such a glosse upon the 39 Articles of the Church of *England* as rendreth them not inconsistent with the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*. And if *without prejudice to the truth*, the controversies might have been composed, it is most probable, that other Protestant Churches would have sued by their Agents to be included in the Peace: if not, the Church of *England* had lost nothing by it, as being hated by the *Calvinists*, and not loved by the *Lutherans*.

Admitting then that such a *Reconciliation* was endeavoured betwixt the Agents for both Churches, Let us next see what our great States-men have discoursed upon that particular, upon what terms the Agreement was to have been made, and how far they proceeded in it. And first the book entituled the *Popes Nuncio*, affirmed to have been written by a *Venetian* Ambassador at his being in *England*, doth discourse it to us. "As to a *Reconciliation* (saith he) between "the Churches of *England* and *Rome*, there were made some gene- "ral Propositions and overtures by the Archbishops Agents, they "assuring that his Grace was very much disposed thereunto; and "that if it was not accomplisht in his life time, it would prove a "work of more difficulty after his death; that in very truth for the "last three years, the Archbishop had introduced some *Innovations* "approaching near the Rites and Forms of *Rome*; that the Bishop of "*Chichester* a great Confident of his Grace, the Lord Treasurer and "eight other Bishops of his Graces party, did most passionately "desire a Reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*; that they did "day by day recede from their Ancient Tenents to accommodate "with the Church of *Rome*; that therefore the Pope on his part, "ought to make some steps to meet them, and the Court of *Rome* "remit something of its Rigor in Doctrine, or otherwise no accord "would be. The composition on both sides in so good a forward- "ness, before *Panzani* left the Kingdom, that the Archbishop, and "and Bishop of *Chichester* had often said, that there were but two "sorts of People likely to impede and hinder the Reconciliation, "to wit, the *Puritans* amongst the *Protestants*, and the *Jesuites* "amongst the Catholicks.

*Pope Nunc.* p. 11.

Let us next see the judgement and Relation of another Author in a glosse or Comment on the Former, intituled the *English Pope* Printed at *London* in the same year 1643. And he will tells us that after *Con* had undertook the managing of the affairs, matters began to grow toward some agreement. The King required, saith he, (*a b*) such a dispensation from the then Pope, as that his Catholick Subjects might resort to the Protestant Churches, and to take the

a Page 28.
b Ib. p. 14.

oaths

oaths of *Supremacy*, and Fidelity, and that the Popes Juriſdiction here ſhould be declared to be but of humane Right. "And ſo "far had the Pope conſented that whatſoever did concern the "King therein, ſhould have been really performed, ſo far forth as "other Catholick Princes uſually enjoy, and expect as their due; "and ſo far as the Biſhops were to be Independent both from King "and Pope: there was no fear of breach on the Popes part. So that upon the point the Pope was to content himſelf amongſt us in *England* with a *Priority* inſtead of a *Superiority* over other Biſhops, and with a *Primacy* in ſtead of a *Supremacy* in theſe parts of Chriſtendom: which I conceive no man of Learning, and Sobriety would have grudged to grant him. It was alſo condeſcended to in the name of the Pope, that marriage might be permitted to Prieſts; that the Communion might be Adminiſtred *ſub utraque ſpecie*; and that the Liturgy might be officiated in the *Engliſh* tongue. And though the Author adds not long after, that it was to be ſuſpected, *That ſo far as the inferiour Clergy, and the people were concerned, the after-performance was to be left to the Popes Diſcretion*; yet this was but his own ſuſpicion, without ground at all. And to obtain a Reconciliation upon theſe Advantages the Archbiſhop had all the Reaſon in the world to do as he did, in ordering the Lords Table to be placed where the Altar ſtood, and making the accuſtomed Reverence in all approaches towards it, and acceſſes to it; in beautifying and adorning Churches, and celebrating the Divine Service with all due Solemnities; in taking care that all offenſive and exaſperating paſſages ſhould be expunged out of ſuch Books as were brought to the Preſs; and for reducing the extravagancy of ſome opinions to an evener temper. His Majeſty had the like Reaſon alſo for tolerating Lawful Recreations on the Sundays and Holy-days, The rigorous Reſtraint whereof made ſome Papiſts think (thoſe moſt eſpecially of the vulgar ſort, whom it moſt concerned) that all honeſt Paſtime were incompetible with our Religion. And if he approved *Auricular Confeſſion*, and ſhewed himſelf willing to introduce it into the uſe of the Church, as both our Authors ſay he did; it is no more then what the Liturgy Commends to the care of the *Penitent* (though we find not the word *Auricular* in it) or what the Canons have provided for in the point of ſecurity, for ſuch as ſhall be willing to confeſs themſelves: But whereas we are told by one of our Authors, that *the King ſhould ſay, he would uſe force to make it be received, were it not for fear of Sedition amongſt the People*; yet is but in one of our Authors neither, who hath no other Author for it then a nameleſs Doctor. And in the way towards ſo happy an agreement (though they all ſtand accuſed for it by the *Engliſh Pope*, pag. 15.) *Sparrow* may be excuſed for placing it with *Auricular Confeſſion*; and *Watts* for for *Penance*; *Heylyn* for *Adoration* toward the *Altar*; and *Mountague* for ſuch a qualified praying to Saints, as his books maintain againſt the *Papiſts*.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1630.

*Vit.*

*Pope's Nuncio* pag. 12.

If

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

If you would know how far they had proceeded towards this happy *Reconciliation*, the *Popes Nuncio* will assure us thus; *That the Universities, Bishops, and Divines of this Realm, did dayly embrace Catholick Opinions, though they profess'd not so much with Pen or Mouth for fear of the* Puritans. *For example, they hold, That the Church of* Rome *is a true Church; That the* Pope *is Superiour to all Bishops; That to him it appertains to call General Councils; That it is lawful to pray for the Soul of the Departed; That Altars ought to be erected of Stone: In sum, That they believe all that is taught by the Church, but not by the Court of* Rome. Another of their Authors tells us (as was elsewhere noted) *That those amongst us of greatest Worth, Learning, and Authority, began to love Temper and Moderation; That their Doctrines began to be altered in many things, for which their Progenitors forsook the Visible Church of Christ; as for example, The* Pope *not* Antichrist, *Prayers for the Dead,* Limbus Patrum, *Pictures; That the Church hath Authority in determining Controversies of Faith, and to interpret Scriptures about* Free will, Predestination, Universal Grace; *That all our Works are not Sins, Merit of Good Works, Inherent Justice, Faith alone doth justifie, Charity to be preferred before Knowledge, The Authority of Traditions, Commandments possible to be kept; That in Exposition of the Scripture, they are by* Canon *bound to follow the Fathers; And that the once fearful Names of* Priests *and* Altars, *are used willingly in their Talk and Writings.* In which Compliances, so far forth as they speak the truth (for in some Points, through the ignorance of the one and the malice of the other, they are much mistaken) there is scarce any thing which may not very well consist with the establisht (though for a time discontinued) Doctrine of the Church of *England*; the Articles whereof, as the same *Jesuit* hath observed, seem patient, or ambitious rather, of some sense wherein they may seem Catholick: And such a sense is put upon them by him that calls himself *Franciscus a Sacta Clara*, as before was said. And if upon such Compliances as those before, on the part of the *English*, the Conditions offered by the *Pope* might have been confirmed, Who seeth not, that the greatest Benefit of the Reconciliation would have redounded to this Church, to the King and People? His Majesties Security provided for, by the *Oaths* of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*, so far as it concerned his Temporal Power; The Bishops of *England* to be independent of the Popes of *Rome*; The Clergy to be permitted the use of Marriage; The People to receive the Communion in both *KINDS*, and all Divine Offices officiated in the *English* Tongue; No Innovation made in Doctrine: but only in the qualifying of some Expressions, and discharging some Out-landish Glosses as were put upon them. And seeing this, What man could be so void of Charity, so uncompassionate of the Miseries and Distractions of *Christendom*, as not to wish from the very bottom of his Soul, That the Reconciliation had proceeded upon so good Terms? as not to magnifie the men to succeeding

*Direction to N. N.* pref. sect. 20.

ing Ages, who were the Inſtruments and Authors of ſo great a Bleſſing? LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

But then admitting, as we may, That no ſuch Reconciliation was upon the Anvil; and that our two Diſcourſers have proceeded only upon Suppoſitions: yet *Canterbury* had good ground for what he did, were it no other than the ſettling of the Church of *England* upon the firſt Principles and Poſitions of her Reformation. But he had further aims than ſo. He had ſome thoughts (and I have reaſon to believe it) by Conferences firſt; and if that failed, by the ordinary courſe of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, (*a*) of gaining the *Papiſts* to the Church; and therefore it concerned him in point of Prudence, to ſmooth the way, by removing all ſuch Blocks and Obſtacles which had been laid before them by the *Puritan* Faction. He knew, that from their Infancy they had been trained up in a Regular Order of Devotion; and that they loved that Religion beſt, which came accompanied with Decency and External Splendour: That they objected nothing more againſt us, than the Novelty of our Doctrine, the Heterodoxies maintained in Publick by ſome of our Preachers, the ſlovenly keeping of our Churches, the Irreverence of the People in them, the rude and careleſs ſlubbering over of our Common Prayers. And what Encouragements had they for reſorting to the Congregation, when they ſhould hear the Pope defamed, whom they beheld with Reverence as their Common Father; their Ceremonies to be counted *Antichriſtian*, their Maſs *Idolatrous*, their whole Religion worſe than that of the *Turks* and *Moors*; conformity to whom in Rites and Ceremonies, was held to be more tolerable by the *Puritan* Preachers, than to thoſe of *Rome*. Theſe Rubs were firſt to be removed, before they could have any thoughts of uniting to us. And for the removing of thoſe Rubs, he fell upon the courſes before-mentioned; which being *Renovations* only of ſome ancient Uſages, were branded by the odious name of *Innovations*, by ſome of thoſe who out of cunning and deſign had long diſuſed them. Some zealous Proteſtants beheld his Actings with no ſmall fear, as byaſſing too ſtrongly toward *Rome*; that the *Puritans* exclaimed againſt him for a *Papiſt*, and the *Papiſts* cried him up for theirs, and gave themſelves ſome flattering hopes of our coming towards them: But the moſt knowing and underſtanding men amongſt them, found plainly, That nothing could tend more to their deſtruction, than the introducing of ſome Ceremonies which by late negligence and Practice had been diſcontinued. For I have heard from a Perſon of known Nobility, That at his being at *Rome* with a Father of the *Engliſh* College, one of the *Novices* came in and told him with a great deal of joy, That the *Engliſh* were upon returning to the Church of *Rome*; That they began to ſet up *Altars*, to Officiate in their *Copes*, to Adorn their Churches, and to paint the Pictures of the Saints in the Church Windows: To which the old Father made Reply, with ſome indignation, That he talked

(*a*) *Can.* 3. 1640.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

like an ignorant Novice; That theſe Proceedings rather tended to the Ruine, than Advancement of the Catholick Cauſe; That by this means the Church of *England* coming nearer to the ancient Uſages, the Catholicks there would ſooner be drawn off from them, than any more of that Nation would fall off to *Rome*.

In reference to Doctrinal Points, Heterodoxies, and new Opinions, and ſuch extravagant Expreſſions, both from Preſs and Pulpit, he took as much care as in the other. And to that end, he was not pleaſed that the *Pope* ſhould be any longer ſtigmatized by the name of *Antichriſt*; and gave a ſtrict Charge unto his Chaplains, That all exaſperating Paſſages (which edifie nothing) ſhould be expunged out of ſuch Books, as by them were to be Licenced to the Preſs; and that no Doctrines of that Church ſhould be writ againſt: but ſuch as ſeemed to be inconſiſtent with the eſtabliſh'd Doctrine of the Church of *England*. Upon which ground it was, that *Baker* Chaplain to the Biſhop of *London* refuſed to Licence the Reprinting of a Book about the *Gunpowder-Treaſon*, ſaying to him that brought the Book, *That we were not ſo angry with the* Papiſts *now, as we were about twenty years ſince; and that there was no need of any ſuch Books to exaſperate them, there being now an endeavour to win them to us by fairneſs and mildneſs.* And on the ſame ground, *Bray* Chaplain to the Archbiſhop, refuſed the Licencing of another, called, *The Advice of a Son*, unleſs he might expunge ſome unpleaſing Expreſſions, affirming, *That thoſe Paſſages would offend the* Papiſts, *whom we were now in a fair way of winning, and therefore muſt not uſe any harſh Phraſes againſt them.* The Chaplains not to be condemned for their honeſt care, and much leſs their Lords; though I find it very heavily charged as a Crime in all. In the *Engliſh Litany* ſet out by King *Henry* viii. and continued in both *Liturgies* of King *Edward* vi. there was this Clauſe againſt the *Pope*, viz. *From the Tyranny of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and all his deteſtable Enormities, Good Lord, &c.* Which being conſidered as a means to affright thoſe of the *Romiſh* Party from coming diligently to our Churches, was prudently expunged by thoſe who had the Reviſing of the *Liturgie*, in the firſt year of the Queen. In imitation of whoſe Piety and Chriſtian Care, it was thought fit by the Archbiſhop to change ſome Phraſes which were found in the Books of Prayer appointed for the *Fifth of November*. The firſt was this, *Root out the Babyloniſh and Antichriſtian Sect, which ſay of* Jeruſalem, *Down with it, &c.* Which he changed only unto this, *Root out the Babyloniſh or Antichriſtian Sect* (of them) *which ſay, &c.* The ſecond was, *Cut off thoſe Workers of Iniquity, whoſe Religion is Rebellion, and whoſe Faith is Faction*; which he changed no otherwiſe than thus, *Cut off thoſe Workers of Iniquity, who turn Religion into Rebellion, &c.* The Alterations were but ſmall, but the clamour great which was raiſed about it. The *Puritans* complaining, *That the Prayers ſo altered, were intended to reflect on them*, ſeemed to be conſcious to themſelves of *turning Religion into*

*Cant. Doom, p.* 184.

*Ibid. p.* 253. & 526.

*Rebellion*

*Rebellion, and ſaying of* Jeruſalem (like the old *Babyloniſh Sect*) *Down with it, down with it to the ground.* But he had better reaſon for it, than they had againſt it. For if the firſt Reformers were ſo careful of giving no offence to the *Romiſh* Party, as to expunge a Paſſage out of the Publick *Liturgie*, when the Queen was a *Proteſtant*; much greater reaſon had the Archbiſhop to correct thoſe Paſſages in a formal Prayer not confirmed by Law, when the Queen was one of that Religion.

Nothing in this or any of the reſt before, which tends to the bringing in of *Popery*, the prejudice of the true *Proteſtant* Religion, or the ſuppreſſing of the Goſpel. Had his Deſigns tended to the Advancing of *Popery*, he neither would have took ſuch pains to confute their Doctrines, nor they have entertained ſuch ſecret practices to deſtroy his Perſon (of which more hereafter.) Had he directed his endeavours to ſuppreſs the *Proteſtants*, he would not have given ſo much countenance to *Dury* a *Scot*, who entertained him with ſome hopes of working an Accord betwixt the *Lutheran* and *Calvinian* Churches. In which Service, as he waſted a great deal of time to little purpoſe; ſo he received as much Encouragement from *Canterbury*, as he had reaſon to expect. Welcome at all times to his Table, and ſpeaking honourably of him upon all occaſions, till the Times were changed; when either finding the impoſſibility of his Undertaking, or wanting a Supply of that Oyl which maintained his Lamp, he proved as true a *Scot* as the reſt of that Nation; laying the blame of his miſcarriage in it, on the want of Encouragement; and ſpeaking diſgracefully of the man which had given him moſt. Had he intended any prejudice to the Reformed Religion, Reformed according to the Doctrine of *Calvin*, and the *Genevian* Forms, both of Worſhip and Government, he would not have ſo cordially advanced the General Collection for the *Palatine* Churches, or provided ſo heartily for the *Rochellers* and their Religion; touching which laſt; we find this Clauſe in a Prayer of his for the Duke of *Buckingham*, when he went Commander of his Majeſties Forces for the Iſle of *Rhe*, viz. *Bleſs my dear Lord the Duke, that is gone Admiral with them, that Wiſdom may attend all his Counſels, and Courage and Succeſs all his Enterpriſes; That by his and their means thou wilt be pleaſed to bring Safety to this Kingdom, Strength and Comfort to Religion, Victory and Reputation to our Country.* Had he projected any ſuch thing as the ſuppreſſing of the Goſpel, he would not have ſhewed himſelf ſo induſtrious in preventing *Socinianiſm* from poyſoning thoſe of riper years, in turning afternoon Sermons into Catechiſing for the inſtruction of Children; in prohibiting all Aſſemblies of *Anabaptiſts*, *Familiſts*, and other *Sectaries*, which oppoſe the Common Principles of the Chriſtian Faith. For that his ſilencing of the *Arminian* Controverſies, ſhould be a means to ſuppreſs the Goſpel; or his favouring of thoſe Opinions, deſigned for a back-door to bring in *Popery*, no wiſe man can think. The Points in Con-

*Diary*, p. 14.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639. troverſie between the *Calviniſts* and *Arminians*, in the Reformed Churches of *Calvin*'s Plat-form, are agitated no leſs fiercely by the *Dominicans* on the one ſide, the *Jeſuits* and *Franciſcans* on the other ſide, in the Church of *Rome*; the *Calviniſts* holding with the *Dominicans*, as the *Arminians* do with the *Jeſuit* and *Franciſcan Friars*. And therefore, why any ſuch compliance with the *Dominicans* (the principal Sticklers and Promoters in the *Inquiſition*) ſhould not be looked on as a *Back-door* to bring in *Popery*, as well as a Compliance in the ſame Points with the other two *Orders*, is beyond my reach. With which I ſhut up my Diſcourſe touching the Counſels and Deſigns which were then on foot, and conclude this year.

1640. The next begins with a *Parliament* and *Convocation*; the one Aſſembled on the thirteenth, the other on the fourteenth of *April*. In Calling Parliaments, the King directs his Writs or Letters ſeverally to the Peers and Prelates, requiring them to attend in Parliament to be holden by the Advice of his Privy Council, at a certain Time and Place appointed, and there to give their Counſel in ſome great and weighty Affairs, touching himſelf, the ſafety of the Realm, and the defence of the Church of *England*: A Clauſe being added in all thoſe to the ſeveral Biſhops, to give notice to all *Deans* and *Archdeacons* to attend the Parliament in their own Perſons, all Chapters by one Proxie, and the Dioceſan Clergy by two; for yielding their Conſent and Obedience to ſuch Laws and Ordinances as by the Common Council of the Kingdom ſhall be then Enacted: Which Clauſe remains ſtill in thoſe Letters, though not ſtill in practice. Writs are ſent out alſo to the ſeveral Sheriffs, acquainting them with his Majeſties purpoſe of conſulting in a Parliamentary way with the Peers and Prelates, and other Great Men of the Realm (the Judges and Officers of State, *&c.*) and then requiring them to cauſe two Knights to be elected for every County, two Citizens for every City, or more Burgeſſes for every Burrough (according as the place is priviledged) in their ſeveral Shires. All of them to attend in Parliament at the time appointed; no otherwiſe Impowered than the *Deans*, *Archdeacons*, and the reſt of the Clergy by their formal Writs. But in the calling of a *Convocation*, the form is otherwiſe; for in this caſe the King directs his Writs to the two Archbiſhops, requiring them for the great and weighty Reaſons above-mentioned, to cauſe a *Convocation* of the Clergy to be forthwith called, leaving the nominating of the Time and Place to their diſcretion; though for the eaſe of the Biſhops and Clergy, commanded to attend in Parliament, as before was ſaid, the Archbiſhop uſed to nominate ſuch Time and Place as might moſt ſort with that Attendance. On the receiving of which Writ, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſends his *Mandate* to the Biſhop of *London*, as *Dean* of the *Epiſcopal Colledge*, requiring him to Cite and Summon all the *Biſhops*, *Deans*, *Archdeacons*, and *Capitular Bodies*, with the whole Clergy of the Province, according to the uſual form, to appear before him at ſuch

place

place and time as he therein nominated; and that the Procurators for the Chapter and Clergy be furniſhed with ſufficient powers by thoſe that ſent them, not only to treat upon ſuch points as ſhould be propounded for the peace of the Church, and defence of the Realm of *England*, and to give their Counſel in the ſame, but alſo to (*a*) conſent both in their own names, and in the names of them that ſent them unto all ſuch things as by mature deliberation, and conſent, ſhould be there ordained. Which *Mandate* being received by the Biſhop of *London*, he ſends out his Citations to the ſeveral Biſhops of that Province, and they give intimation of it to the Clergy of their ſeveral Dioceſſes; according whereunto the Chapters and Parochial Clergy do elect their *Clerks*, binding themſelves (*b*) under the forfeiture of all their goods, movable, and immovable, to ſtand to and perform whatſoever the ſaid Clerks ſhall ſay or do in their behalf. Both Bodies, being thus aſſembled, are to continue their attendance in the publick Service during the pleaſure of the King; the Acts of both to be invalid till confirmed by his Majeſty, the one moſt commonly by himſelf, ſitting upon his Royal Throne in open Parliament: the other alwaies by Letters Patents under the Great Seal; neither of the two to be diſſolved but by ſeveral Writs, That for the Parliament directed to the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, (as the caſe may vary) That for the Convocation iſſued out to the Metropolitans of the ſeveral Provinces. In this, and this alone, they differ as to matter of Form, that the *Peers* and People aſſembled in Parliament may treat, debate, and conclude of any thing which is to be tendred to the King for his Royal Aſſent without any other power than the firſt Writ, by vertue whereof they are aſſembled: But the Biſhops and Clergy are reſtrained in their Covocation by the Statute of the 25 *Henry* viii. from treating, debating, forming, and concluding of any Canons or Conſtitutions, or doing any *Eccleſiaſtical* Acts, tending to the determination of Controverſies, or decreeing Ceremonies, till they are licenced thereunto by the Kings Commiſſion. All which particulars I have thought fit to touch at in this preſent place, becauſe we are to relate unto them in the courſe of our buſineſs.

(*a*) *Sed ad conſentiendum eis, quæ ibidem ex communi deliberatione, ad honorem Dei & Eccleſiæ in præmiſſis contigerint concludi, ac ordinari.*

(*b*) *Sub Hypotheca omnium bonorum ſuorum tam mobilium quam immobilium, &c.*

At the opening of the Parliament the Sermon was preached before his Majeſty, the Peers and Prelates, by the Biſhop of *Ely*. The Sermon being done, they paſſed in the accuſtomed State to the Parliament Houſe: to which the Commons being called, his Majeſty acquainted them with the indignities and affronts, even to the taking up of Arms againſt him, which he had ſuffered from ſome of his Subjects in *Scotland*, required their aſſiſtance to reduce them to their due obedience, adviſing them to go together for chuſing their Speaker, and ſo to proceed unto their buſineſs. But all they did in order to his Commands, was the admitting of *Glanvile*, a right learned Lawyer, whom his Majeſty had commended to them, to be the Speaker for their Houſe. Their Grievances muſt firſt be heard, and

the

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

the ſafety of Religion provided for before the matter of ſupply was to be conſidered. This was enough to give an hint to the Archbiſhop, that an enquiry would be made into all his Actions, to the diſturbance of the work which he had begun, and was in no ſmall hope to perfect. For remedy whereof he was reſolved to make uſe of a friend in the Houſe of Commons for offering this motion to the reſt, *viz.* That a certain number of that Houſe would joyn in Conference with as many of the Clergy aſſembled in Convocation, touching all doubts and differences which might happen to ariſe amongſt them in matters which concerned the Church. And this he did upon this reaſon, that if the motion were accepted, the Committee for the Clergie in Convocation, might give ſatisfaction to that of the Houſe of Commons in all ſuch matters Doctrinal, or points of Ceremony which ſhould come before them: But if the motion were rejected, he ſhould then get the ſtart in point of Reputation amongſt knowing men; the refuſing of ſo fair an offer, bearing witneſs for him that their Proceedings were directed rather by power and intereſt, than by truth and reaſon. But the ſhort life of this Parliament made that Counſel uſeleſs. For the Commons doing nothing which the King deſired, and the King deſiring nothing more, than that they would ſpeedily reſolve one way or other, the Lords agreed upon a Vote for deſiring a Conference with the Commons, the better to diſpoſe them to this point, that his Majeſties ſupply ſhould have precedency of the Subjects Grievances. This voted by the Commons for a breach of their Priviledges, and the *Peers* cenſured for it, as having been tranſported beyond their bounds. To calm which heat his Majeſty made offer for twelve Subſidies, to relinquiſh all his right to the Naval aide, of late called *Ship-money*, which had been anciently enjoyed by his Predeceſſors: But the Propoſition, though it came but to three years purchaſe, would not down amongſt them. At laſt they came unto a reſolution of yielding ſomewhat toward his Majeſties ſupply; but in the grant thereof, blaſted his Majeſties Expedition againſt the *Scots*, whoſe Cauſe they reſolved to make their own, and received thanks from them for that favour in their next Remonſtrance. Which coming to his Majeſties ears on *Munday* the fourth of *May*, he called his Council together on the next Morning betimes, by whoſe unanimous conſent he diſſolved the Parliament.

On *Tueſday*, *April* 14, the Convocation aſſembled in the Chapter-houſe of the Church of St. *Paul*, from whence they waited on his Grace and the reſt of the Biſhops, to hear the Sermon in the Quire. The Sermon preacht by *Turner*, *Reſidentiary* of the Church. His Text was taken out of *Mat.* 10. 16. *Behold I ſend you forth as Sheep in the midſt of Wolves*, which he followed home unto the Purpoſe. In the cloſe of the Sermon he had a paſſage in theſe words, or to this effect, that all the Biſhops held not the Reins of Church Diſcipline with an even hand, but that ſome of them were too eaſie

and

and remiſs in the ordering thereof. Whereby though they ſought to gain to themſelves the popular plauſe of meekneſs and mildneſs, they occaſionally caſt on other Biſhops (more ſevere than themſelves) the unjuſt imputation of Rigour and Tyranny; and therefore he adviſed them withall with equal ſtrictneſs to urge an univerſal Conformity. The Sermon ended, the Clergy fell to the electing of their *Prolocutor* (as before commanded) pitching unanimouſly on Dr. *Richard Steward* Clerk of his Majeſties Cloſet, and Dean of *Chicheſter* to be preſented the next day to the Archbiſhop and the reſt of the Prelates in the Chappel of King *Henry* vii. at *Weſtminſter*, to which the Synod was adjourned. The next day being come (after a Proteſtation made in writing by the Sub-Dean and Prebendaries of that Church for not acknowledging the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or the reſt of the Biſhops, to have any Juriſdiction in that place, and the admitting of the ſame for good and valid) they were permitted to proceed in their Convocation. The buſineſs of that day was the preſenting of the Prolocutor by *Sheldon*, Warden of All-ſouls, his Admiſſion by the Archbiſhop, and *Stewards* unwilling readineſs to diſcharge the Office; each of them delivering their conceptions in Elegant Latine Speeches, as the cuſtome is, but the Archbiſhops longer than both the reſt. Which Ceremonies being performed, his Grace produced a Commiſſion under the Great Seal, by which they were enabled (according to the ſaid Statute of King *Henry* viii.) to propoſe, treat, conſult, and agree upon the Expoſition or Alteration of any Canon then in force, and upon ſuch new Canons, Orders, and Conſtitutions, as the ſaid Biſhops and Clergy (of which the Lord Archbiſhop to be alwaies one) ſhould think fit, neceſſary, and convenient for the honour and ſervice of Almighty God, the good and quiet of the Church, and the better Government thereof to be performed and kept by the ſaid Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and the reſt of the Clergy in their ſeveral places; as alſo by the Dean of the Arches, and by all others having Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in the Province of *Canterbury*, and by all other perſons within this Realm, ſo far as being Members of this Church they may be concerned. Provided alwaies that no ſuch Canons, Orders, or Conſtitutions, ſo to be conſidered on as aforeſaid, be contrary or repugnant to the Liturgy eſtabliſhed, or the Rubricks in it, or the 39 Articles, or any Doctrinal Orders, and Ceremonies of the Church of *England* already eſtabliſhed; as alſo that nothing ſhould be done in execution of the ſame, till being exhibited to his Majeſty in writing, to be allowed, approved, confirmed, and ratified; or otherwiſe diſallowed, annihilated, and made void as he ſhould think fit, requiſite, and convenient: and then to be allowed, approved, and confirmed by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, Alſo the ſaid Commiſſion to continue and remain in force during the preſent Seſſion of Parliament, and to expire together with it.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

For

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

*Bibl. Regia.* p. 287. to 295.

For the procuring of this Commiſſion, as the Archbiſhop had good reaſon, as well for countenancing and confirming his former Actings, as for rectifying many other things which required reformation; ſo had his Majeſty as good reaſons for the granting of it, the grounds whereof contained in his Commiſſion of *June* 13. for confirming all the Acts of this Convocation, are to this effect: "He "had been given to underſtand, that many of his Subjects being miſ- "led againſt the Rites and Ceremonies then uſed in the Church of "*England*, had taken offence at the ſame upon an unjuſt ſuppoſal, "That they were not only contrary to Law, but alſo introductive "unto *Popiſh Superſtitions*; whereas it well appeared unto him up- "on mature deliberation, that the ſaid *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, which "were then ſo much quarrelled at, were not only approved of, and "uſed by thoſe godly and learned Divines to whom, at the time of "the Reformation under King *Edward* vi. the compiling of the "Book of Common-Prayer was committed (divers of which ſuf- "fered Martyrdom in Queen *Maries* daies) but alſo again taken "up by this whole Church under Queen *Elizabeth*. *Which Rites ſo* "*taken up, had been ſo duly and ordinarily practiced for a great part of* "*her Reign* (*within the memory of divers living*) *as that it could not* "*then be imagined, that there would need any* Rule *or* Law *for the obſer-* "*vation of the ſame, nor that they could be thought to ſavour of Popery.* "He found too plainly, that ſince thoſe times, for want of an ex- "preſs Rule therein, and by the ſubtle practices of ſome men, the "ſaid *Rites* and *Ceremonies* began to fall into diſuſe; and in place "thereof other Foreign and unfitting uſages by little and little to "creep in: But being he found withal that in the *Royal* Chappels, and "in many other Churches moſt of them had been ever conſtantly uſed "and obſerved, his Majeſty could not but be very ſenſible of the in- "convenience. And he had cauſe alſo to conceive, that the Au- "thors and Fomenters of thoſe Jealouſies; though they coloured "the ſame with a pretence of zeal, and did ſeem to ſtrike only at "ſome ſuppoſed iniquity in the ſaid *Ceremonies*: yet aimed at his "Royal Perſon, and would have his good Subjects think, that he "himſelf was perverted, and did worſhip God in a ſuperſtitious "way, and that he did intend to bring in ſome alteration in the Re- "ligion here eſtabliſhed. From which how far he was, and how ut- "terly he deteſted the very thought thereof, he had by his many p. 294. "Declarations, and upon ſundry other occaſions, given ſuch aſſu- "rance to the World, that no man of wiſdom and diſcretion could "ever be ſo beguiled as to give any ſerious entertainment to ſuch "brainſick Jealouſies. And as for the weaker ſort, who were prone "to be miſled by crafty ſeducers, he alwaies aſſured himſelf, that as "many of them as had loyal, or but charitable hearts, would from "thenceforth utterly baniſh all ſuch cauſeleſs fears and ſurmiſes up- "on thoſe his Sacred Profeſſions ſo often made, as a *Defender* of the "Chriſtian *Faith*, their King and Sovereign. He perceived in the

"next

" next place, That the Ring-leaders of many well-minded people, " did make the more advantage (for the nouriſhing of ſuch diſtem- " pers amongſt them) becauſe the aforeſaid *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, or " ſome of them, were now inſiſted upon but only in ſome Dioceſſes, " and were not generally received in all places, nor conſtantly nor " uniformly practiced throughout all the Churches in the Kingdom; " and thereupon have been liable to be quarrelled and oppoſed by " them who uſe them not. In imitation therefore of the pious Ex- " amples of King *Edward* vi. Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* of *Id.* p. 296. " Bleſſed Memories, he thought it moſt agreeable to his own Honour, " and the good of his People, to Licence the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, " and the reſt of the *Clergie* in their ſeveral *Convocations*, to make " ſuch further Orders, Ordinances, and Conſtitutions, as ſhould " be found neceſſary for the Advancing of Gods Glory, the Edifying " of the Holy Church, and the due Reverence of his Bleſſed Myſte- " ries and Sacraments. And this he did to this end and purpoſe, " That as he had been ever careful and ready to cut off *Superſtition* " with the one hand, ſo he might alſo expell *Profaneneſs* and *Irreve-* " *rence* with the other: By means whereof it might pleaſe Almighty p. 297. " God to bleſs him, and this Church committed to his Govern- " ment, that it might at once return to the true former ſplendour " of Uniformity, Devotion, and holy Order; the laſt whereof, for " many years laſt paſt, had been much obſcured by the devices of " ſome *ill* affected to it, where it had long ſtood from the very be- " ginning of the Reformation, and through inadvertency of ſome " in Authority in the Church under him.

Such were the Motives which induced his Majeſty to grant this Commiſſion, which was exceeding acceptable to the greateſt and beſt affected part of the whole Aſſembly, as being an evident demonſtration of the Truſt and Confidence which his Majeſty had repoſed in them. In a grateful acknowledgment whereof, *for the ſupport of his Majeſties Royal Eſtate, and the effectual furtherance of his moſt Royal and Extraordinary Deſigns abroad*, they gave him ſix Subſidies, after the rate of four ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in the ſix years then next following, by two equal parts or moyeties in every year; appointing a Committee to put the Grant into form, and make it ready for a Confirmation by Act of Parliament. But the firſt thing in which they acted by this Commiſſion, was the tendring of a *Canon* to them by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *For ſuppreſſing the further growth of Popery, and reducing Papiſts to the Church*; with Order to the Prolocutor and inferiour Clergy, to enlarge and perfect it as to them ſeemed moſt conducible to the end deſired: But afterward conſidering how much it might redound to his eſtimation, that the ſaid *Canon* ſhould proceed intirely from himſelf alone, he recalled the Paper into his own hands; and after ſome time of deliberation, returned it back unto the Clergy in the very ſame words in which it paſſed.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

By which ſo framed and enlarged, it was Ordained, That all and every Perſon or Perſons, of what Rank ſoever, having and exerciſing any Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, as alſo all Perſons entruſted with Cure of Souls, ſhould uſe reſpectively all poſſible care and diligence, by open Conferences with the Parties, and by Cenſures of the Church in inferiour and higher Courts, as alſo by Complaints unto the Secular Power, to reduce all ſuch to the Church of *England*, who were miſled into *Popiſh* Superſtition. Thoſe publick Conferences to be managed by the Biſhop in perſon (if his Occaſion will permit it) or by ſome one or more Learned Men of his eſpecial appointment. The time and place of ſuch Conferences, with the Names of the Perſons to be admitted to the ſame, to be of the Biſhops nomination. Such *Papiſts* as refuſe to appear at any of the ſaid Conferences, to be counted obſtinate; and ſuch Miniſters as ſhould refuſe to act therein, without a reaſonable Cauſe approved by the Biſhop, to be Suſpended for ſix Months: Provided, That the place appointed for the ſaid Conferences, be not diſtant above ten miles from their dwelling Houſes: That in caſe ſuch Conferences produce not the effect deſired, all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons ſhall then be careful to inform themſelves of all Recuſants, above the age of 12 years, in their ſeveral Pariſhes, as well concerning their not coming to the Church, as their reſorting to other places to hear Maſs; of all ſuch as be active in ſeducing the Subjects from coming to Church, and diſſwading them from taking the Oath of *Allegiance*; the Names of all ſuch to be preſented, that being cited, and found obſtinate, they might be publickly Excommunicated, as well in the Cathedral as their Pariſh Churches. The like courſe to be alſo taken by the Dioceſans, in places of exempt Juriſdiction, and the Offenders to be turned over to the *High-Commiſſion*. That the Names of all ſuch as are preſented in any Inferiour Juriſdiction, be tranſmitted within ſix Months to the Dioceſans, by them to be returned, together with the Names of ſuch as have been preſented in their own Viſitations, to his Majeſties Juſtices of Aſſize in their ſeveral Circuits. And the ſame courſe to be alſo taken in returning the Names of all ſuch perſons as have been either Married or Buried, or have have had their Children Chriſtned in any other form, than according to the Rules of the Church of *England*; to the intent they may be puniſhed according to the Statutes in that behalf. That Information be given by all Churchwardens upon their Oaths, what perſons are imployed as Schoolmaſters in *Recuſants* Houſes; to the end that if they have not or will not ſubſcribe, they may be forbidden and diſcharged from teaching Children any longer: And the Names of all Perſons which entertain ſuch Schoolmaſters, to be certified at the next Aſſizes. Such Schoolmaſters to incur the publick Cenſure of the Church, as do not carefully inſtruct the Children committed to them, in the publick Catechiſm; and the Names of ſuch Parents, as either thereupon ſhall take away their ſaid Children, or otherwiſe

ſend

ſend them to be educated beyond the Seas, to be preſented upon Oath at the Viſitations, and certified alſo to the ſaid Juſtices, as before is ſaid, that the ſaid Parents may be puniſhed according to Law: The ſaid Certificate to be preſented to the Judges by the Biſhops Regiſters, immediately on the Reading of the Commiſſion, or at the end of the Charge, upon pain of Suſpenſion for three Months from their ſeveral Offices: The ſaid Judges and Juſtices being entreated and exhorted, not to fail of putting the ſaid Laws in execution; and not to admit of any vexatious Suit or Suits, againſt any Churchwardens, or other ſworn Officers, for doing their duty in this kind: That a *Significavit* be made in *Chancery* by all the ſeveral Biſhops, of the Names of all ſuch perſons as have ſtood Excommunicated beyond the time limited by the Laws, deſiring that the Writ *De Excommunicato capiendo* may be iſſued againſt them *ex Officio*. And finally, That no perſon or perſons ſubject to the ſaid Writ, ſhall be Abſolved by virtue of an Appeal into any Eccleſiaſtical Court, till they have firſt taken in their own perſons the uſual Oath *De parendo juri, & ſtando mandatis Eccleſiæ*: With a Petition to his Majeſty, in the Name of the Synod, to give command both to his Officers in *Chancery*, and the Sheriffs of the ſeveral Counties, for ſending out and executing the ſaid Writs from time to time, without any Charge to the Dioceſans (whoſe Eſtates it would otherwiſe much exhauſt) as often as it ſhould be deſired of them. Such is the ſubſtance of this *Canon*, in laying down whereof I have been the more punctual and exact, that the equal and judicious Reader may the better ſee what point it was, which the Archbiſhop aimed at, from the firſt beginning of his Power and Government, as before was noted. In the mean time, whilſt this *Canon* was under a Review, another ready drawn was tendred to the Prolocutor by the Clerk of *Weſtminſter*, for the better keeping of the day of his Majeſties moſt happy *Inauguration*: By which it was decreed, according to the Example of the moſt pious Emperours of the Primitive Times, and our own moſt Godly Kings and Princes ſince the Reformation, and the Form of Prayer already made, and by his Majeſties Authority Appointed to be uſed on the ſaid days of *Inauguration*, "That all manner of perſons within the Church of *England*, ſhould from thenceforth celebrate and keep the morning of the ſaid day, in coming diligently and reverently unto their Pariſh Church or Chappel at the time of Prayer, and there continue all the while that the Prayers, Preaching, or other Service of the day endureth: That for the better obſerving of the ſaid day, two of the ſaid Books ſhould be provided at the Charge of each ſeveral Pariſh, by the Churchwardens of the ſame; with an Injunction to all Biſhops, Archdeacons, and other Ordinaries, to inquire into the premiſes at their Viſitations, and puniſh ſuch as are delinquent, as in caſe of ſuch as abſent themſelves on the other Holydays.

Another *Canon* was brought in againſt *Socinianiſm*, by the ſpread-

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

ing of which damnable and curſed *Hereſie*, much miſchief had already been done in the Church: For the ſuppreſſing whereof, it was ordained by the *Synod* (after ſome explication and correction of the words and phraſes), "That no *Stationer*, *Printer*, or other perſon, "ſhould print, buy, ſell, or diſperſe any Book, broaching or main- "taining the ſaid Abominable Doctrine or Poſitions, upon pain of "Excommunication *ipſo facto*, and of being proceeded againſt by "his Majeſties Atturney-General, on a Certificate thereof to be re- "turned by the ſeveral Ordinaries to their Metropolitan, according "to the late Decree of *Star-Chamber* againſt Sellers of prohibi- "ted Books; That no Preacher ſhould preſume to vent any ſuch "Doctrine in any Sermon, under pain of Excommunication for the "firſt Offence, and Deprivation for the ſecond: That no Student in "either of the Univerſities, nor any perſon in Holy Orders, except- "ing Graduates in Divinity, or ſuch as have Epiſcopal or Archidia- "conal Juriſdiction, or Doctors of Law in Holy Orders, ſhall be "ſuffered to have or read any ſuch *Socinian* Book or Diſcourſe, un- "der pain (if the Offender live in the Univerſity) that he ſhall be pu- "niſhed according to the ſtricteſt Statutes provided there againſt the "publiſhing, reading, and maintaining of falſe Doctrines; or if he "lived in the City or Country abroad, of a Suſpenſion for the firſt "Offence, Excommunication for the ſecond, and Deprivation for "the third, unleſs he ſhould abſolutely and *in terminis* abjure the "ſame: That if any Lay-perſon ſhould be ſeduced unto that Opi- "nion, and be convicted of it, he ſhould be Excommunicated, and "not Abſolved but upon due Repentance and Abjuration, and that "before his *Metropolitan*, or his own Biſhop at leaſt: With ſe- veral Clauſes for ſeizing and burning all ſuch Books as ſhould be found in any other hands than thoſe before limited and expreſſed. Which ſevere courſe being taken by the *Convocation*, makes it a matter of no ſmall wonder, That *Cheynell* the Uſufructuary of the rich Parſonage of *Petworth*, ſhould impute the Riſe and Growth of *Socinianiſm*, in a Pamphlet not long after Printed, unto many of thoſe who had been principal Actors in ſuppreſſing of thoſe wicked and deteſtable *Hereſies*. Another *Canon* was preſented to the *Prolocutor*, by one of the Members of that Body, advanced the next year to a higher Dignity, for Reſtraint of *Sectaries*: By which it was de- creed, "That all thoſe Proceedings and Penalties which are menti- "oned in the *Canon* againſt *Popiſh Recuſants*, ſo far forth as may be "appliable, ſhould be in full force and vigour againſt all *Anabaptiſts*, "*Browniſts*, *Seperatiſts*, *Familiſts*, or other Sect or Sects, Perſon or "Perſons whatſoever, who do or ſhall either obſtinately refuſe: or "ordinarily, not having a lawful impediment (that is, for the ſpace "of a Month) neglect to repair to their Pariſh Churches or Chappels "where they inhabit, for the hearing of Divine Service eſtabliſhed, "and receiving of the Holy Communion according to Law; That "the Clauſe in the former *Canon* againſt Books of *Socinianiſm*,

"ſhould

" ſhould alſo extend to the Makers, Importers, Printers, and Pub-
" liſhers or Diſperſers of any Book, Writing, or Scandalous Pamph-
" let, deviſed againſt the Diſcipline and Government of the Church
" of *England*; and unto the Maintainers and Abettors of any Opi-
" nion or Doctrine againſt the ſame. And finally, That all deſpiſers
" and depravers of the Book of Common Prayer, who reſorted
" not according to Law to their Church or Chappel, to joyn in the
" Publick Worſhip of God in the Congregation, contenting them-
" ſelves with the hearing of Sermons only, ſhould be carefully in-
" quired after, and preſented to their ſeveral and reſpective Ordina-
" ries; The ſame Proceedings and Penalties mentioned in the afore-
" ſaid *Canons*, to be uſed againſt them, unleſs within one whole
" Month after they are firſt Denounced, they ſhall make Acknow-
" ledgment and Reformation of their fault.

So far the Biſhops and Clergy had proceeded in the Work recommended to them, when the Parliament was moſt unhappily Diſſolved: And poſſibly the *Convocation* had expired the next day alſo, according to the uſual cuſtom, if one of the Clergy had not made the Archbiſhop acquainted with a Precedent in Queen *Elizabeths* Time, for the granting a Subſidy or Benevolence by *Convocation*, to be Taxed and Levied by *Synodical Acts* and *Conſtitutions*, without help of the Parliament; directing to the Records of *Convocation* where it was to be found. Whereupon the *Convocation* was Adjourned from *Wedneſday*, till the *Friday* following, and then till the next day after, and ſo till *Munday*, to the great amazement of many of the Members of it, who expected to have been Diſſolved when the Parliament was, according to that clauſe in the *Commiſſion* aforeſaid, by which it was reſtrained to the Time of the Parliament only. Much pains was taken by ſome of the Company, who had been ſtudied in the Records of *Convocation*, in ſhewing the difference betwixt the Writ for calling a Parliament, and that for aſſembling a *Convocation*; their different Forms, and the independence of the one upon the other: but more eſpecially betwixt the Writ by which they were made a *Convocation*, and that *Commiſſion* by which they were enabled to the making of *Canons*; That though the *Commiſſion* was expired with the Parliament, yet the Writ continued ſtill in force; and by that Writ they were to remain a *Convocation*, until they were Diſſolved by another. With which Diſtinction, the greateſt part of thoſe who before had ſcrupled at their Sitting, did appear well ſatisfied; but better ſatisfied on the *Munday*, by a Paper which was ſent unto them from the Court. For the King being made acquainted with theſe ſcrupuloſities, propoſed the Queſtion on *Sunday May* 10. to the greateſt Lawyers then about him, who gave their Judgment in theſe words, *viz. The Convocation called by the Kings Writ, is to be continued till it be diſſolved by the Kings Writ, notwithſtanding the Diſſolution of the Parliament.* Subſcribed by *Finch* Lord Keeper, *Mancheſter* Lord Privy Seal, *Littleton* Chief Juſtice

of

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

of the *Common Pleas*, *Bancks* Attorney-General, *Whitfeild* and *Heath* two of his Majeſties Counſel Learned in the Laws of this Land. Incouraged with which aſſurance, and Animated by a New Commiſſion to remain in Force during the Pleaſure of the King, they ſettled to their work again on Wedneſday the thirteenth of that Moneth, but not without ſome trouble of mind in regard of the Apparent Danger which ſeemed to threaten them. The Archbiſhops houſe at *Lambeth* had been aſſaulted on Munday by a Rabble of *Anabaptiſts*, *Browniſts*, and other Sectaries, to the Number of five hundred and upwards, who ſeeing they could not force that houſe reſolved to turn their fury on the *Convocation*. Of which his Majeſty being Informed, he cauſed a guard to be ſet about them conſiſting of ſome Companies of the trained Bands of the County of *Middleſex* under the Command of *Endymion Porter*, one of the Grooms of the *Bed-chamber*; an honeſt man, and of good affections to the Church and his Majeſties Service. To ſuch extremities were the poor Clergy brought during theſe confuſions; in danger of the Kings diſpleaſure if they Roſe, of the Peoples fury if they Sate; in danger of being beaten up by tumults, when they were at their work, of being beaten down by the following Parliament, when their work was done. But they went forward howſoever to the end of their journey, and did the buſineſs as they went, diſpatching more work in ſo ſhort a time then could be eaſily imagined.

Three things there were which *Canterbury* was to take ſpecial care of in reference to the Publick peace of the Church and State; That is to ſay, the Reparation of the breaches made in the *Regal*, and *Epiſcopal* Power by the late batteries of the *Scots*, and their adherents, on the commending of the Uniformity to all parts of the Kingdom, which had been happily begun in ſo many places. In reference to the firſt, ſome propoſitions touching the inſtitution, Power and Priviledges of Sovereign Princes, were recommended to the conſideration of the Prolocutor and the Reſt of the Clergy, by them to be corrected if they ſaw occaſion; and being ſo corrected to paſs into a Canon. The Propoſitions ſix in number, and were theſe that follow,

I. *The moſt High, and Sacred Order of Kings is of Divine Right, being the Ordinance of God himſelf, founded in the prime Laws of Nature, and clearly eſtabliſhed by Expreſs Texts, both of the Old and the New Teſtaments. A Supream Power is given to this moſt Excellent Order by God himſelf in the Scriptures, which is, That Kings ſhould Rule, and Command in their ſeveral Dominions, all Perſons of what Rank or Eſtate whatſoever, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, and that they ſhould Reſtrain and Puniſh with the Temporal Sword all Stubborn and wicked doers.*

II. *The care of Gods Church is ſo committed to Kings in Scripture, that*

*that they are commanded when the Church keeps the Right way, and taxed when it Runs Amiſs; and therefore her Goverment belongs in Chief unto Kings: For otherwiſe one man would be commended for anothers care, and taxed but for anothers negligence, which is not Gods way.* LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

III. *The Power to Call and Diſſolve Councils both National and Provincial, is the true Right of all Chriſtian Kings within their own Realms, and Territories. And when in the firſt times of Chriſts Church, Prelates uſed this Power, 'twas therefore only becauſe in thoſe days they had no Chriſtian Kings, And it was then ſo only uſed as in time of perſecution, that is, with ſuppoſition (in caſe it were required) of ſubmitting their very lives, unto the very Laws and Commands, even of thoſe Pagan Princes, that they might not ſo much as ſeem to diſturb their Civil Government, which Chriſt came to confirm but by no means to undermine.*

IV. *For any Perſon or Perſons to ſet up, maintain or avow in any the ſaid Realms, or Territories Reſpectively, under any pretext whatſoever any Independent Co-active Power, either* Papal *or Popular (whether directly or indirectly) is to undermine their Great Royal Office, and cunningly to overthrow the Moſt Sacred Ordinances which God himſelf hath eſtabliſhed: And ſo it is Treaſonable againſt God as well as againſt the King.*

V. *For Subjects to bear Arms againſt their Kings,* Offenſive *or* Defenſive *upon any pretence whatſoever, is at leaſt to Reſiſt the Powers which are ordained by God. And though they do not invade but only Reſiſt, S.* Paul *tells them plainly,* They ſhall receive to themſelves damnation.

VI. *And although Tribute, and Cuſtom and Aid, and Subſidies, and all manner of neceſſary Support, and Supply, be reſpectively due to Kings from their Subjects by the Law of God, Nature, and Nations for the Publick Defence, care and Protection of them: yet nevertheleſs Subjects have not only poſſeſſion of, but a true and Juſt Right, Title, and Propriety, to, and in, all their Goods, and Eſtates, and ought for to have: And theſe two are ſo far from croſsing one another, that they mutually go together, for the Honourable and Comfortable ſupport of both. For as it is the duty of Subjects to ſupply their King; ſo is it part of the Kingly office to ſupport his Subjects, in the Propriety and Freedom of their Eſtates.*

Theſe Propoſitions being Read and Conſidered of, were generally paſt and approved without contradiction, but that a little ſtop was made touching the Neceſſity of Aid and Subſidie to Kings from their Subjects, which ſome thought fitter to leave at large according to the Laws of ſeveral Countries then to entitle it to the Law of God, Nature and Nations: but after a very light diſpute that clauſe was allowed of with the Reſt, and a Canon preſently drawn up by a ready hand, according to the Vote of the Houſe to make them Obligatory to the Clergy in the courſe of their Miniſtries. The preamble

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

amble which was ſent with the Propoſitions, required them to be read diſtinctly and audibly by every Parſon, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher upon ſome one Sunday in every Quarter of the year at Morning Prayer. And it was added by the Canons that if any Parſon, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher, ſhould Voluntarily or careleſly, neglect his duty in publiſhing the ſaid Explications and Concluſions according to the Order above preſcribed, he ſhould be ſuſpended by his Ordinary till his Reformation; That all Biſhops, Prieſts and Miniſters, ſhould Teach, Preach, and Exhort their People to Obey, Honour, and Serve their King; and that they preſume not to ſpeak of his Majeſties Power, any other way then in the Canon is expreſſed; with reference to Excommunication, and a Suſpenſion of two years for the firſt Offence, and Deprivation for the ſecond, to be inflicted by his Majeſties Commiſſioners for Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical upon all Perſons whatſoever which in any Sermon, Lecture, Determination or Diſputation ſhould maintain any point of Doctrine, contrary to the ſaid Propoſitions, and Explications.

In reference to the preſervation of the Epiſcopal power, an Oath was drawn up in the Upper, and ſent down to the Lower Houſe of Convocation, by them to be debated, approved, and ratified upon Approbation; Which Oath was required to be taken by all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, before the ſecond day of *November* then next following to be tendered in the preſence of a publike Notary, to all Prieſts and Deacons by the Biſhop in perſon, or his Chancellour or ſome grave Divines named and appointed by the Biſhop under his Epiſcopal Seat. In the firſt words of the Oath as it came from the Lords, it was expreſſed in theſe words, that every man ſhould Swear to the *Doctrine and Diſcipline eſtabliſhed in Church of* England. And this occaſioned ſome diſpute, concerning the extent of the word Diſcipline, whither it comprehended the *Epiſcopal* Government, and the publick Forms of Divine Worſhip; or was to be reſtrained only to the uſe of the Keys, as it was practiced in Eccleſiaſtical Courts. Some would have had the words run thus, I. A. B. *do ſwear that I approve the Doctrines, Diſcipline or Government eſtabliſhed*, &c. But againſt this it was objected, Firſt, that the Government of the Church was ſufficiently provided for by the following clauſe, in which there was an eſpecial Enumeration of all Offices impowred in the Government of the Church; and that it was incongruous to make that Diſcipline and Government to be the ſame, and that Government ſhould be ſaid to contain all things, *or any thing which was neceſſary to Salvation.* And they that thus objected, would have had it paſs in theſe words, *viz. I approve the Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Forms of Worſhip eſtabliſhed in the Church of* England, *as containing all things neceſſary unto Salvation.* Which though it ſeemed, more plauſible and intelligible then the other was; yet being put unto the vote, it was carried for *Diſcipline or Government*, under pretence of not clogging the Oath with things

unneceſſary

unneceſſary and ſuch as might be made capable of a variation. According to which Vote the Canon was drawn up with this title, *viz. An Oath injoyned for the preventing of all Innovations in Doctrine and Government*; and the *Oath* it ſelf injoyned in this form following, that is to ſay, I. A. B. *Do ſwear that I do Approve the Doctrine and Diſcipline or Government Eſtabliſhed in the Church of* England; *as containing all things neceſſary to ſalvation. And that I will not endeavour by my ſelf or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popiſh Doctrine, contrary to that which is ſo eſtabliſhed. Nor will I ever give my conſent to alter the Government of this Church, by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, and Archdeacons,* &c. *As it ſtands now eſtabliſhed, and as by Right it ought to ſtand; nor yet ever to ſubject it to the uſurpations and Superſtitions of the See of* Rome. *And all theſe things I do plainly and ſeriouſly acknowledge, and ſwear, according to the plain, and Common ſenſe and underſtanding of the ſame words, without any Equivocation, or mental evaſion, or ſecret reſervation whatſoever. And this I do heartily, willingly, and truly upon the faith of a Chriſtian,* So help me God in Jeſus Chriſt. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

The Oath being paſt, the Canon was drawn up by the former hand according to ſuch Inſtructions as were ſent along with it. By which it was required that all Maſters of Art, (the Sons of Noblemen only excepted) all Bachelors or Doctors in Divinity, Law, or Phyſick, all that are licenced to practice Phyſick, all Regiſters Actuaries, and Procters, all School-maſters, all ſuch as being natives or Naturalized, do come to be incorporated into the Univerſities here, having taken any Degree in any Foreign Univerſity ſhould be bound to take the ſaid Oath; the ſame Oath to be Adminiſtred to all ſuch of the perſons abovenamed reſiding in any Univerſity, by the Governors of their ſeveral Houſes; and by the Biſhop Reſpectively, to all which ſhould from thenceforth be admitted to *holy Orders*, or receive any Inſtitution, Collation, or Licence for the ſerving of any cure: with ſeveral Penalties to all beneficed Parſons, and all ſuch as were then in any Eccleſiaſtical dignity, for their Refuſal of the ſame; that is to ſay, a ſuſpenſion *ab officio* for the firſt Refuſal, *à beneficio & officio*, for the ſecond, and Deprivation for the third, a Moneths deliberation being granted betwixt each Refuſal.

Theſe two great matters being thus concluded, A meſſage is delivered by the Prolocutor from the houſe of Biſhops, by which the Clergy were deſired to conſider of the beſt expedient for inducing an Uniformity in the Church about the ſituation of the Lords Table, the Receiving of the bleſſed Sacrament, and the due Revenue to be uſed in the houſe of God, and to prepare a Canon to that purpoſe if they found it neceſſary. On the Receiving of which meſſage a grand Committee was ſelected out of the Ableſt men of the Houſe, to take that great and weighty buſineſs into conſideration, and to Report unto the Houſe whatſoever they ſhould do therein,

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

in, that it might paſs or be rejected as the Houſe thought fit. The Committee conſiſted of 27. the Prolocutor being reckoned into the number, their meeting to be held the ſame afternoon in the Chappel of King *Hen.* 7. Where being met, and ſitting about the table provided for the uſe of the Biſhops, the points were ſeriouſly debated, every man ſpeaking his opinion in them when it came to his turn without interruption; beginning with the Prolocutor, and ſo proceeding from man to man till it concluded with the Clerk for the Church of *Weſtminſter*; So placed of purpoſe that he might anſwer all ſuch arguments, as had been brought againſt any of the points propoſed, and were not anſwered to his hand. The Prolocutor having taken the ſumme of every mans Judgement, declared that the far Major part had appeared for placing the Lords Table where the Altar ſtood, the drawing neer unto it to receive the Sacrament, and the making of due Reverences at the entring into the Church and going out of it; and thereupon put it to the queſtion, whether they thought it convenient that a Canon ſhould be prepared to that purpoſe or not? Which being carried in the affirmative, without any viſible diſſent, one of the Clerks for the Dioceſs of *Briſtol* preſented a Canon ready drawn for the ſame effect, but drawn in ſuch a commanding, and imperious Style, that it was diſliked by all the company but himſelf; and thereupon a Sub-committeee was appointed to prepare the Canon, and make it ready with as much diſpatch as they could conveniently. Which was no ſooner agreed on, and the Committee continued for ſome following buſineſs; but the Archdeacon of *Huntington* who was one of the number, made his firſt appearance, ſo extreamly diſcontented that he was not ſtayed for, and that the buſineſs was concluded before he came, and earneſtly preſſing the Prolocutor, that the debate might be Reſumed, or at the leaſt his Reaſons might be heard againſt the Vote: which when the Prolocutor upon very good Reaſons had refuſed to yield too, he fell upon him with ſuch heats, and uſed him ſo exceeding courſly; that on complaint made thereof and of ſome other intervening harſhneſs, made by the Prolocutor in a full Houſe of the Clergy, he was ordered by the far Major part to quit the Houſe, though afterwards Reſtored again on the acknowledgment of his Errour, when his heats were down. Which Rubb removed, the Canon went very ſmoothly on without oppoſition, commended Generally for the Modeſty and Temper of it; in which Reſpect I hold it worthy to be preſented to the Reader in its full proportion, without any Abbreviation of it as of thoſe before.

A Declaration

## A Declaration concerning ſome Rites and Ceremonies.

*BEcauſe it is generally to be wiſhed, that Unity of Faith were accompanied with Uniformity of Practice in the outward Worſhip and Service of God; chiefly for the avoiding the groundleſs ſuſpicion of thoſe who are weak, and the malicious Aſperſions of the profeſſed enemies of our Religion; the one, fearing* Innovations; *the other flattering themſelves with a vain hope of our back-ſliding unto their Popiſh Superſtition by reaſon of the ſituation of the Communion Table, and the approaches thereunto, the* Synod *declareth as followeth: That the ſtanding of the Communion Table ſide-way under the Eaſt Window of every Chancel or Chappel, is in its own nature indifferent, neither commanded nor condemned by the Word of God, either expreſly, or by immediate deduction; and therefore that no Religion is to be placed therein, or ſcruple to be made thereon. And albeit at the time of reforming this Church from the groſs ſuperſtition of Popery, it was carefully provided, that all means ſhould be uſed to root out of the Minds of the People both the inclination thereunto, and memory thereof; eſpecially of the Idolatry committed in the Maſs, for which cauſe all Popiſh Altars were demoliſhed: yet notwithſtanding it was then ordered by the Injunctions and Advertiſements of* Queen Elizabeth, *of bleſſed memory, that the holy Table ſhould ſtand in that place where the Altar ſtood, and accordingly have been continued in the Royal Chappels of three famous and pious Princes, and in moſt Cathedral, and ſome Parochial Churches, which doth ſufficiently acquit the manner of placing the ſaid Tables from any illegality or juſt ſuſpicion of Popiſh Superſtition or Innovation. And therefore we judge it fit and convenient that all Churches and Chappels do conform themſelves in this particular to the example of the Cathedral or mother Churches, ſaving alwaies the general liberty left to the Biſhop by Law during the time of the Adminiſtration of the holy Communion. And we declare, that this Situation of the holy Table, doth not imply that it is or ought to be eſteemed a true and proper Altar, whereon Chriſt is again really ſacrificed: But it is and may be called an Altar by us, in that ſenſe which the Primitive Church called it an Altar, and no other.*

*And becauſe experience hath ſhewed us, how irreverent the behaviour of many people is in many places, ſome leaning, other caſting their hats, and ſome ſitting upon, ſome ſtanding at, and others ſitting under the Communion Table in time of Divine Service: For the avoiding of theſe and the like abuſes, it is thought meet and convenient by this preſent* Synod, *that the ſaid Communion Table in all Churches or Chappels be decently ſevered with Rails to preſerve them from ſuch or worſe prophanations.*

*And becauſe the Adminiſtration of holy things is to be performed with all poſſible decency and reverence, therefore we judge it fit and convenient, according to the word of the Service-Book, eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, Draw near, &c. that all communicants with an humble*

Can. 7.

PART II. Anno Dom. 1640.

*reverence ſhall draw near and approach to the holy Table, there to receive the divine myſteries, which have heretofore in ſome places been unfitly carried up and down by the Miniſter, unleſs it ſhould be otherwiſe appointed in reſpect of the incapacity of the place, or other inconvenience, By the Biſhop himſelf in his Juriſdiction, and other Ordinaries reſpectively in theirs.*

*And laſtly, whereas the Church is the Houſe of God, dedicated to his holy Worſhip, and therefore ought to mind us both of the greatneſs and goodneſs of his divine Majeſty; certain it is, that the acknowledgment thereof, not only inwardly in our hearts, but alſo outwardly with our bodies, muſt needs be pious in it ſelf, profitable unto us, and edifying unto others. We therefore think it very meet and behoveful, and heartily commend it to all good and well-affected people, Members of this Church, that they be ready to tender unto the Lord the ſaid acknowledgment, by doing reverence and obeyſance both at their coming in and going out of the ſaid Churches, Chancels, or Chappels, according to the moſt ancient cuſtome of the Primitive Church in the pureſt times, and of this Church alſo for many years of the Reign of Queen* Elizaheth. *The receiving therefore of this ancient and laudable Cuſtome we heartily commend to the ſerious conſideration of all good People, not with any intention to exhibit any Religious Worſhip to the Communion Table, the Eaſt, or Church, or any thing therein contained, in ſo doing; or to perform the ſaid Geſture in the Celebration of the holy Euchariſt, upon any opinion of the Corporal preſence of the Body of Chriſt on the holy Table, or in the myſtical Elements: but only for the advancement of Gods Majeſty, and to give him alone that honour and glory that is due unto him, and no otherwiſe. And in the practice or omiſſion of this Rite we deſire that the Rule of Charity, preſcribed by the Apoſtle, may be obſerved, which is, That they which uſe this Rite, deſpiſe not them who uſe it not; and that they who uſe it not, condemn not thoſe that uſe it.*

No ſooner was this Declaration paſſed, and ſent up to the Lords, but on the ſame day, or the next, an Addreſs was made to the Prolocutor by the Clerk for *Weſtminſter* concerning the confuſion which hapned in moſt parts of the Church for want of one uniform body of Articles to be uſed in Viſitations; thoſe of the Biſhop many times threatning the Archdeacons; one Biſhops differing from anothers, the Succeſſors from his Predeceſſors; and the ſame perſon not conſiſtent to the ſame Articles which himſelf had publiſhed. By means whereof the people were much diſturbed, the Rules of the Church contemned for their multiplicity, unknown by reaſon of their uncertainty, and deſpiſed for the inconſtancy of them that made them. Of all which he deſired the Convocation to provide a remedy, by ſetting out one Uniform Book of Articles to be the ſtanding Rule of all Viſitations for the time to come. The motion pleaſed the Prolocutor, and the reſt of the Clergy, who thereupon deſired him (in purſuit of his own project) to undertake the compiling of the

ſaid

ſaid Book of Articles, and to preſent it to the Houſe with convenient ſpeed. Which notwithſtanding, there wanted not ſome ſecret practices to illude the motion, and fruſtrate the deſign, approved of by the general Voice. Some who obſerved the moderation of the Articles which had been drawn for the Metropolitical Viſitation, and finding them to leave a greater liberty about placing the Communion Table, and the order of officiating the Divine Service, than the new Articles might allow of, addreſt themſelves unto his Grace, deſiring that thoſe Articles might be commended to the Convocation, to be a ſtanding Rule for all Viſitations in the times ſucceeding; which Propoſition was thought to reliſh well enough with him at the firſt propoſal, though afterwards on further conſideration he ſuffered the buſineſs to proceed in the former courſe. It was not long before another Canon was tendred to the Prolocutor for advancing a more general Conformity than that which was contained in the Declaration. And it was tendred by the ſame hand which had before preſented that againſt *Sectaries*; in reference to whom it paſſed without oppoſition or alteration. "It was enjoyned by that Canon under *Can. 9.* "pain of ſuſpenſion, that all Preachers, as well beneficed men as "others, ſhould poſitively and plainly preach and inſtruct the Peo- "ple in their publick Sermons that the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* in the "Church of *England* were lawful and commendable; and that the "People ought not only to conform themſelves to thoſe *Rites* and "*Ceremonies:* but chearfully to ſubmit themſelves unto the Govern- "ment of the Church, as it was then eſtabliſhed under his Majeſty. Another was brought in, but by whom I know not, "*Concerning the* "*Converſation of the Clergie*, by which it was deſired in compliance "to the ancient Canons of the Church, and in particular to Canon *Can. 10.* "74, 75. of the year 1603. That all Clergy men in this Church, ſet- "ting before their eyes the glory of God, the holineſs of their Cal- "ling, and the edification of the People committed to them, ſhould "carefully avoid all exceſs and diſorders, that by their Chriſtian "and Religious Converſation they might ſhine forth, as lights unto "others, in all godlineſs and honeſty; and that all thoſe to whom "the Government of the Church was committed ſhould ſet them- "ſelves to countenance and encourage Godlineſs, Gravity, Sobriety, "and all unblameable Converſation in the Miniſters of it; and di- "ligently labour, by the due execution of the Canons aforeſaid, "and all other Eccleſiaſtical Proviſions made for that end, to reform "all offenſive and ſcandalous perſons which were in the Miniſtry. Which Canon was ſo well approved of, that it paſt without any ſtop or reſiſtance.

All matters going thus calmly on, the Clergy began to take into conſideration the great exceſſes, and abuſes, which were complained of in many Offices of Eccleſiaſtical Courts. They found the Exorbitancies of the Chancellors to be grown ſo great, that they contemned the lower Clergy, and thought themſelves independent of the

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

the Biſhops under whom they ſerved. They found that many abuſes had been committed in the Sentences of Excommunication and Abſolution, (the ſlovenly executing whereof had been very offenſive) as alſo in Commutations of Penance, and conniving at unlawful Marriages, out of which ſome Officers in thoſe Courts raiſed no ſmall advantage; Complaint was alſo made of ſome oppreſſions which had been laid upon the Subject, by concurrent Juriſdictions partly, and partly by vexatious Citations, in which nothing was more aimed at, than the Officers Fees which muſt be paid, though nothing could be proved againſt the Party when he came before them. The conſideration and redreſs of all which grievances being referred to the Committee of twenty ſix, the ſaid Committee was deſired by the Prolocutor to hold their meetings in his houſe, ſituate under the North-ſide of the Abbey-Church, and therefore moſt convenient both for himſelf and them. The Grievances were great, and yet not greater than the Clamour which was raiſed about them, which made the Committee very intent upon the ſtilling of the noiſe; by providing better for themſelves, their Brethren, and the reſt of the Subjects: but not without all due reſpect to the Profeſſors in that honourable Faculty of the *Civil Laws*. *Lamb* Dean of the Arches, and *Heath* Judge of the Audience, being both Members of the Convocation, were taken into that Committee; not only to aſſiſt their Conſultations in point of Law: but to moderate the fervor of their Proceedings by the Fan of Reaſon. The whole Reformation brought within the compaſs of theſe ſeven Canons:
1. Concerning *Chancellors Patents*. 2. *Chancellors not alone to cenſure any of the Clergy in ſundry caſes*. 3. *Excommunication and Abſolution not to be pronounced but by a* PRIEST. 4. *Concerning Commutations, and the diſpoſing of them*. 5. *Touching current Juriſdictions*. 6. *Concerning Licences to marry*. 7. *Againſt vexatious Citations*.

In the firſt of the ſeven it was required, "That no Biſhop ſhould "grant any Patent to any Chancellor, Commiſſary, or Official, for "any longer time than the life of the Grantee only; That in all ſuch *Can.* 11. "Patents the Biſhops ſhould reſerve to themſelves and their Succeſ"ſors the power of giving inſtitution to Benefices, of giving Li"cences to teach School or Preach, as alſo of exerciſing their Ju"riſdiction, either alone, or with the Chancellor, at his own diſ"cretion, all the accuſtomed Fees to be reſerved unto the Chan"cellor, *&c.* as in former times; That no Dean and Chapter ſhould "confirm any Patent to any Chancellor, *&c.* wherein the ſaid condi"tions were not expreſt, under pain of Suſpenſion to be inflicted "on them ſeverally by their *Metropolitan*; And finally, That under "the heavieſt Cenſures no reward ſhould be taken for any of the "Offices and Places abovementioned. In the compoſure of which Canon, as the firſt branch was made to cut off Reverſions, ſo was the laſt added to prevent corruptions; For he moſt commonly ſells

Juſtice

Juſtice that hath bought his Office. In the ſecond it was ordered, "That no Chancellor, Commiſſary, or Official, unleſs he be in holy Orders, ſhould proceed to Suſpenſion, or any higher Cenſure "againſt any of the Clergy in any criminal cauſe other than neglect "of appearance upon legal Citing: but that all ſuch caſes ſhould *Can.* 12. "be heard by the Biſhop in perſon, with the aſſiſtance of his Chan- "cellor or Commiſſary; or if the Biſhops occaſions will not per- "mit, then by his Chancellor, or Commiſſary, and two grave dig- "nified or beneficed Miniſters of the Dioceſs to be aſſigned by the "Biſhop, under his Epiſcopal Seal, who ſhall hear and cenſure the "ſaid cauſe in that Conſiſtory. By the third it was ordained, That "no Excommunications or Abſolutions ſhould be good or valid in "Law except they be pronounced either by the Biſhop in perſon, "or by ſome other in holy Orders having *Eccleſiaſtical* Juriſdiction, "or by ſome grave Miniſter beneficed in the Dioceſs, being a Maſter *Can.* 13. "of Arts at leaſt, and appointed by the Biſhop, the name of the "ſaid Prieſt or Miniſter being expreſſed in the Inſtrument under the "Seal of the Court; And that no ſuch Miniſter ſhould pronounce "any ſuch Sentence but in open Conſiſtory, or at leaſt in ſome Church "or Chappel, the Penitent humbly craving and taking Abſolution "upon his knees. By the fourth it was provided, That no Chancel- *Can.* 14. "lor, *&c.* ſhould have power to commute any Penance in whole "or in part, but either together with the Biſhop in perſon, or with "his privity in writing; That if he do it by himſelf, he ſhould give "up a full and juſt account of ſuch Commutations once every year "at *Michaelmas* to the Biſhop, under pain of being ſuſpended from "his Juriſdiction for the ſpace of a year; the ſaid Commutations *Can.* 15. "to be diſpoſed of by the Biſhop and Chancellor in ſuch charitable "and pious uſes as the Law requires; and that Commutation to be "ſignified to the place from whence the complaint proceeded, "in caſe the crime were publickly complained of, and approved "notorious.

For preventing thoſe vexations and inconveniencies which formerly had been occaſioned by concurrent Juriſdictions, It was decreed by the fift Canon, under the ſeveral penalties therein contained, "That no Regiſter or Clerk ſhould give, nor Apparitor execute a Ci- "tation upon any Executor to appear in any Court or Office till ten "daies after the Death of the Teſtator; And that nevertheleſs it "might be lawful for any Executor to prove ſuch Wills when they "think good, within the ſaid ten daies before any Eccleſiaſtical "Judge reſpectively, to whoſe Juriſdiction the ſame might or did "appertain. By the ſixth it was ordained for the better preventing "of any further invaſions to be made on the Prerogative of the See *Can.* 16. "of *Canterbury*, and of many other inconveniencies which did "thence ariſe, no Licence of Marriage ſhould be granted from any "Ordinary, in whoſe Juriſdiction one of the parties hath not been "Commorant for the ſpace of a month, immediately before the

ſame

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

"ſame ſhall be deſired, under pain of ſuch Cenſure as the Archbi-
"ſhop ſhould think fit to inflict; And that the ſaid Parties being
"commorant in the ſaid Juriſdiction, as before is ſaid, ſhall be
"made one of the Conditions of the Bond accuſtomably given for
"ſecuring that Office. And for preventing of vexatious Citations
"for the time to come, it was required by the laſt *Canon*, That no
"Citation ſhould from thenceforth be iſſued out of any Eccleſiaſti-
"cal Court, except it be upon Preſentment, but ſuch as ſhould be
"ſent forth under the Hand and Seal of the *Chancellor*, within thirty
"days after the fault committed; the Return thereof to be made
"on the firſt or ſecond Court-day after the ſerving of the ſame:
"And that the Party ſo cited, not being convinced by two Witneſ-
"ſes, on his denial of the Fact by his corporal Oath, ſhould be
"forthwith diſmiſſed without any payment of Fees. Provided,
"That this Decree extend not to any grievous Crime; as Schiſm,
"Incontinence, Misbehaviour at the Church in the time of Divine
"Service, obſtinate Inconformity, or the like. Finally, For pre-
venting all unneceſſary Tautologies and Repetitions of the ſame
thing, it was declared once for all, "That whatſoever had been
"declared in the former *Canons*, concerning the Juriſdiction of the
"*Biſhops*, their *Chancellors*, or *Commiſſaries*, ſhould be in force (as far
"as by Law it was appliable) concerning all *Deans*, *Deans* and *Chap-*
"*ters*, *Collegiate Churches*, *Archdeacons*, and all in Holy Orders, ha-
"ving exempt or peculiar Juriſdiction, and their ſeveral Officers
"reſpectively.

To the Proceedings of this Committee in digeſting theſe *Canons*, the interpoſing of another buſineſs gave no ſtop at all, though it ſeemed to be of more weight than all the reſt. His Majeſty on the twentieth of *May* directed his Letters ſealed with his Royal Signet, and atteſted by his Signe Manual, to the Biſhops and Clergy aſſembled in *Convocation*, Requiring and thereby Authoriſing them to proceed in making *Synodical Conſtitutions*, for Levying the ſix *Subſidies* formerly Granted. This the moſt eaſie Task of all. The Grant of the ſix *Subſidies* had been drawn before; and there was nothing now to be altered in it, but the changing of the name of *Subſidy* into that of *Benevolence*, according to the Advice of the Council-Learned; by whom it was reſolved, That no Moneys could be raiſed in the name of a *Subſidy*, but by Act of Parliament. And for the *Synodical Acts* or *Conſtitutions* for the Levying of it, they were made to their hands; So that there was nothing left for them to do, but to follow the Precedent which was laid before them out of the Record of *Convocation*, *Anno* 1585. and to tranſcribe the ſame (the Names and Sums being only changed) without further trouble. So that it was diſpatched by the *Committee*, Voted by the *Clergie*, and ſent up to the *Biſhops* before the end of the next day. Nor did the framing or compiling of the Book of *Articles*, give any ſtop at all to him, to whom the digeſting of them was committed, from attending the Ser-

vice

vice of the *Committee* and the Houſe upon all occaſions; though for the better Authoriſing of them, he had placed in the Margin before every *Article*, the *Canon*, *Rubrick*, *Law*, *Injunction*, or other Authentick Evidence upon which it was grounded. Which being finiſhed in good time was by him openly read in the Houſe, and by the Houſe approved and paſſed without alteration: but that an Exegetical or Explanatory Clauſe, in the fourth *Article* of the fourth *Chapter*, touching the Reading of the Second or *Communion-Service* at the *Lords Table*, was deſired by ſome to be omitted, which was done accordingly; Which *Articles* being too many and too long to be here inſerted, the Reader may conſult in the Printed Book, firſt publiſhed for the Viſitation of the Biſhop of *London*, and by him fitted in ſome points for the uſe of that Dioceſs. The ſaid Clerk brought a *Canon* alſo with him, "For enjoyning the ſaid Book to be "only uſed in all *Parochial Viſitations*, for the better ſettling of an "Uniformity in the outward Government and Adminiſtration of the "Church, and for the preventing of ſuch juſt Grievances, which "might be laid upon Churchwardens and other ſworn men, by any "impertinent, inconvenient, or illegal *Inquiries* in the *Articles* for "*Eccleſiaſtical Viſitations*: The ſame to be depoſited in the Records "of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. To which a Clauſe was added "in the Houſe of Biſhops, giving a Latitude to themſelves for adding ſome *Articles* peculiar to their ſeveral Juriſdictions, for the ſpace of three years; The ſame to be allowed by their *Metropolitan*: And afterwards to content themſelves with the ſaid *Articles*, ſo enlarged and accommodated, for al times ſucceeding.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom* 1640.

Some other things there were in Propoſition and Deſign, that never ripened into Act or Execution. There had been a Deſign in deliberation, touching the drawing and digeſting of an *Engliſh Pontifical*, to be approved by this *Convocation*, and tendred to his Majeſties Confirmation. Which ſaid *Pontifical* was to contain the form and manner of his Majeſties late Coronation, to ſerve for a perpetual ſtanding Rule on the like occaſions; Another form to be obſerved by all Archbiſhops and Biſhops, for Conſecrating Churches, Church-yards, and Chappels; and a third for Reconciling ſuch *Penitents* as either had done open *Penance*, or had revolted from the Faith to the Law of *Mahomet*. Which three, together with the form of *Confirmation*, and that of *Ordering Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons*, which were then in force, were to make up the whole Body of the Book intended. But the Troubles of the Time growing greater and greater, it was thought expedient to defer the Proſecution of it till a fitter conjuncture. Many had took exception againſt the tying up of Preachers to the Form of Prayer appointed to be uſed before their Sermons, *Can.* 55. For whoſe Relief therein, a ſhort Prayer was drawn, containing all the Heads of that in the *Canon*: And being ſo drawn up, it was to have been tendred by the hands of one of the *Clergie*, who would have undertaken that it ſhould be

 univerſally

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

universally received by all those which dislike the other. But the Archbishop chose rather to adhere to the *Canon*, than to venture on any new Experiment; that *Canon* being founded on the *Injunctions* of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *Edward* vi. at the first Reformation. And so the Proposition fell without moving further. *Gryffith* a Clerk for one of the *Welsh* Dioceses, a moderate and sober man, proposed unto the House, That a new Edition might be made of the *Welsh* Church-Bible, the old one being corrupt in some places, and defective in others, which he instanced in. The Motion well approved by the *Clergie*, and by the House of Bishops committed to the care of the four *Welsh* Bishops; of whose proceeding in the Work, by reason of the following Troubles, there was little hope. Nor did the Archbishop speed much better in a Motion of his, which was, That his Majesty might be moved for the new Printing of the *Common-Prayer Book* in the *Latin* Tongue, to the end (though I cannot positively say that he expressed so much at that time) that it might be used in all *Colledges* and *Halls*, in Officiating the *Morning-Prayer*, at which none are bound to be present, but such as are presumed to understand the Language. For doing whereof, he conceived he had good ground in the first *Rubricks* after the *Preface* to the *Common-Prayer Book*; in which it is declared, *That though it be appointed in the aforesaid Preface, that all things should be Read and Sung in the* English *Tongue, to the end that the Congregation may be thereby Edified: yet it is not meant, but when men say Morning and Evening Prayer privately, they may say the same in any Language that they themselves do understand.* And he had also the constant example of *Christ-Church* in *Oxon.* in which the first *Morning-Prayers* were continually Officiated in the *Latin* Tongue, for the *Prebends*, *Students*, and others of the Foundation; and at the Cathedral-hours, in the *English* only, for Instruction and Devotion of the *Choir-men*, *Alms-men*, *Servants*, and all others which resort unto them.

It is a matter which deserves no small Admiration, That these *Canons* (like the first building of the Temple, without the noise of Ax and Hammer) should pass the House with such a general calm and quiet, and be received with so many Storms and Tempests when they went abroad. The very sitting of the *Convocation* condemned for an illegal Act; as if it were a Crime to outlive the Parliament. And much sport made by ignorant and malicious men, touching the Metamorphosis of an old *Convocation*, into a new *Synod*, as they scoffed it; which hath sufficiently been answered in that before. The Whole Body of the *Canons* Voted by the House of Commons in the following Parliament, *to be against the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, against the Kings Prerogative, Property of the Subject, the Right of Parliaments, and to tend to Faction and Sedition*; which shall be answered as sufficiently in that which follows. The seven first passionately opposed by *Martin*, and some other Ecclesiastical Judges, before they passed the *Royal Assent*, as tending to the visible discouragement

*H. K. Ch. of H. L. p. 108.*

diſcouragement, if not the plain overthrow of their Profeſſion. To which it was anſwered by the Archbiſhop, and the Council too, That nothing but their Excreſcences and Exorbitances, were by thoſe *Canons* pared away; all their Preferments, with the Profits and Lawful Fees which belonged unto it, remaining as before they were. Yet the *Civilians* made not ſo much noiſe as ſome *Common Lawyers*, who look'd upon the Granting of a Benevolence by *Convocation*, and the Levying of it by *Synodical Acts* and *Conſtitutions*, as being an Incroachment on the Priviledges and Rights of Parliament, without the Midwifery whereof, the *Clergie* could Enact no *Canons* to bind the Subjects, in ſuch pecuniary Payments as were laid upon them. Which were it ſo, and that the *Clergie* could not give away their own without leave from others, they muſt needs be the greateſt Slaves the Sun ever ſhined on: Whereas in truth, the *Clergie* in *Convocation* have as much power to give away the money of the *Clergie* by whom they are choſen to that Imployment; as the Commons in Parliament have to command the Money of the Cities, Towns, and Counties for which they ſerve. For in the chooſing of the Clerks for the *Convocation*, there is an Inſtrument drawn and ſealed by the *Clergy*, in which they bind themſelves to the *Archdeacon* or *Archdeacons* of their ſeveral Dioceſſes, upon pain of forfeiting all their Lands and Goods, to allow, ſtand to, and perform whatſoever their ſaid *Clerks* or *Proctors* ſhall ſay, do, or condeſcend to on their behalf. Greater Authority than this, as the Commons have not; ſo why the *Clergie* in the *Convocation* ſhould not make uſe of this Authority as they ſee occaſion, I can find no reaſon. Nor is it a ſpeculative Authority only, and not reducible unto Practice; an Authority which was then in force, but not in uſe, as is diſtinguiſhed in ſome Caſes. They had a Precedent for it in Queen *Elizabeths* time, as before was noted; not then beheld as an Incroachment on the Right of Parliaments. But then was then, and now is now; the change of Times (without any alteration of the Laws) diverſifying the ſame Action into good and bad.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

*Se ratum, gratum & acceptum habere, quicquid dicti Procuratores ſui dixerint, fecerint, vel conſtituerint.*

But nothing raiſed ſo much noiſe and clamour, as the Oath required by the ſixth *Canon*; Exclaimed againſt both from the *Pulpit* and the *Preſs*; Reproached in printed Pamphlets, and unprinted Scribbles; and glad they were to find ſuch an excellent Advantage, as the diſcovering of an *&c.* in the Body of it, did unhappily give them. This voiced abroad to be the greateſt *Myſtery of Iniquity* which theſe laſt Ages had produced, containing in it ſo much of the *Depths of Satan*; that as no man could ſee the bottom of the Iniquity: ſo neither they that made the Oath, nor they that were to take it, underſtood the Myſtery. But unto this it hath been anſwered, as unto the fact, That in all the *Canons* which were made before this (being five in number) there was a particular enumeration of all the perſons, veſted with any Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; that is to ſay, *Archbiſhops*, *Biſhops*, *Deans*, *Archdeacons*, *Deans and Chapters*, and other

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

persons having peculiar or exempt Juriſdiction; which having been repeated diſtinctly or particularly in ſuch of the *Canons* as were firſt made, was in the firſt drawing of their Oath, for avoiding of a Tautologie ſo often iterated, cut off with this *&c.* with an intention nevertheleſs to make the Enumeration perfect (and conſequently to expunge this unlucky *&c.*) before it came to be Engroſſed. But the King being weary of the Charge and Clamour, which the keeping of a Guard on the *Convocation* did expoſe him to, did haſten them to a Concluſion by ſo many Meſſages brought by *Vane* and others, that in the haſte this unlucky *&c.* was forgotten, and ſo committed to the Preſs accordingly. It hath been ſecondly anſwered, as in point of Reaſon, That the *&c.* as it ſtands in that part of the Oath, is ſo reſtrained and limited by the following words, *viz. as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed*, that there can be no danger of any *Myſtery of Iniquity* in it: So that in the Conſtruction of this Text, the *&c.* as it now remains, is a meer impertinency: For being left in, it ſignifieth nothing, in regard of the Reſtriction following; and being left out, the ſenſe is currant and compleat without it. Which all thoſe witty Gentlemen who ſo often ſpoke, and others of leſs wit and quality, which ſo frequently writ againſt this Oath, could not chuſe but ſee: but that they were not willing to ſee any thing which might make againſt them. The Paramount Objection being thus refell'd, the reſt which have been made againſt it will be eaſily ſatisfied. It hath been charged by ſome, That the exacting of an Oath not to conſent to the Alteration of the Government of the Church by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, *&c.* is an affront to the fundamental Rules of Civil Politie. To which it hath been anſwered, That it is indeed *an affront to Government*, not to ſubmit or yield Obedience unto *Civil Sanctions* when made, and legally eſtabliſhed: But it is no *affront* not to give *conſent* to any ſuch *Eſtabliſhments*, while they are in Treaty; for then the liberty of aſſenting or diſſenting, of Yea or Nay, would be taken away from every Member in the Houſes of Parliament, and every Man muſt give *conſent* to every Bill which is offered to him. But beſides this, there were but few of the *Convocation* whoſe conſent was likely to be asked, when any change of Church-Government ſhould be ſet on foot; ſo that their diſſenting or aſſenting was not much material: but only ſo far as by their readineſs of conſenting to ſuch Innovations in the Publick Government, they might encourage others to proceed againſt it. Here then is no affront to Government, much leſs to the Fundamentals of it; the Oath not binding any man not to yield Obedience, but not to give conſent to ſuch Alteration. As for the laſt Objection, That he who takes the Oath declares therein, *That he takes it willingly*, being conſtrained ſo to do under grievous Penalties. This as it comes laſt, is the leaſt conſiderable; for if this were a Crime in the *Convocation*, it was ſuch a Crime as the High Court of Parliament hath been guilty of, in drawing up the Oath of Allegiance in the third

year

year of King *James*; in which the Party is to ſwear, That he makes *that Recognition* not only *heartily* and *truly*, but alſo *willingly*: and yet the taking of that Oath is impoſed on all the Subjects, under ſeveral Penalties, if any of them ſhall refuſe it.

And yet theſe Quarrels at the Oath, the Unparliamentary Levying of the ſaid Benevolence, and the pretended Illegality of their very Sitting after the Parliament expired, were but the out-ſides of the buſineſs, but only colours and diſguiſes to conceal the chief cauſe of their diſpleaſure from the publick view. Somewhat there was which galled them more than all theſe together; that is to ſay, the *Propoſitions* for aſſerting the *Regal Power*, making it abſolute and independent with reference both to *Pope* and *People*, to the great diſcontent and trouble of the Popular Party, ſince better known by the name of *Commonwealths-men*. Which ſince the *Engliſh* were not confident enough to ſpeak out at firſt, we muſt take their meaning from the *Scots*, who in the Articles exhibited againſt our Archbiſhop by their Commiſſioners, have expreſly charged him with this Crime, *viz.* "That he made *Canons* and *Conſtitutions* againſt "them, their juſt and neceſſary defence; Ordaining under all higheſt "Pain, That hereafter the Clergy ſhould Preach four times in the "year ſuch Doctrine as was contrary not only to their Proceedings, "but to the Doctrine and Proceedings of other Reformed Kirks, to "the Judgment of all ſound Divines and Politicks; as tending to "the utter ſlavery and ruining of all Eſtates and Kingdoms, and to "the diſhonour of Kings and Monarchs. This the true cauſe of thoſe high Diſpleaſures, conceived by ſome prevailing Members of the Houſe of Commons, and openly declared by their Words and Actions, branding thoſe innocent *Canons* for a tendency to *Faction* and *Sedition*, which they moſt laboured to ſuppreſs; condemning all that Voted to them, in great ſums of Money; and afterwards deſtroying them one by one, as they came in their way. Compared with this, neither the Benevolence, nor the Oath, nor any thing elſe before objected, was eſteemed conſiderable; though all were joyned together to amuze the People, and make them fearful of ſome Plot, not only to ſubvert Religion, but their Civil Rights.

*Cant. Dem.* p. 56.

But the beſt is, that howſoever ſome few men for their private ends reproached theſe *Canons*, as before; his Sacred Majeſty, the Lords of his moſt Honourable Privy-Council, the Reverend Judges, and the Great Lawyers of the Council-Learned, conceived otherwiſe of them; in the hearing of all which they were publickly read by the Archbiſhops procurement, before they were tendred to the Clergy to be ſubſcribed: and by all which they were approved, not without thanks to the Archbiſhop from the King himſelf, for his pains therein. And certainly it had been ſtrange that they ſhould paſs the Approbation of the Judges and Learned Lawyers, had they contained any thing *againſt the Fundamental Laws of the Land, the Property of the Subject, and the Rights of Parliaments*; or been approved

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

proved by the Lords of his Majeſties Privy-Council, had any thing been contained in them derogatory to the Kings Prerogative, or tending to *Faction* and *Sedition*. So far they were from being liable to Condemnation in thoſe reſpects, that Juſtice *Crook* (whoſe Argument in the Caſe of Ship-money was Printed afterwards by Order from the Houſe of Commons) is credibly affirmed to have lifted up his hands, and to have given hearty Thanks to Almighty God, that he had lived to ſee ſo good Effects of a *Convocation*. On theſe Encouragements, and ſuch a ſolemn Approbation, the Clergy were called up to the Houſe of Biſhops, to be preſent at the ſubſcribing of them; which was accordingly performed *May* 29. by the Biſhops, Deans, and Archdeacons in their Seniority, and promiſcuouſly by the reſt of the Clergy, till all the Members had Subſcribed; every mans heart going together with his hand, as it is to be preſumed from all men of that holy Profeſſion. Recuſant there was none, but the Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, ſuſpected of ſome inclinations to the *Romiſh* Religion in the Times preceding; which inclinations he declared more manifeſtly by this Refuſal; for which there could be no imaginable Reaſon to prevail upon him, but the ſeverity of the *Canon* for ſuppreſſing the Growth of *Popery*. Some pains was taken with him in the way of perſwaſion, and ſome Commands laid on him by his Metropolitan, as Preſident of the *Convocation*: But when neither of the two Endeavours could remove him from his former obſtinacy, the Prolocutor and Clergy were required to return to their Houſe again, and to conſider of the Penalty which he had incurred, according to the Rules and Practice of the Catholick Church in National and Provincial Councils. Which being done, the Prolocutor had no ſooner put the Queſtion, but the Clergy unanimouſly condemned him to a Suſpenſion *a Beneficio & Officio*; and found at their return, that the Houſe of Biſhops (who had had ſome ſpeech thereof before) had pronounced the ſame Sentence againſt him alſo. A Sentence which might have produced more dangerous effects on this obſtinate Prelate, if he had not prevented it in time by his ſubmiſſion. For the Sentence being reduced into Writing, ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhops hand, and publickly pronounced in the *Convocation*, his Majeſty took ſuch juſt offence at ſo great a ſcandal, that he committed him to Priſon, where he ſtaid not long; for on the tenth of *July* he made acknowledgment of his fault before the Lords of the Council, and took the Oath injoyned in the ſixth *Canon*, for preſerving the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, againſt all *Popiſh* Doctrines which were thereunto repugnant. Upon the doing whereof, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to reſtore him to his former Liberty; though this Submiſſion appeared within few years after, to be made either with ſome mental Reſervation, or Jeſuitical Equivocation, which he came prepared with. For in the time of his laſt Sickneſs, he declared himſelf to be a Member of the Church of *Rome*, and cauſed it ſo to be expreſſed

in

in his laſt Will and Teſtament, that the news thereof might ſpread the further, and his Apoſtacy ſtand upon Record to all future Ages. A Scandal ſo unſeaſonably given, as if the Devil himſelf had watched an opportunity to deſpite this Church,

But theſe things hapned not till after. The Sentence of Suſpenſion was no ſooner pronounced, but the Archbiſhop giving great thanks to the Biſhops and the reſt of the Clergy for their pains and diligence, in doing ſo much Work in ſo little time, produced his Majeſties Writ for diſſolving the ſaid *Convocation*; which he accordingly executed, and diſſolved the ſame. The Acts whereof being tranſmitted unto *York*, were by the *Convocation* for that Province peruſed, debated, and approved without any diſputing; and ſo preſented to his Majeſty with their Names ſubſcribed, according to the ancient Cuſtom. There remained now nothing more to do, for giving theſe *Canons* the Authority and Reputation of his Majeſties Eccleſiaſtical Laws, but the ſignifying of his Royal Aſſent, and confirming them by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*. And this his Majeſty, upon mature deliberation, was graciouſly pleaſed to do, commanding in the ſame, "That they ſhould be diligently ob- "ſerved, executed, and equally kept by all his Subjects, both with- "in the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York* reſpectively: That for "the better obſervation of them, all Miniſters ſhould audibly and "diſtinctly read all the ſaid *Canons* in the Church or Chappel in "which they Miniſter, at the time of Divine Service; The Book of "the ſaid *Canons* to be provided before *Michaelmas*, at the charge "of their Pariſhes: And finally, That all Archbiſhops and Biſhops, "and others having Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, ſhall take ſpecial "care that the ſaid *Canons* and *Ordinances* be in all points duly ob- "ſerved; not ſparing to execute the Penalties in them ſeverally "mentioned, upon any that ſhall wittingly or wilfully break or ne- "glect to obſerve the ſame, as they tendred the Honour of God, "the Peace of the Church, the Tranquility of the Kingdom, and "their Duties and Service to his Majeſty their King and Sovereign. With which his Majeſties Letters Patents, bearing date on *June* 13. confirmatory of the Acts of the ſaid *Convocations*, I conclude the fourth and buſieſt part of this preſent Hiſtory,

THE

# THE LIFE OF The most Reverend FATHER in GOD WILLIAM Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

## LIB. V.

*Extending from the end of the Convocation,* Anno 1640. *till the day of his Death,* Jan. 10th. 1644.

THus have we brought this Renowned Prelate, and with him the Church unto the very Battlement and Pinacle of External Glories. But ſuch is the viciſſitude of humane affairs, that being carried to the height they begin to fall; it being no otherwiſe with the fortunes of States or Men, then it is with Plants, which have their times of taking Root, their Growing, Flouriſhing, Maturity, and then their Fading, and decay. And therefore it was very well obſerved by *Paterculus*, an old *Roman* Hiſtorian, that when either Emulation or natural Courage had given to any man an edge to aſcend to the higheſt, after they had (*a*) attained that height, they were according to the courſe of Nature to deſcend again; and that it was no otherwiſe (*b*) with States and Nations then with Private men. It was juſt fourſcore years from the beginning of the *Reformation* under Queen *Eliz.* to the Pacification made at *Berwick*, when the King ſo unfortunately diſmiſt his Forces, and thereby left himſelf and his party in a worſe condition then before the raiſing of his

*Anno Dom.* 1640.

(a) *Naturaliter quod procedere non poteſt, recedit.* Vell. Pat. Hiſt. Lib. 1.

(b) *Gentium, urbium, ut eorum nunc floret fortuna, nunc ſeneſcit, aliquando interit.* Ibid.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

Army. The Church till then might ſeem to be in the *Aſcendent* in the point of *Culminating*; and was then ready to decline, which our Judicious *Hooker* (c) had before preſaged: Who had aſſigned her fourſcore years for her growth and flouriſhing, and nothing afterwards but ſorrow and diſconſolation. For taking notice of the inclination of the times to Sacriledge, and Spoil, and Rapine; and finding nothing more frequent in the mouths of men, then this, "that they which endowed Churches with Lands poiſoned Reli-"gion; that Tithes and Oblations are now in the ſight of God but "as the ſacrificed blood of Goats; and that fulneſs of bread ha-"ving made the Children wanton, it was without any ſcruple to "be taken away from them, He made upon the whole matter, this "enſuing Judgement: By this means (ſaith he) or the like ſuggeſti-"ons received with all joy, and with like ſedulity practiced in "certain parts of the Chriſtian World, they have brought to paſs "that as *David* doth ſay of man, ſo it is in hazard to be verified "concerning the whole Religion and ſervice of God, *The time there-*"*of may peradventure fall out to be threeſcore and ten years, or if* "*ſtrength do ſerve unto fourſcore*, what followeth is like to be ſmall "joy for them whoſoever they be that behold the ſame. An Obſervation which ſeems to ſavour more of the Prophet, then it did of the Preiſt; and to have as much Divination, as Divinity in it.

(c) *Eccleſiaſt. Polit. Lib. 5. Sect. 79.*

Thus alſo in reference to himſelf, he was now growing towards the term of 70 years, which the *Pſalmiſt* had aſſigned to the Life of man; and there wanted not many ſad Preſages of his Fall and Death. He was much given to take notice of his Dreams, and commit them to writing, Amongſt which I find this for one, that on *Friday* night the 24th of *Jan.* 1639. his father (who died 46 years before) came to him, and that to his thinking he was as well, and as cheerful, as ever he ſaw him; that his Father asked him what he did there; that after ſome ſpeech he demanded of his Father how long he would ſtay there; and that his Father made this Anſwer, that he would ſtay till he had him along with him. A dream which made ſuch Impreſſion on him as to add this Note to it in his Breviate, that *though he was not moved with Dreams, yet he thought fit to remember this.* On *Friday* night juſt a Moneth before, being the 27th of *December* and the night following the day of S. *John* the Evangeliſt, there was raiſed ſuch a violent Tempeſt that many of the Boats which were drawn to Land at *Lambeth*, were daſht one againſt the other, and were broke to pieces; and that the ſhafts of two Chimneys were blown down upon the Roof of his Chamber, and beat down both the Lead and Ratters upon his bed, in which ruine he muſt needs have Periſhed, if the Roughneſs of the water had not forced him to keep his Chamber at *White-hall.* A miſchance ſomewhat of this nature befel the ſame night at *Croyden* (a retiring place belonging to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) where one of the Pinacles fell from the Steeple, beat down the Lead and Roof of the Church

Church above twenty foot ſquare. But that which was more remarkable then either of theſe, happened the ſame night at the Metropolitical Church in the City of *Canterbury*; where one of the Pinacles upon the top of the *Bell-frey* Tower, which carried a vane, with this Archbiſhops Arms upon it, was violently ſtruck down, but born a good diſtance from the Steeple, to fall upon the Roof of the Cloyſter under which the Arms of the Archiepiſcopal See it ſelf, were engraven in ſtone; which Arms being broken to pieces by the fall of the other, gave occaſion unto one who loved him not, to collect this Inference, that the *Arms of the preſent Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *breaking down the Arms of the See of* Canterbury, *not only portended his own fall, but the Ruine of the Metropolitical dignity by the weight thereof.* Of theſe miſ-fortunes, (which ſome men perhaps may call Preſages) he took not ſo much notice, as he did of an accident which happened on S. *Simon* and *Jude's* eve, not above a week before the beginning of the late long Parliament, which drew him to his final Ruine. On which day going into his upper ſtudy to ſend ſome Manuſcripts to *Oxon*, he found his Picture at full Length, and taken as near unto the life as the Penſil was able to expreſs it, to be fallen on the Floor, and lying flat upon its face, the ſtring being broke by which it was hanged againſt the wall. At the ſight whereof he took ſuch a ſuddain apprehenſion, that he began to fear it as an *Omen* of that ruine which was coming toward him, and which every day began to be threatned to him, as the Parliament grew nearer and nearer to conſult about it. Which accidents happening one in the neck of another, gave him ſome occaſion to look back on a former miſfortune, which chanced on the 19th of *Septemb.* 1633. being the very day of his Tranſlation to the See of *Canterbury*; When the Ferry Boat tranſporting his Coach and Horſes with many of his Servants in it, ſunk to the bottom of the *Thames*. And though he loſt neither man nor Horſe by the miſadventure, yet much diſcourſe was made upon it, and moſt beheld it, as a ſign of no good Fortune, which ſhould befal him in the courſe of his Future Actions.

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

But worſe Preſages then all theſe, were the breaking out of divers Plots and Practices againſt him, by the Oppoſite Factions; not only the *Puritans* but the *Papiſts*, conſpiring againſt him, and both Reſolved to bring him to his Fatal end by ſome means or other. The Papiſts which had hope to effect great matters by the Power and Prevalency of the Queen, found the Archbiſhop ſo averſe from their courſes, and the King ſo reſolute in the maintainance of the true Proteſtant Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed, that they perceived it neceſſary to remove them both out of the way, before any thing could be effected anſwerable to their expectation. A confederacy was formed amongſt them, conſiſting of ſome of the moſt ſubtle heads in the whole Jeſuitical party; by whom it was con-

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

cluded to foment the broils began in *Scotland*, and to heighten the combuſtions there, that the King being drawn into a War might give them the better opportunity to effect their enterpriſe for ſending him and the Archbiſhop to the other world. Which being by one of the party on compunction of Conſcience, made known to *Andreas ab Habernsfield*, who had been Chaplain as ſome ſaid to the Queen of *Bohemia*, they both together gave intimation of it, to Sir *William Boſwel*, his Majeſties Reſident at the *Hague*; having firſt bound him by his Oath not to reveal the ſame to any man Living but to the Archbiſhop himſelf, and by the Archbiſhop to the King. This ſignified by *Boſwel's* Letters of the 9th of *Septemb.* Together with a general draught of the deſign tranſmitted to *Canterbury* under the hand of *Habernsfield* himſelf, the firſt diſcoverer of the plot. On the Receipt of which diſpatches the Archbiſhop giving directions to *Boſwel* to proceed to a further diſcovery of it, ſends the Intelligence with all ſpeed imaginable, by his Letters of the 11th of the ſame Moneth to the King at *York*; beſeeching nothing more then his ſecrecy in it, that he would not truſt his Pockets with thoſe dangerous Papers; and finally, that he would declare what his Pleaſure was for the Proſecution of the buſineſs. And ſo far both the King and he had very good Reaſon to be ſenſible of the dangers which were threatned to them. But when the large diſcovery was brought unto him tranſmitted in *Boſwel's* letter of the 15th of *Octob.* he found ſome names in it, which diſcredited the whole Relation as well in his Majeſties Judgement as his own. For beſides his naming of ſome profeſt *Papiſts*, as the Dutches of *Buckingham*, the Counteſſes of *Arundel* and *Newport*, *Mountague*, *Digby*, and *Winter*, of whoſe Fidelity the King was not willing to have any ſuſpicion, he named the Earl of *Arundel*, *Windebank*, Principal Secretarie of State, and *Porter* one of the Grooms of the *Bed-Chamber*, whom he charged to be the Kings utter enemies, and ſuch as betrayed his ſecrets to the Popes *Nuncio* upon all occaſions; all which his Majeſty beheld as men of moſt approved Loyalty and affections to him; By reaſon whereof no further credit being given to the Advertiſement, which they had from *Boſwel*, the danger ſo much feared at firſt, became more ſlighted and neglected then conſiſted with his Majeſties ſafety, and the condition of the times which were apt to miſchief; For though the Party who firſt brake the Ice to this Intelligence, might be miſtaken in the names of ſome of the Accomplices, which were intereſſed in the deſigne, whoſe Relations unto thoſe of the Church of *Rome* might give ſome ground for the miſtake; yet the calamities which ſoon after fell upon them both, the deplorable death of the Archbiſhop firſt, and his Majeſty afterwards, declare ſufficiently, that there was ſome greater Reality in the Plot then the King was willing to believe. But it had been a Maxime with King *James*, his Father, *That Suſpicion was the ſickneſs and diſeaſe of a Tyrant*; which laid him open to all

the

the ſubtle Practices of malicious cunning. And it had been taken up by this King for an *Axiom* alſo, *That it was better to be deceived than to diſtruſt*; which paved a plain and eaſie way to all thoſe miſfortunes which in the whole courſe of his Reign, eſpecially for ten years laſt paſt, had been brought upon him. LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

And as for *Canterbury* himſelf he had ſo many dangers threatned from the *Puritan* Faction as made him bend his whole thoughts to prevent their Practices, who had already declared their Purpoſe towards his Deſtruction. For a bruite being maliciouſly ſpread abroad, that the late Parliament had been diſſolved by his Procurement, the Rabble became ſo inflamed, that a Paper was paſted up at the *Exchange*, on *Saterday* the ninth of *May*, adviſing and animating the Apprentices to Sack his Houſe at *Lambeth* on the *Munday* following. This gave him a ſufficient warning to expect a ſtorm, and to prepare himſelf againſt it; which he did with ſo much care and courage, that though he was aſſaulted that night with a confuſed Raskal Rabble of five hundred perſons, yet they were not able either to force the Houſe, or do any viſible harm unto it. The next day he procured ſome pieces of Cannon, which he cauſed to be planted for defence of the great Gate which leads into the houſe, and ſtrengthned all the leſſer doors which opened towards the Garden, and other places; ſo that there was no danger to be feared from the like alarms, though prudently he withdrew to his Chamber at *Whitehall* till the Rage of the People was blown over. Some of the principal Actors in this Sedition being apprehended and committed to the Goal in *Southwark*, were forcibly delivered by others of their Accomplices, who brake open that and all the other Priſons in that *Precinct*; for which one *Benſtead*, who appeared in the head of that Riot, was on the 21. of *May* condemned for Treaſon, and was accordingly drawn, hanged, and quartered, for a terrour to others. Which ſeaſonable Execution put an end to the Outrage, but not to the malice of the People; Libels againſt him being ſcattered in moſt parts of the City. For though about the end of *Auguſt* a Paper was dropt in the *Covent Garden*, encouraging the Souldiers and Apprentices to fall upon him in the Kings Abſence (his Majeſty being then newly gone againſt the *Scots*) yet there was no Tumult raiſed upon it; the People ſtanding in more fear of the Hangman than to expoſe themſelves again to the Knife and Halter. Howſoever thinking it as unſafe as it was imprudent to tempt the Rabble to beſtow another viſit on him at his houſe in *Lambeth*, he gave order that the *High Commiſſion* ſhould be kept in St. *Pauls*, and he did well and wiſely in it. For the Commiſſioners ſitting there, on *October* 22. were violently aſſaulted by a mixt multitude of *Erownifts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Puritans*, of all ſorts to the number of 2000. and upwards, crying out they would have no *Biſhops*, nor no *High Commiſſion*. In which Tumult, having frighted away the Judges, Advocates, and Officers of the Court, they brake down all the

Seats

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

Seats and Benches which they found in the *Conſiſtory*, putting the King to a new neceſſity of keeping a Guard upon that Church, as before at *Weſtminſter*, not only at the next ſitting of the ſaid Commiſſioners, but at the firſt meeting of the *Convocation*, which ſoon after followed. And though one *Quatreman* had appeared in the head of this company, and animated all the reſt to commit theſe inſolencies; yet there was nothing done in order to his Puniſhment or Apprehenſion: the Party being grown ſo audacious in their diſorders, partly upon the near approach of the Parliament, but principally by the coming in of the *Scots*, that they contemned the Law, and defied the Magiſtrates.

For the *Scots*, being put into a ſtock of Reputation by the Kings Recalling of his Forces the year before, had took up ſtore of Arms and Ammunition (as before was ſaid) upon days of Payment. Advertiſed of his Majeſties Preparation to make war upon them, and confident of a ſtrong party which they had in *England*, they entred the Realm in hoſtile manner, taking in all places of importance which they found in their way. And having put by his Majeſties Forces near a place called *Newbourn*, they paſt over the *Tine*, and preſently made themſelves Maſters of the ſtrong Town of *New-Caſtle*, by which they put a bridle into the mouths of the *Londoners*, his Majeſties Forces looking on, or not very far diſtant. The news of this Invaſion being brought to the King, on *Auguſt* 20. he began a Poſting Journey towards his Army in the *North*: But he neither found the ſame men, nor the ſame affections, as he had ſo unfortunately diſcharged the year before. Many of theſe Souldiers being ſo ill principled, or ſo ill perſwaded, that in their marchings through the Country they brake into Churches, pulled up the Railes, threw down the Communion Tables, defac'd the Common-Prayer-Books, tore the Surplices, and committed many other Acts of outragious inſolence. The chief Command he had entruſted to the Earl of *Northumberland*, whom he had before made Admiral of his Royal Navy for defence of the Kingdom, honoured him with the *Order* of the *Garter*, and made him one of the Lords of his *Privy Council*; ſo that no greater characters of Power and Favour could be imprinted on a Subject. The Office of Lieutenant General he had committed unto the Earl of *Strafford* Lord *Lieutenant* of *Ireland*, of whoſe Fidelity and Courage he could make no queſtion; And the Command of the Horſe to *Edward* Lord *Conway*, whoſe Father had been raiſed by King *James* from a private condition to be one of his principal Secretaries, and a Peer of the Realm. Of which three great Commanders it was obſerved, that one had ſufficient health, but had no will to the buſineſs; That another had a good will to it, but wanted health; and that a third had neither the one nor the other. And yet as craſie and infirm as the Earl of *Strafford* found himſelf, he chearfully undertook the charge of the Army in the Generals abſence, and ſignified by Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that he

he durſt venture upon the peril of his head to drive the *Scots* out of *England*: but that he did not hold it Counſellable, as the caſe then ſtood. If any other of the Lords had adviſed the King to try his Fortune in a Battel, he doubted not of ſending them home in more haſte than they came: but the *Scots* had rendred him unfit to make the motion, for fear it might be thought that he ſtudied more his own Concernments, than he did the Kings. LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

For theſe Invadors, finding by whoſe Counſels his Majeſty governed his Affairs, reſolved to draw them into diſcredit, both with Prince and People. And to that end it was declared in a Remonſtrance, publiſht before their taking Arms, "That their Propoſitions and Deſires, ſo neceſſary and vital unto that Kingdom, could find no acceſs unto the ears of the gracious King by reaſon of the powerful Diverſion of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Deputy of *Ireland*, who (ſtrengthned with the high and mighty Faction of *Papiſts* near his Majeſty) did only ſide in all matters of Temporal and Spiritual affairs; making the neceſſity of their Service to his Majeſty to appear in being the only fit Inſtruments (under the pretext of vindicating his Majeſties Honour) to oppreſs both the juſt Liberties of his Free Subjects, and the true Reformed Religion in all his Kingdoms. Seconding this *Remonſtrance* with another Pamphlet, called, The *Intention* of the Army; they ſignified therein to the good People of *England*, that they had no deſign either to waſte their Goods, or ſpoyl their Country: but only to become Petitioners to his Sacred Majeſty to call a Parliament, and to bring the ſaid Archbiſhop and Lord *Lieutenant* to their condign Puniſhments. In which thoſe modeſt men expreſs, "That as they deſired the unworthy Authors of their trouble, who had come out from themſelves, to be tried at home, according to their own Laws; ſo they would preſs no further Proceſs againſt *Canterbury*, and the *Lieutenant* of *Ireland*, and the reſt of thoſe pernicious Counſellors in *England*, whom they called the Authors of all the miſeries of both Kingdoms, than what their own Parliament ſhould diſcern to be their juſt deſerving. And that the *Engliſh* might ſee the better whom they chiefly aimed at, a book was publiſhed by the name of *Laudenſium Autocatacriſis*, or the *Canterburians Self-conviction*; in which the Author of it did endeavour to prove, out of the Books, Speeches, and Writings of the Archbiſhop himſelf, as alſo of ſome Biſhops, and other learned men, who had exerciſed their Pens in the late diſputes, That there was a ſtrange deſign in hand for bringing in *Superſtition*, *Popery*, and *Arminianiſm*, to the ſubverſion of the Goſpel, and of ſuppreſſing the Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed.

*Remonſt. of the Scots*, p. 7

*Intent. of the Army*. p. 7.

But as theſe Reproaches moved not him, ſo neither did their *Remonſtrance*, or any other of their Scribbles diſtract his Majeſties Reſolutions, untill he found himſelf aſſaulted by a Petition from ſome Lords in the South, which threatned more danger at his back than he

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

he had cauſe to fear from the Northern Tempeſt which blew directly in his teeth; Complaint was made in this Petition of the many inconvenicences which had been drawn upon this Kingdom by his Majeſties engagings againſt the *Scots*; as alſo of the great encreaſe of *Popery*; the preſſing of the preſent payment of *Ship-money*; the diſſolving of former Parliaments; Monopolies, Innovations, and ſome other grievances, amongſt which the *Canons* which were made in the late *Convocation* could not be omitted. For Remedy whereof, his Majeſty is deſired to call a Parliament, to bring the Authors of the ſaid pretended grievances to a Legal Trial, and to compoſe the preſent War without Bloudſhed; Subſcribed by the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Hartford*, *Rutland*, *Bedford*, *Exeter*, *Warwick*, *Moulgrave*, and *Bullingbrooke*, the Lords *Say*, *Mandevil*, *Brooke*, and *Howard*; preſented to the King at *York* on the third of *September*; And ſeconded by another from the *City* of *London* to the ſame effect. His Majeſty, being thus between two Milſtones, could find no better way to extricate himſelf out of theſe perplexities, than to call the great Council of his Peers, to whom at their firſt meeting, on the 24 of the ſame month, he ſignified his purpoſe to hold a Parliament in *London* on the third of *November*; and by their Counſel entertained a Treaty with thoſe of *Scotland*, who building on the confidence which they had in ſome Lords of *England*, had petitioned for it. According unto which Advice a Commiſſion is directed to eight Earls, and as many Barons of the Engliſh Nation, (ſeven of which had ſubſcribed the former Petition) enabling them to treat with the *Scots* Commiſſioners, to hear their Grievances and Demands, and to report the ſame to his Majeſty, and the Lords of his Council. Theſe points being gained, which the *Puritan* Faction in both Kingdoms had chiefly aimed at, the *Scots* were inſolent enough in their Propoſals, Requiring freedom of Commerce, Reparation of their former Loſſes, and moſt eſpecially the maintenance of their Army at the charge of the *Engliſh*; without which no Ceſſation would be harkned to. Satisfaction being given them in their laſt Demand, and good Aſſurances for the two firſt, they decline *York*, as being unſafe for their Commiſſioners, and procure *Kippon* to be named, for the place of the Treaty; where the Lord Lieutenant was of leſs influence than he was at *York*; and where being further from the King, they might ſhuffle the Cards, and play the Game to their beſt contentment. The reſt of *October*, from the end of the firſt week of it, when they excepted againſt *York*, was drilled on, in requiring that ſome perſons of quality, intruſted by the *Scottiſh* Nation, might have more Offices than they had about his Majeſty, and the Queen, and in the Court of the Prince. That a Declaration might be made for naturalizing and ſettling the Capacities and mutual Priviledges of the Subjects in both Kingdoms: but chiefly that there might be an Unity and Uniformity in Church-Government, as a ſpecial means for conſerving of the Peace between the two Nations. And thus they entertained

entertained the time till the beginning of the Parliament, which removed the Treaty from *Rippon* to *London*, where the *Scots* were ſure of more Friends, and of warmer Quarters, than the Northern Counties could afford them.

In the mean time it may be asked what became all this while of the *Iriſh* Army, conſiſting of 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, which had been raiſed with ſo much zeal by the Earl of *Strafford* at the beginning of the Spring; and by the power whereof (kept ever ſince in conſtant pay and continual exerciſe) his Majeſty might have reduced the *Scots* to their due obedience, as was declared by the Earl at the Council Table on *May* 6. being the next day after the diſſolving of the former Parliament. Which Army if it had been put over into *Cumberland* (to which from the Port of *Carickfergus* in *Ireland* is but a ſhort and eaſie paſſage) they might have got upon the Back of the *Scots*, and caught the wretched People in a pretty Pitfall; ſo that having the *Engliſh* Army before them, and the *Iriſh* behind them, they could not but be ground to powder as between two Milſtones. But this deſign, if it were ever thought of, was never put in execution; ſo as that Army was diſſolved without doing any thing in order to his Majeſties Service: the Commons in the following Parliament not thinking themſelves or their affairs in any ſecurity as long as thoſe Forces were maintained and held together. It may be askt in the next place, why the Parliament, called at ſuch a time, and on ſuch an occaſion, (that is to ſay, the over-running of the Northern parts of the Kingdom by a *Scottiſh* Army) ſhould be held at *Weſtminſter*; when *York* (where the King was then in Perſon) lay nearer to the danger and the Scene of Action, and to the place of Treaty betwixt the Nations. Theſe Reaſons were ſufficient to have moved the King to hold this Parliament at *York*, and not at *Weſtminſter*, had he known nothing of the diſaffections and engagements of the neighbouring City, as he knew too much. And he had ſome good Preſidents too, which might have added no ſmall weight to the conſideration: For when King *Edward* was buſie in the Conqueſt of *Wales*, he called his Parliament to *Acton Burnel*, being in the *Marches* of that Country; and when he turned his Forces to the Conqueſt of *Scotland*, he called his Parliament to *Carliſle* (if my memory fail me not) being on the borders of that Kingdom. Had the King made choice of the like Place for this preſent Parliament (which he did afterward endeavour to alter when it was too late) he had undoubtedly prevented all thoſe inconveniencies (or rather miſchiefs) which the Pride, Purſe, Faction, and Tumultuouſneſs of the *Londoners*, did afterwards inforce upon him. And finally, It might be asked, What might move his Majeſty to transfer the Treaty from *Rippon* to *London*, where the Commiſſioners of the *Scots* were Complemented, Feaſted, and preſented by the wanton Citizens; Their Lodgings more frequented for Prayers and Sermons, than the houſes of Foreign Embaſſadors had ever been for hearing *Maſs* by any of

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

the *Engliſh Papiſts*. By means whereof they had the greater opportunity to enflame that City, and make it capable of any impreſſion which they thought fit to imprint upon it; expreſt not long after by their going down in ſuch huge multitudes after Alderman *Pennington*, to preſent a Petition to the Parliament, ſubſcribed by ſome Thouſands of hands againſt the Government of Biſhops here by Law eſtabliſht; as afterwards in no leſs number to clamour at the Parliament doors for Juſtice on the Earl of *Strafford*, which were the points moſt aimed at by the *Scottiſh* Covenanters. To which no Anſwer can be given, but that all theſe things were ſo diſpoſed of by the ſupreme and over-ruling power of the Heavenly Providence, contrary to all reaſon of State, and Civil Prudence.

But to proceed, the third of *November* drawing on, when the Parliament was to take beginning, A Letter was writ to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, advertiſing, that the Parliament of the twentieth year of King *Henry* viii. which began in the Fall of Cardinal *Wolſey*, continued in the Diminution of the Power and Priviledges of the Clergy, and ended in the diſſolution of the *Abbeys* and Religious Houſes, was begun on the third day of *November*; and therefore that for good-luck ſake he would move the King to Reſpite the firſt ſitting of it for a day or two longer: But the Archbiſhop not harkning to this Advertiſement, the Parliament had its firſt ſitting at the time appointed. Which Parliament as it began in the Fall and Ruine of the Archbiſhop himſelf, and was continued in the total Diſſipation of the remaining *Rites* and Priviledges of the *Engliſh* Clergy; ſo did it not end till it had ſubverted the *Epiſcopal* Government, diſſolved, as much as in them was, all *Capitular* Bodies, and left the *Cathedrals* of this Land (not preſently ruined I confeſs, but) without means to keep them up for the time to come. The day appointed being come, his Majeſty declined the accuſtomed way of riding in a Magnificent Pomp from *Whitehall* to the Church of *Weſtminſter*, and making his entry there at the great Weſtern Gate: but rather choſe to paſs thither privately by water, attended by ſuch of the Lords as could accommodate themſelves with convenient Barges. Entring the Church at the Little door which openeth toward the Eaſt, he was received by the Sub-Dean and Prebendaries under a Canopy of State, and ſo conducted to the place where he heard the Sermon; the performance of which work was commended by his Grace of *Canterbury* to the Biſhop of *Oxon.* and by him learnedly diſcharged. The Sermon being done, his Majeſty, attended by the Peers and Prelates, returned the ſame way to *Weſtminſter Hall*, and from thence went to the Parliament Houſe; where cauſing the Commons to be called before him, he acquainted both Houſes with the Inſolencies committed by the *Scots*, who not content to embroyle their own Country had invaded this; requiring their timely aſſiſtance to drive the Rebels out of the Kingdom, and caſting himſelf upon the good affections of his *Engliſh Subjects*. The Commons

mons were not more willing to hear that his Majeſty was reſolved to caſt himſelf wholly on their good affections, than many zealous Patriots ſeemed to be troubled at it; knowing how ill it ſorts with Kings when they have no way to ſubſiſt, or carry on their great Deſigns, but by caſting themſelves wholly on the love of the People. Theſe on the other ſide were not better pleaſed with hearing his Majeſty call the *Scots* by the name of *Rebels*, whom he had too long courted by the name of his *Scottiſh* Subjects, than the Prevailing Members in the Houſe of Commons were offended at it; the name of *Rebels* rendring them uncapable of thoſe many Favours which were deſigned them by that Houſe. And the diſpleaſure went ſo high, that his Majeſty finding into what condition he had caſt himſelf, was fain to call both Houſes before him within two daies after, (*a*) there to Explain, or rather to Retract ſo harſh a Title, calling them afterwards by the name of his *Subjects* of *Scotland*, as he uſed to do; which gave the Commons ſuch a ſenſe of their Power, and of his Compliance, that they reſolved to husband both to their beſt advantage, and not ſo eaſily to part with their Friends of *Scotland*, as his Majeſty firſt hoped they would. The differences might have been agreed at *York* or *Rippon*, if the Commiſſioners of the *Scots* had been as forward as the *Engliſh*; but the *Scots ſo delayed them* (as his Majeſty noted in that Speech) *that it was not poſſible to end it there.* The *Scots* had other work to do beſides their own, and muſt be kept in pay at the charge of the *Engliſh*, till they had brought his Majeſty into ſuch a condition, that it was not ſafe for him to deny them any thing, which they had the confidence to require. Such a beginning had this long and unhappy Parliament, unhappy to the King, and to all that loved his Power or Perſon; moſt men who looked on his Affairs with the eye of Judgment, preſaging that this thrifty omiſſion of the Publick Pomp in the preſent Conjunctures, would prove as inauſpicious to him as the like neglect had done at his Coronation; and that this Parliament which began without ſolemnity would prove a Parliament of ſorrows unto him and his.

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

(*a*) *Reliquiæ Carolinæ*, p. 3

With little better Fortune did the Convocation take beginning at S. *Pauls* Church on the morrow after, handſelled at their firſt meeting by the ſad news of the Deceaſe of Dr. *Neile*, Archbiſhop of *York*, which had been brought unto the Town the day before. A man he was who had paſt through all Degrees and *Orders* in the Church of *England*, and thereby made acquainted with the conveniencies, or diſtreſſes, incident to all conditions. He had ſerved the Church as Schoolmaſter, Curate, Vicar, Parſon, Maſter of the *Savoy*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, Clerk of the Cloſet to both Kings ſucceſſively, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Lichfield*, *Lincoln*, *Durham*, and *Wincheſter*, and finally, Archbiſhop of *York*, in which place he died. Many good Offices he had done to the Church and Church-men in his attendance at the Court, croſſing the *Scots* in moſt of their ſuits, their Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, which greedily and ambitiouſly

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

they hunted after, and thereby drawing on himſelf the general hatred not only of the *Scots*, but *Scotizing* Engliſh. But of this Prelate we have ſpoke ſo much upon other occaſions, that we may ſave the labour of any further addition, than that he died as full of years as he was of honours, an affectionate Subject to his Prince, an indulgent Father to his Clergy, a bountiful Patron to his Chaplains, and a true friend to all which relied upon him; more fortunate in the time of his death than the courſe of his life, in being prevented by that bleſſed opportunity from ſeeing thoſe calamities which afterwards fell upon the King, the Church, and all that wiſh well to either of them; which muſt have been more grievous to him than a thouſand deaths. But this bad news retarded not the Convocation from proceeding forwards, the Prelates and Clergy attending the Archbiſhop from the Chapter-houſe into the Choire, where they heard the Sermon, Preached at that time by *Bargrave* then Dean of *Canterbury*; which done, the Clergy ſettled to the choice of a Prolocutor, electing the ſame man who had before diſcharged the Place with ſo much dexterity. Adjourned to *Weſtminſter*, and Proteſtation made by the Sub-Dean and Prebends, according to the uſual cuſtome, the Prolocutor was preſented to the Archbiſhop and Biſhops in the Chappel of King *Henry* vii. at what time the Archbiſhop in an eloquent but ſad Oration, bemoaned the infelicities which he ſaw hanging over the Church, adviſing every one there preſent to perform their Duties, and not to be wanting to themſelves, or the cauſe of Religion, as far forth as they were concerned in their ſeveral places. Nothing more done of any moment in this Convocation, but that a motion was made by *Warmiſtre*, one of the Clerks for the Dioceſs of *Worceſter*, to this effect; *viz.* That they ſhould endeavour (according to the *Levitical* Laws) *to cover the Pit which they had opened*, and to prevent their Adverſaries intention by condemning ſuch offenſive Canons as were made in the laſt Convocation. He had before offered at many things in that Convocation, but ſuch was his ill-luck, that the Vote was for the moſt part paſſed before he ſpake; nor had he better fortune in his motion now, than his offers then, the Members of that Houſe not being willing to condemn themſelves till they were accuſed. So that not having any other way to obtain his purpoſe, he cauſed a long Speech, which he had made upon this occaſion, to be put in Print; bitter enough againſt ſome Canons and Proceedings in the former Seſſion: but ſuch as could not ſave him from a Sequeſtration, when the reſt of the Clergy were brought under the ſame condition.

Whilſt theſe things were acting on the Stage of *Weſtminſter*, the Earl of *Strafford* was not Idle in acting his part at *York*, amongſt the Souldiers, whoſe affections he had gained ſo far, that he was generally beheld with eſteem and veneration. He had before ſufficient proof, how ſtrongly the *Scots* aimed at his deſtruction, expreſſed in their Remonſtrance, and the *Intentions* of their Army, (as they called

called the Pamphlet) but more eſpecially by the refuſal of the *Scots* Commiſſioners to hold the Treaty at *York*, and the reaſons given for their refuſal; for in a Paper of theirs, preſented on *October* 8. "They "had inſiſted on the danger apprehended by them in going to *York*, "and caſting themſelves and others, who might be joyned with them, "into the hands of an Army commanded by the Lord *Lieutenant* "of *Ireland*, againſt whom (as a chief Incendiary according to "their demands, which was the ſubject of the Treaty it ſelf) they "reſolved to proceed. They complained alſo in that Paper, That in the Parliament of *Ireland* he had proceeded againſt them as *Traitors* and *Rebels*; That he honoured them in his common talk with no better Titles; That his Commiſſion was to deſtroy them; And that by all means, and by all occaſions, he had hindred all Propoſitions tending to a Pacification, for fear himſelf might be excluded from the benefit of it. He was not without a ſtrong preſumption, that the *Scots* were animated unto theſe Demands, and incouraged to invade the Kingdom, by ſome of thoſe which were of greateſt Prevalency in both Houſes of Parliament. And lying ſo near the *Scots*, in the head of his Army, he had not only gained aſſurance (as he conceived) in many particulars to confirm it, but that there was a Confederacy made between the Heads of the *Covenanters* and ſome of the leading Members of both Houſes, his moſt Capital Enemies, to ſubject the Government of the Church, and innovate in that of the Civil State; which Intelligence being digeſted into the Form of an Impeachment, he intended to preſent to the Houſe of Peers as ſoon as he had taken his place amongſt them: and to that end prepared for his laſt Journey to *London*, from whence he never was to return alive. Calling together ſome of his eſpecial Friends, and many of the chief Officers and Commanders which remained in the Army, he made them acquainted with his purpoſe of going to *Weſtminſter* to attend the Parliament, leaving to them the Charge of his Majeſties Forces, and the preſerving of thoſe parts from the ſpoyl of the Enemy. An Enterpriſe from which he was diſſwaded by moſt of his Friends, alledging that he could not chuſe but know, that the *Scots*, and *Scotizing Engliſh* had moſt infallibly reſolved on his deſtruction; and that innocency was no Armour of Proof againſt the fiery Darts of malicious Power; That ſeeing ſuch a ſtorm hang over his head, rather keep himſelf in the *Engliſh* Army, (being under his Command, which he had gained upon exceedingly by his noble carriage) or paſs over into *Ireland*, where the Army reſted wholly at his Devotion; or tranſport himſelf to ſome Foreign Kingdom, till fairer weather here (in reference to his own ſafety and the publick peace) ſhould invite him home; That it was no betraying of his innocency to decline a Trial where Partiality held the Scales, and Self-ends backt with Power, and made blind with Prejudice, were like to over-ballance Juſtice; That if Sentence ſhould be

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

be paſſed againſt him for default of appearance (which was the worſt that could befal him) yet he would then keep his head on his ſhoulders until better times, and in the mean ſeaſon might do his Majeſty as good Service in the Courts of many Foraign Princes, as if he were ſitting in *White-hall* at the Council Table.

Turning a deaf ear to theſe conſiderations, he Reſolved to proſecute his deſign, but was ſcarce entred into the Houſe of Peers, when followed at the heels by *Pym* (whom it concerned as much as any) who fearing or knowing his intendments, impeacht him of high Treaſon, in the name of all the Commons of *England*, requiring in their names that he might be ſequeſtred from the Houſe, and Committed to Cuſtody. And here again it was conceived that the Earl ſhewed not that *præſentiam animi*, that readineſs of Courage and Reſolution, which formerly had conducted him through ſo many difficulties, in giving over his deſign; For though he loſt the opportunity of ſtriking the firſt blow, yet he had time enough to ſtrike the ſecond, which might have been a very great Advantage to his preſervation. For had he offered his impeachment, and proſecuted it in the ſame paces and method as that was, which was brought againſt him, it is poſſible enough that the buſineſs on both ſides might have been huſhed up without hurt to either. And for ſo doing he wanted not a fair Example in the ſecond Parliament of this King, when the Earl of *Briſtol* being impeached of high Treaſon by the Kings Attorney at the inſtance and procurement of the Duke of *Buckingham*, retorted preſently a recrimination or impeachment againſt the Duke, and by that means took of the edge of that great Adverſary from proceeding further. Nor gave it little cauſe of wonder unto many wiſe men, that a perſon of ſo great Spirit and knowledge, ſhould give himſelf up ſo tamely on a general accuſation only, without any particular Act of Treaſon charged upon him, or any proof offered to make good that charge; not only to the loſs of his Liberty as a private Perſon: but to the forfeiture of his Priviledge as a Member of Parliament. But the impeachment being made, his Reſtraint deſired, and nothing by him offered to the Contrary, he was committed the ſame day (*Novemb.* 11.) to the Cuſtody of the Gentleman *Uſher*, called the Black-rod, and not long after to the Tower; Sir *George Ratcliff* one of his eſpecial confidents, being preſently ſent for out of *Ireland* by a Serjeant at Arms, as concriminal with him. In this condition he remained, till the 16th of *Decemb.* without any particular Charge againſt him; Which at the laſt was brought into the Houſe of Peers by the *Scots*, and preſented in their Names by Lord *Paget* one of the Members of that Houſe. In which they did inform againſt him, in reference to matters which concerned Religion, that in promoting the late pretended Innovations he had been as forward as *Canterbury* himſelf; and to that end had preferred his Chaplain *Bramhall* to the See of *Derrie*, and *Chappel* to the Colledge of *Dublin*; that he had threatned to

burn

burn the Articles of *Ireland*, agreed upon in Convocation *Anno* 1615. by the hand of the Hangman, and would not hearken to the *Primate*, when he deſired a Ratification of them by Act of Parliament, for preventing and ſuppreſſing the ſaid Innovations; that he countenanced divers books againſt them and their Covenant, which were Printed at *Dublin*, and cauſed all Perſons above the age of ſixteen years, to abjure the ſaid Covenant by a ſolemn Oath, or otherwiſe to be Impriſoned or to fly that Kingdom; that at his laſt coming into *England* he had openly ſaid, that if ever he returned unto the Honourable Sword he would not leave any of the *Scots* in that Kingdom, either Root or Branch; and that he did adviſe the great Council of Peers aſſembled at *York*, to ſend them back again in their own blood, and that he might whip them out of *England*.

In further purſuance of this Charge, it was preſt againſt him in the Articles Exhibited by the Houſe of Commons on the 16$^{h}$ of *February* (for ſo long it was, before he heard any more news from them) That he maintained a correſpondence with the *Papiſts* of *Ireland*, endeavoured to raiſe hoſtility between *England* and *Scotland*, and had conſented to the betraying of *New-caſtle* into the hands of the *Scots*; to the end that the *Engliſh* being nettled by ſo great a loſs, might be more Cordially engaged in the War againſt them; that he gave a Warrant under his hand to ſome Biſhops in the Church of *Ireland*, and their Chancellors and other Officers, to Arreſt the Bodies of ſuch of the meaner ſort, as after Citation, ſhould refuſe to appear before them, or ſhould refuſe to undergo and perform all Lawful decrees and ſentences, given or iſſued out againſt them, and the ſaid perſons to keep in the next Common Goal, till their Submiſſion to the ſaid Orders and Decrees, and otherwiſe ſhew ſome Reaſon to the Contrary to the Lords of the Counſel; that in the Moneth of *May* in the year 1639. he cauſed a new Oath to be contrived, Enforced eſpecially upon thoſe of the *Scottiſh* Nation in the Realm of *Ireland*, by which the party was obliged to Renounce the Covenant, and to ſwear that he would not *Proteſt* againſt any of his Majeſties Royal Commands, but ſubmit himſelf in all obedience thereunto, and had put divers grievous fines upon many of them on their Refuſal of the ſame; that he required the like Oath for the Obſervation of all Rites and Ceremonies then eſtabliſhed, or from thenceforth to be eſtabliſhed, by the Kings Authority, ſaying, that he would proſecute all Repugners of them to the very Blood. The Reſt of the Articles relating unto Civil matters I omit of purpoſe, as neither being pertinent or proper to my Preſent Hiſtory; obſerving only in this place, that for the better carrying on of their charge againſt him, they had gained two points, more neceſſary to be craved than fit to be granted; The firſt was (which they carried in the Houſe of Lords by a Major Vote) that no Biſhop ſhould be of that Committee for the Preparatory

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

ratory Examinations in the preſent caſe, under colour that they were excluded from acting in it by ſome Ancient Canons, as *in Cauſa ſanguinis*, or the cauſe of blood; concerning which a brief diſcourſe entituled *De jure Paritatis Epiſcoporum*, was preſented to his Grace of *Canterbury*, and ſome other Biſhops for aſſerting all their Rights of *Peerage* (and this of being of that Committe amongſt the reſt) which either by Law or Ancient Cuſtom did belong unto them. The ſecond was that the Lords of the Council ſhould be examined upon Oath, for any thing which was ſaid or done by the Earl of *Strafford* at the Council Table, Which being yielded by the King; though tending viſibly to the Derogation of his Power, and the diſcouragement of all ſuch as either were or ſhould be of his Privy Council, the Archbiſhop was accordingly Examined on *December* 4th being the next day after the ſaid Condeſcenſion.

Nor was it long before the like Oath was required and obtained by them againſt the Archbiſhop himſelf, being the next man whom the *Scots* and their Confederates in both houſes, had an eye upon. He knew there was ſome danger coming toward him by the ſaid combination, but thought not at the firſt it would reach ſo far, as to touch his Life. The moſt he looked for, as he told the Author of theſe Collections on the ſecond or third day after the beginning of the Parliament, was to be ſequeſtred from his Majeſties Councils, and confin'd to his Dioceſs, to which he profeſt himſelf as willing as any of his Enemies were deſirous of it. And as it ſeems his Enemies at the firſt had no further thoughts. For it appeareth by a paſſage in his *Diary* that on Thurſday *Decemb.* 24th four Earls of Great Power in the Upper Houſe declared unto a Parliament man, that they were reſolved to Sequeſter him only from the Kings Council, and deprive him of the Archiepiſcopal dignity, and no more then ſo; which though it were too much, and ſavoured of too little Juſtice to be ſo reſolved before any particular charge was brought againſt him: yet I conſider it as an Argument of their firſt intentions, that they aimed not at his Life, but at his removal. In Order whereunto it was thought expedient, that his Majeſty ſhould be moved to releaſe the Biſhop of *Lincoln* from his long Impriſonment, and to reſtore him to his place in the houſe of Peers; knowing full well how Active an Inſtrument they were ſure to find him, by reaſon of ſome former grudges, not only againſt the Archbiſhop but the Earl of *Stafford*. Which motion being made and granted he was conducted into the Abby Church by ſix of the Biſhops, and there officiated (it being a day of Humiliation) as Dean of *Weſtminſter*; more honoured at the firſt by the Lords and Commons, then ever any of his Order, his perſon looked upon as Sacred, his words deemed as Oracles. And be continued in this height, tell having ſerved their turn againſt the Archbiſhop, and the Lord Lieutenant, he began ſenſibly to decline, and

grew

grew at laſt to be generally the moſt hated man of all the *Hierarchy*. Orders are alſo made by the Houſe of Commons for releaſing ſuch as were Impriſoned by the *Star-Chamber*, *Council-Table*, or *High-Commiſſion*; and more particularly for the remanding of *Baſtwick*, *Prynne*, and *Burton*, from the ſeveral Iſlands, to which they were before confined. Upon which general Goal-delivery, *Burton* and *Prynne* had ſo contrived it as to come together, met on their way as far as *Brainford* by ſome thouſands of the *Puritan* Faction out of *London*, and *South-wark*, and by them ſilently conducted with Bays and Roſemary in their hands, to their ſeveral Houſes to the intolerable affront of the Courts of Juſtice, and his Majeſties Government, his Majeſtie conniving at the inſolency or not daring to puniſh it. Not well repoſed after the toil and trouble of ſo long a journey, *Prynne*, joyns himſelf with *Bagſhaw* before remembred, and both together are admitted to a private conference with the Biſhop of *Lincoln* in the beginning of *December*, which boded no great good to the Church or State, or any who had formerly appeared in defence of either. Lib. V. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

Theſe preparations being made, the Project was carried on a main; For on the 16th of that month the Canons made in the late Convocation, were condemned in the Houſe of Commons, as being againſt the *Kings Prerogative, the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and containing divers other things tending to Sedition, and of dangerous Conſequence*. A Vote was alſo paſt for making *Canterbury* the Principal Author of the ſaid Canons; for a Committee to be nominated to enquire into all his former Actions; and for preparing a Bill againſt all thoſe of the ſaid Convocation by whom theſe Canons were ſubſcribed: but the ſorrows of that day, did not end there neither. For on the ſame, a charge was laid againſt him in the houſe of Peers by the *Scots* Commiſſioners (that being the day in which they had accuſed the Earl of *Strafford*) for doing ill offices, and being an Incendiary between the Nations. And in purſuance of the plot, on *Fryday* the 18th of the ſame Moneth, he was Impeacht by *Hollis* in the name of all the Commons of *England*, of no leſs then Treaſon; and thereupon, without any particular charge againſt him, he was committed to the cuſtody of the Gentleman Uſher, leave only being granted him, to repair to his houſe at *Lambeth*, for the Collecting of ſuch Papers as were neceſſary for his Juſtification. At *Maxwells* houſe (for ſo was the Uſher of the Black-Rod called) he remained ten weeks, before ſo much as any General charge againſt him, was brought up to the Lords. During which time he gained ſo much on the good opinion of the Gentle-woman of the Houſe, that ſhe reported him to ſome of her Goſſips, to be one of the goodeſt men, and moſt Pious Souls, but with all one of the ſilleſt fellows to hold talk with a Lady that ever ſhe met with in all her life. On the 26th of *February*, This charge was brought up to the Lords

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

by *Vane* the younger, consisting of fourteen General Articles, which Generals he craved time to prove in particular; and thereupon a Vote was passed for transmitting the Prisoner to the Tower, with leave however to remain at *Maxwell*'s till the *Munday* following. Which day being come, he was conveyed in *Maxwell*'s Coach without any disturbance, till he came to the end of *Cheapside*, from whence he was followed by a railing Rabble of rude and uncivil People, to the very Gates of the Tower: Where having taken up his Lodging, and settled his small Family in convenient Rooms, he diligently resorted to the Publick Chappel of that place at all times of Worship, being present at the Prayers and Sermons, and sometimes hearing himself uncivilly reviled, and pointed at as it were, by some factious Preachers, sent thither of purpose to disgrace and vex him. All which Indignities he endured with such Christian meekness, as rendred him one of the great Examples both of Patience and Piety in these latter Times.

The principal things contained in the Charge of the *Scots* Commissioners, were these that follow; *viz. That he had press'd upon that Kirk many Innovations in Religion, contained in the Liturgie and Book of Canons, contrary to the Liberties and Laws thereof; That he had written many Letters to* Ballentine *Bishop of* Dumblane, *and Dean of the Kings Chappel in* Scotland, *in which he required him and the rest of the Bishops to be present at the Divine Service in their* Whites, *and blamed the said Bishop for his negligence and slackness in it, and taxing him for Preaching Orthodox Doctrine against* Arminianism; *That he had caused the said Bishop to be reprehended for commanding a Solemn Fast to be kept in his Dioceſs on the Lords day, as if they had offended in it against Christianity it self; That he gave order for the taking down of Stone Walls and Galleries in the Churches of* Edenborough, *to no other end but for the setting up of Altars, and Adoration toward the East; That for their Supplicating against these Novations, they were encountred by him with terrible Proclamations from his Majesty, declared Rebels in all the Parish-Churches of* England, *and a War kindled against them by his Arts and Practices; That after the* Pacification *made at* Berwick, *he frequently spake against it as dishonourable, and unfit to be kept; their Covenant by him called ungodly, and divers Oaths imposed upon their Countrymen to abjure the same; That he spared not in the presence of the King and their Commissioners to rail against the General Assembly held at* Glasco, *and put his Hand unto a Warrant for Imprisoning some of those Commissioners, sent from the Parliament of* Scotland *for the Peace of both Nations; That when the late Parliament could not be moved to assist in the War against them, he had caused the same to be dissolved, and continued the Convocation to make Canons against them and their Doctrines, to be published four times in every year; That he had caused six Subsidies to be Levied on the Clergy for maintaining the War, and Prayer to be made in all Parish-Churches,* That shame might cover their faces, as Enemies

mies to God and the King: *And finally, That he was ſo induſtrious in advancing* Popery *in all the three Kingdoms, that the Pope himſelf could not have been more Popiſh, had he been in his place.* Such was the Charge exhibited by the *Scots* Commiſſioners; in which was nothing criminal enough to deſerve Impriſonment, much leſs to threaten him with Death. And as for that brought up from the Houſe of Commons, it conſiſted of fourteen General Articles, as before was ſaid, uſhered in with a ſhort Preamble made by *Pym*, and ſhut up with a larger Aggravation of the Offences comprehended in the ſeveral Articles; the ſubſtance of which Articles was to this effect: 1. *That he had Traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, and to perſwade his Majeſty, That he might Lawfully raiſe Money of the Subject, without their common Conſent in Parliament.* 2. *That to this end he had cauſed divers Sermons to be Preached, and Books to be Printed, againſt the Authority of Parliaments, and for aſſerting an abſolute and unlimited Power over the Perſons and Goods of the Subjects, to be not only in the King, but alſo in himſelf and the reſt of the Biſhops; and had been a great Promoter of ſuch by whom the ſaid Books and Sermons had been made and publiſhed.* 3. *That by ſeveral Meſſages, Letters, Threatnings, &c. he had interrupted and perverted the Courſe of Juſtice in* Weſtminſter-Hall, *whereby ſundry of his Majeſties Subjects had been ſtopp'd in their juſt Suits, and thereby made ſubject to his will.* 4. *That he had traiterouſly and corruptly ſold Juſtice to ſuch as had Cauſes depending before him, and taken unlawful Gifts and Bribes of his Majeſties Subjects; and had adviſed and procured his Majeſty to ſell Places of Judicature and other Offices.* 5. *That he had cauſed a Book of Canons to be Compoſed and Publiſhed without lawful Authority, in which were many things contained contrary to the Kings Prerogative, the Fundamental Laws, &c. and had cauſed many of the ſame to ſurreptitiouſly paſſed, and afterwards by fear and compulſion to be ſubſcribed by the Prelates and Clerks there aſſembled, notwithſtanding they had never been Voted and Paſſed in the Convocation.* 6. *That he hath aſſumed to himſelf a Papal and Tyrannical Power, both in Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal Matters, over his Majeſties Subjects in this Realm, and other places, to the diſheriſon of the Crown, diſhonour of his Majeſty, and derogation of his Supreme Authority in Eccleſiaſtical Matters.* 7. *That he had endeavoured to alter and ſubvert Gods true Religion, by Law eſtabliſhed in this Realm, and inſtead thereof to ſet up Popiſh Superſtition and Idolatry; and to that end had maintained many Popiſh Doctrines, enjoyned many Popiſh and Superſtitious Ceremonies, and cruelly vexed and perſecuted ſuch as refuſed to conform unto them.* 8. *That in order thereunto he had intruded into the Rights of many of his Majeſties Officers and Subjects, in procuring to himſelf the Nomination of divers Perſons to Eccleſiaſtical Benefices; and had taken upon him the commendation of Chaplains to the King, promoting and commending none but*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

*ſuch as were Popiſhly affected, or otherwiſe unſound in Doctrine, or corrupt in Manners.* 9. *That to the ſame intent he had choſen ſuch men to be his Chaplains, whom he knew to be notoriouſly diſaffected to the Reformed Religion; and had committed unto them, or ſome of them, the Licencing of Books to be Printed, whereby many falſe and Superſtitious Books had been Publiſhed, to the great ſcandal of Religion, and the ſeducing of many of his Majeſties Subjects.* 10. *That he had endeavoured to reconcile the Church of* England *to the Church of* Rome, *confederating to that end with divers Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, holding Intelligence with the Pope, and permitting a Popiſh Hierarchy or Eccleſiaſtical Government to be eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom.* 11. *That in his own Perſon, and by others under his Command, he had cauſed divers Godly and Orthodox Miniſters of Gods Word to be Silenced, Suſpended, and otherwiſe grieved, without any lawful or juſt cauſe, hindred the Preaching of Gods Word, cheriſhed Prophaneneſs and Ignorance among ſt the People, and compelled many of his Majeſties Subjects to forſake the Kingdom.* 12. *That he had endeavoured to cauſe diſcord between the Church of* England, *and other Reformed Churches; and to that end had ſuppreſſed and abrogated the Priviledges and Immunities which had been by his Majeſty and his Royal Anceſtors granted to the* Dutch *and* French *Churches in this Kingdom.* 13. *That he had endeavoured to ſtir up War between his Majeſties Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland; *and to that end had laboured to introduce into the Kingdom of* Scotland *divers Innovations both in Religion and Government: for their refuſing whereof, he firſt adviſed his Majeſty to ſubdue them by force of Arms, and afterwards to break the Pacification made between the Kingdoms; forcing the Clergie to contribute toward the Maintenance of the War.* 14. *And finally, That to preſerve himſelf from being queſtioned for theſe and other his traiterous courſes, he had laboured to divert the ancient courſe of Parliamentary Proceedings, and by falſe and malicious ſlanders to incenſe his Majeſty againſt Parliaments.* This was the ſubſtance of the Charge, to which afterwards they added other which were more Particulars, when they found themſelves ready for his Tryal, *Anno* 1644. and there we ſhall hear further of them. I note here only by the way, That one of thoſe which had been added to make up the Tale, and create a greater hatred of him, as *ſelling Juſtice, taking Bribes, &c.* (for which never any Man of Place and Power was more clearly innocent) was found ſo far unfit for a Proſecution, that it was ſuppreſſed. An excellent Evidence of his Integrity and Uprightneſs, in ſuch a long-continued courſe of Power and Favour.

But Sorrows ſeldom come alone. The Danger firſt, and afterwards the queſtioning of ſo great a Prelate, left the Church open to the Aſſaults of a potent Faction, and the poor Clergy deſtitute of a conſtant Patron. The firſt Aſſault againſt the Church, was made at St. *Margarets* Church in *Weſtminſter*, on a day of Publick Humiliation, *November* 17. the ſame on which the Biſhop of *Lincoln* was re-eſtated with ſuch Triumph in the *Abby*-Church: At what time the

the Miniſter Officiating the Second Service at the Communion-Table, according to the ancient Cuſtom, was unexpectedly interrupted by the naming and ſinging of a Pſalm, to the great amazement of all ſober and well-minded men. And at the Meeting of ſome *Anabaptiſts* to the number of 80. at a Houſe in *Southwark*, it was preached, That the Statute 35 *Eliz. for reſtraining the Queens Majeſties Subjects in their due Obedience*, was no good Law, becauſe made by Biſhops; ſtriking at once both at the *Liturgie* and Government of the Church by Law eſtabliſhed. The Biſhops left out of the Committee for Examinations, in the buſineſs of the Earl of *Strafford*; and in all other Committees, by the fraud and artifice of the Clerk of the Parliament, not named in ſuch proportion to the Temporal Peers, as had been accuſtomed. The ſame Clerk at the Reading of ſuch Bills as came into that Houſe, turned his back toward them in diſdain, that they might not diſtinctly hear what he read; as if their conſenting or diſſenting to the point in queſtion, had been judged unneceſſary. And to prepare the way the better for their Declination, *Pennington* attended by ſome hundreds of the Raskal Rabble, preſents a Petition to the Commons, in the name of the City of *London*, ſubſcribed by 15000 hands of ſeveral qualities, moſt of them indigent in Eſtate, and of known diſaffections to the preſent Goverment. In which Petition it was prayed, That the Government of Biſhops might be aboliſhed; That Rites and Ceremonies might be preſs'd no longer upon the conſciences of the weak; and that many other things at which they found themſelves grieved, might be alſo abrogated. After which followed many bitter Speeches made againſt them by the Lord *Faulkland*, *Bagſhaw*, *White*, and others, in the Houſe of Commons; by the Lords *Say* and *Brook* in the Houſe of Peers; by *Brook* alone in a Printed Pamphlet, in which he reproacheth them as born of the Dregs of the People: the names of the Lords Spiritual being deſpitefully left out of all Bills which paſſed this Seſſion, to ſhew how inſignificant they were in an Act of Parliament. And all this ſeconded by many Petitions of like nature, in the name of many whole Counties and Populous Cities, and in their names preſented to the Houſes of Parliament; though the ſaid Petitions, for the moſt part, were never either ſeen or heard of by the greateſt and moſt conſiderable number of thoſe in whoſe names they were ſubſcribed. Which coming to his Majeſties knowledge, he called both Houſes unto *whitehall*, *January* 25. "Where he informed "them of the Diſtractions that were then occaſioned through the "connivence of the Parliament, there being ſome men who more "maliciouſly than ignorantly, would put no difference between Re"formation and Alteration of Government; from whence it came, "that Divine Service was irreverently interrupted, and *Petitions* in "an indirect way procured and preſented; That he was willing to "concur with them for reforming all Innovations both in Church "and Commonwealth, and for reducing all things to the ſame cor-

"dition

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

"dition in which they ſtood in the beſt and happieſt times of Queen "*Elizabeth*; That he could not but take notice of many Petitions "given in the name of divers Counties, againſt the eſtabliſhed Go- "vernment of the Church; and of the great threatnings againſt the "Biſhops, That they will make them to be but Cyphers, or at leaſt "their Voices to be taken away; That if upon ſerious debate, they "could ſhew him that the Biſhops had ſome Temporal Authority "not ſo neceſſary for the Government of the Church, and uphold- "ing Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, he would not be unwilling to deſire "them to lay it down: And finally, If they had encroached too "much upon the Temporality, he was content that all Abuſes of "that kind ſhould be redreſſed; and that he would go with them ſo "far, and no further. And to ſay truth, it concerned the King to look about him, when his own Regal Power, not that of the Biſhops only, was ſo openly ſtrook at; it being Preached by the ſaid *Anabaptiſts* but the Week before, *That he could not make a good Law, becauſe not* PERFECTLY REGENERATE, *and was only to be obeyed in Civil Matters.* But all this little edified with ſuch of the Lords and Commons as had the carrying on of the Plot againſt Epiſcopacy: they found the temper of the King; and having got him on the Anvile, they reſolved to hammer him.

As an Expedient to the Work, it was found neceſſary to queſtion and diſgrace all thoſe, who either had been active in advancing thoſe Publick Orders, which were now branded by the name of Innovations, or otherwiſe induſtrious in his Majeſties Service; ſome to be ſacrificed to the pleaſure of particular Perſons, others to ſatisfie the fury or diſcontentments of the People generally. Of the firſt ſort were *Pocklington* and *Bray*, both Doctors in Divinity; the firſt of late made Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, the ſecond Chaplain of long time to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This laſt had Licenced two of *Pocklington*'s Books, the one being a Sermon Preached at a Viſitation before the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the other a Diſcourſe of *Altars*, and the moſt proper ſituation of the Lords Table, in which were many Paſſages againſt that Biſhop: To pacifie which offended *Deity*, *Pocklington* muſt be ſacrificed on his own *Altar*, deprived of all his Preferments at the preſent, and made uncapable of receiving others for the time to come: *Bray* being enjoined to Preach a Recantation-Sermon in St. *Margarets* Church, and therein to retract one and thirty Articles which the Biſhop had collected out of thoſe Books. *Heylyn* had been Petitioned againſt by *Prynne* at his firſt coming home, as a ſubſervient Inſtrument (under the Archbiſhop himſelf) of all his Sufferings; and was kept four days in Examination: but finally diſmiſs'd without ſhame or cenſure. *Coſens* (informed againſt by *Smart* (who had been deprived for his factious Inconformity, of ſome good Preferments in the Biſhoprick and Church of *Durham*) was under a great Storm at firſt: but being one that would not ſhrink in the wetting, he ſtood ſtoutly

to

to it, and in concluſion was diſmiſſed without any other loſs but of Time and Charges. The like happened alſo unto *Heywood* Vicar of St. *Giles*'s in the Fields, *Squire* of St. *Leonard*'s in *Shoreditch*, and *Finch* of *Chriſtchurch*. The Articles againſt which four, and ſome others more, being for the moſt part of the ſame nature and effect, as namely, Railing in the Communion-Table, Adoration toward it, Calling up the Pariſhioners to the Rail to receive the Sacrament, Reading the Second Service at the Table ſo placed, Preaching in Surplices and Hoods, Adminiſtring the Sacrament in Copes, Beautifying and Adorning Churches with Painted Glaſs, and others of the like condition; which either were to be held for Crimes in the Clergy generally, or elſe accounted none in them. And though the Informations were ſo ſlight and inconſiderable, that none of thoſe who were impeach'd, could legally be made obnoxious to any Puniſhment; and that the credit of the Informers, not proved by Oath (which the Commons had no power to give) was the chief ground of their Proceedings: yet that theſe poor men might appear more monſtrous in the eye of the World, the Articles againſt *Pocklington*, *Coſens*, *Heywood*, *Squire*, *Finch*, *&c.* were ordered to be put in Print, without care taken whether they were true or not. They knew full well, that when dirt was once thrown upon any man, (*a*) ſome of it muſt needs ſtick upon him, or about his Garments, how careful ſoever he might be to wipe it off. LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

(*a*) *Sublata ...*

This courſe they alſo held with the Biſhop of *Ely*, impeaching him of many pretended Miſdemeanours in the See of *Norwich*, *viz.* That he deprived or baniſhed within the ſpace of two years, fifty *godly*, *learned*, *painful Miniſters*; His placing the Communion Table Altar-wiſe, and cauſing a Rail to be ſet before it; The practicing of Superſtition in his own Perſon, his bowing toward it, Conſecrating the Bread and Wine at the Weſt ſide of the Table, with his back toward the People, and elevating the ſame above his head, that the People might ſee it, (which laſt Points, as they made moſt noiſe, ſo they found leaſt proof) cauſing the Seats in all places to be ſo contrived, that the people muſt of neceſſity kneel toward the Eaſt, according to the pious Cuſtom of the Primitive Times; Turning all afternoons Sermons into Catechiſings by Queſtion and Anſwer, according to the Kings *Inſtructions*; Appointing no Prayer to be uſed by Preachers before their Sermons, but that preſcribed by the *Canon*; and that the Bells ſhould give no other warning for Sermons, than they did for Prayers, that the People might reſort unto the Church at all times alike, as by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm they were bound to do. In conſideration whereof, it was reſolved upon the Queſtion to be the Opinion of that Houſe, That the ſaid Biſhop was unfit to hold or exercife any Office or Dignity in the Church or Commonwealth: and that a Meſſage ſhould be ſent to the Lords, deſiring them to joyn with the Commons in Petitioning his Majeſty to remove him both from his Perſon 1641. *Report of the Com. againſt Wren.*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

Perſon and Service. By which this wiſe Prelate underſtood, that his neerneſs to the Kings Perſon was his greateſt Crime; and thereupon, in imitation of the Caſtor (having firſt obtained his Majeſties conſent thereto) he diſcontinued that attendance which might occaſion more danger to him than it brought in profit. Which Proſecutions of the Clergy, but this laſt eſpecially, have brought me unto the year 1641. Which brought more trouble to the Country Clergy than the laſt year had done to thoſe which lived in *London*. The *Committee* Authoriſed by the Houſe of Commons for Affairs of Religion, finding their work begin to fail them, and that *Informations* came not up ſo faſt as had been expected, diſpatched *Inſtructions* into all parts of the Kingdom for an *enquiry* to be made into the *Lives* and *Actions* of the Clergy in their ſeveral Pariſhes. And that the Inquiſition might be made with the greater diligence, not only *ſuch as were in Authority*, but *every ingenious Perſon was required to be very Active in improving the preſent opportunity, by giving true Information of all the Pariſhes in their ſeveral Counties*. I know it was pretended by the ſaid *Inſtructions*, that enquiry ſhould be made into *Pluralities* and *defect of maintenance*, as well as into *ſcandalous* and *unpreaching* Miniſters; yet the main buſineſs was to bring the Clergy on the Stage, and find ſome matter of complaint againſt them. Quite contrary in this to the Emperour *Trajan*, who in the midſt of the Perſecutions, which he had raiſed againſt the Church, commanded by his Imperial *Edict*, (a) *That no ſtrict Inquiſition ſhould be made of thoſe who did profeſs the Faith of Chriſt; but only that they ſhould be puniſhed, if accidentally or by the voice of Common Fame they ſhould be offered unto judgment.* What miſchief hereupon enſued in animating the Pariſhioners againſt their Miniſter, ſeducing Servants to accuſe and betray their Maſters, alienating the affections of the Clergy from one another, and by that means ſubjecting them to that diſſipation which ſoon after followed, ſhall be ſhewn hereafter, ſo far forth as it coms within the compaſs of this preſent Hiſtory.

(a) *Chriſtianos ... quærendos non eſſe; ſi verò ... aliqui, puniendos eſſe.* Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 30.

But whilſt theſe clouds were gathering together in the Country, as great a tempeſt ſeemed to be brewing in the City, which threatned no leſs danger to the Church it ſelf than thoſe proceedings to the Clergy. For in the beginning of this year we find ſome Divines of name and note, convened in the Dean of *Weſtminſters* Lodgings, to conſult about matters of the Church; the occaſion this: The Convocation was then ſitting, but not impowered by his Majeſties Commiſſion to act in any thing of concernment. It was therefore ordered by the Peers *March* 21. that a Committee of ten Earls, ten Biſhops, and ten Barons ſhould be nominated, in the name of the reſt, for ſettling the affairs of the Church; by whom a Sub-Committee was the ſame day named to prepare ſuch matters as were to be diſcourſed and concluded by them, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* being in the Chair for both. Which Sub-Committee being made up of the Divines

vines above-mentioned, conſiſted of three Biſhops, nine Doctors in Divinity, and four of ſome inferiour Degree in the Univerſities; ſome of them being Prelatical, and ſome Presbyterian in point of Government, but all of them *Calvinians* in point of Doctrine. Beginning firſt with points of Doctrine, complaint was made that the whole body of *Arminianiſm*, and many particular points of *Popery* (for ſo they called all which agreed not with *Calvin*'s ſenſe) had been of late maintained in Books and Sermons, and ſometimes alſo in the Divinity Schools. And then deſcending to matter of Diſcipline, they diſcourſed of many Innovations, which they conceived to have been thruſt upon the Church, moſt of them in diſpoſing and adorning the Communion Table, and the more reverent Adminiſtration of the holy Sacraments; ſome of them poſitively required, or at leaſt directed by the Laws of the Land, as reading the Communion Service at the Lords Table on Sundaies and Holidaies, reading the Litany in the middeſt of the Church, the Miniſters turning toward the Eaſt in the Creed and Prayers, and praying no otherwiſe before Sermons than in the words of the *Canon*; ſome of them never having been diſuſed in many Parochial Churches, and retained in moſt Cathedrals ſince the Reformation, as ſtanding at the Hymns, and the *Gloria Patri*, placing the Table Altarwiſe, and adoring toward it; ſome being left indifferent at the choice of the Miniſter, as the ſaying or ſinging of the *Te Deum* in Parochial Churches, officiating the Communion and the dayly prayers in the Latine tongue, in ſeveral Colledges and Halls, by and amongſt ſuch as are not ignorant of that Language; And others not of ſo great moment, as to make any viſible alteration in the face of the Church, or ſenſible diſturbance in the minds of the People: Which therefore might have been as well forborne as practiced, till confirmed by Authority, or otherwiſe might have been borne without any ſuch clamour, as either out of ignorance or malice had been raiſed againſt them.

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

They alſo took into conſideration ſome Rubricks in the Book of Common Prayer, and other things, which they thought fit to be rectified in it. Amongſt which they adviſed ſome things not to be utterly diſliked, *viz.* That the Hymns, Sentences, Epiſtles and Goſpels, ſhould be reprinted according to the new Tranſlation; That the Meeter in the Pſalms ſhould be corrected, and allowed of Publickly; and that no Anthems ſhould be ſung in Colledges or Cathedral Churches but ſuch as were taken out of the Scripture, or the publick Liturgy; That fewer Leſſons might be read out of the Books called Apocryphal, and the Leſſons to be read diſtinctly, excluſive of the Liberty which is given to ſing them as appears by the *Rubrick*; That the Rubrick ſhould be cleared concerning the Miniſters power for repulſing ſcandalous and notorious ſinners from the holy Communion; and that the general Confeſſion before the Communion be ordered to be ſaid by the Miniſter only, the People repeating it after him; That theſe words in the Form of Matrimony, viz. *With*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

*my body I thee worship*, may be explained and made more intelligible; And that inſtead of binding the married Couple to receive the Communion on their Wedding day (which is ſeldom done) they may be obliged to receive it on the Sunday after, or the next Communion day following; That none be licenced to marry, or have their Banes asked, who ſhall not firſt bring a Certificate from their Miniſter, that they are inſtructed in the Catechiſm; and that it be not required that the Infant be dipt in the water (as is injoyned by the Rubrick) in the caſe of extremity. Some Paſſages they obſerved impertinently, and not worth the altering, as the expunging of ſome Saints (which they falſly called *Legendaries*) out of the Kalendar; The conſtant adding of the Doxology at the end of the *Pater noſter*; Reading of Morning and Evening Prayer dayly by the Curate, if not otherwiſe letted; The leaving out of the *Benedicite*, and the changing of the Pſalm uſed in the Churching of Women; That thoſe words (*which only workeſt great marvels*) be left out of the Prayer for the Biſhops and Clergy; That *Grievous ſins* inſtead of *Deadly ſins* be uſed in the Letany; That the *ſanctifying* of the Flood *Jordan*, be changed into *ſanctifying* the Element of water, in the Form of Baptiſm; That thoſe words, *In ſure and certain hope of Reſurrection*, which are uſed at Burials, may be changed to theſe, *Knowing aſſuredly that the dead ſhall riſe again*; And that the Commination ſhould be read at the Desk, and not in the Pulpit: all which remaining as they did could give no offence, and might have eaſily been changed to give ſome content. And finally, ſome things there were of which they deſired a Reformation, which ſeemed to have ſo much of the *Anti-Papiſt*, that they came cloſe to the *Puritan*, *viz.* That the Veſtments preſcribed by the firſt Liturgy of King *Edward* vi. ſhould not be required, and the rule in that caſe to be altered; That the Alms ſhould be gathered rather after, than before the Communion; Theſe words, *This is my body*, *This is my bloud*, not to be Printed in great Letters; and that a Rubrick be inſerted to declare, that kneeling at the Communion is required only in relation to the Prayer of the diſtribution, *Preſerve thee body and ſoul*, &c. That weekly Communion every Sunday be changed to monthly in Colledges and Cathedral Churches; That the *Croſs* in Baptiſm be either explained, or quite diſuſed; and that in the Form of Confirmation theſe words importing, that Children baptized, are *undoubtedly ſaved*, be no longer uſed; That no times of Reſtraint may be laid on Marriage; And that the *Authoritative* Form of *Abſolution* in the Viſitation of the ſick may be turned to a Pronouncing or declaring of it.

I have the longer ſtood on the reſult of theſe Conſultations, becauſe of the different apprehenſions which were had of the Conſequents and Iſſue of them. Some hoped for a great Reformation to be prepared by them, and ſettled by the Grand Committee both in Doctrine and Diſcipline; and others as much feared (the affections of

the

the men conſidered) that Doctrinal *Calvinism* being once ſettled, more alterations would be made in the Publick Liturgy than at firſt appeared, till it was brought more near the Form of the *Gallick* Churches, after the Platform of *Geneva*. Certain I am, that the impriſoned Archbiſhop had no fancy to it, fearing leaſt the *Aſſembly* of Divines in *Jeruſalem*-Chamber (ſo the place was called) might weaken the foundations of *Jeruſalem* in the Church of *England*; That this Aſſembly on the matter might prove the National *Synod* of *England*, to the great diſhonour of the Church; and that when their Concluſions were brought unto the great Committee, the buſineſs would be over-ruled by the Temporal Lords, as double in number to the *Biſhops*. But whatſoever his fears were they were ſoon removed, that Meeting being ſcattered, about the middle of *May*, upon the bringing in of a Bill againſt Deans and Chapters; which ſo divided the *Convenors* both in their perſons and affections that they never after met together. Concerning which we are to know, that not only moſt of the *Lords of the Lower* Houſe, and many *Lower-Houſe Lords* in the Upper Houſe, reſolving to pull up Epiſcopacy by the very roots, thought it convenient to begin with lopping the Branches as laying no pretence to Divine Inſtitution. The voting of which Bill exceedingly amazed all thoſe of the Prelatical Clergy, as knowing at what Root it ſtruck; though none ſeemed preſently concerned in it but ſuch as had ſome benefit or ſubſiſtance in thoſe foundations. To ſtill the great noiſe which was raiſed about it, the Commons ſeemed not unwilling that ſome of the Cathedral Clergy ſhould advocate for the continuance of thoſe Capitular Bodies, and others of the contrary Party to preſent their Reaſons for their Diſſolution. The time appointed being come, *Hacket*, Archdeacon of *Bedford*, and one of the Prebends of St. *Pauls*, pleaded both learnedly and ſtoutly in behalf of thoſe Churches; and *Burges* of *Watford*, who not long before brought down his *Myrmidons* to cry for Juſtice againſt *Strafford*, to the Parliament doors, was all for *down with them, down with them to the very ground.* But though they differed in their Doctrine, yet they agreed well enough in their applications: *Burges* declaring it unlawful, as well as *Hacket*, that the Revenues of thoſe Churches ſhould otherwiſe be imployed than to pious uſes. This ſeemed to put the buſineſs to a ſtand for the preſent time, but *Canterbury* knowing with what eaſe it might be reſumed, adviſed the drawing of a Petition to both Houſes of Parliament in the name of the Univerſity of *Oxon.* which had a great ſtock going in the Ship of the Church, not only for the preſervation of the Epiſcopal Government, but of thoſe Foundations, as being both the Encouragements and Rewards of Learning. In which Petition having ſpoken in few words of the Antiquity and Succeſſion of Biſhops from the Apoſtles themſelves, they inſiſt more at large upon ſuch Suggeſtions as might beſt juſtifie and endear the cauſe of Cathedral Churches; which being the moſt material of all thoſe

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

PART II. motives, which were laid before them to that purpose, we ſhall
*Anno Dom.* here ſubjoyn.
1641. *And we become further ſuiters (ſaith that Univerſity) for the continuance of the Pious Foundations of Cathedral Churches with their Lands and Revenues: As Dedicate to the Service and Honour of God, ſoon after the Plantation of Chriſtianity in the* Engliſh *Nation; As thought fit and uſefully to be preſerved for that end, when the Nurſeries of Superſtition were demoliſhed, and ſo continued in the laſt and beſt times ſince the Bleſſed Reformation under King* Edward *the ſixth, Queen* Elizabeth, *and King* James, *Princes Renowned through the world for their Piety and Wiſdom; As approved and confirmed by the Laws of this Land, Ancient and Modern: As the Principal and outward motive, and encouragements of all Students, eſpecially in Divinity, and the fitteſt Reward of ſome deep and Eminent Scholars: As Inducing or Nouriſhing in all Ages, many Godly and Learned men who have moſt ſtrongly aſſerted the truth of the Religion we Profeſs, againſt the many fierce oppoſitions of our Adverſaries of* Rome: *As affording a competent Portion in an Ingenious way to many younger brothers of good Parentage, who devote themſelves to the Miniſtery of the Gospel: As the only means of ſubſiſtance to a multitude of Officers, and other Miniſters, who with their families depend upon them, and are wholly maintained by them: As the main Authors or upholders of divers Schools, Hoſpitals, High-ways, Bridges, and other Pious works: As ſpecial cauſes of much Profit and advantages to thoſe Cities where they are ſituate; Not only by Relieving the Poor, and keeping convenient Hoſpitality: but by occaſioning a frequent Reſort of ſtrangers from other parts to the great benefit of all trades-men and inhabitants, in thoſe places: As the goodly Monuments of our Predeceſſors Piety, and preſent Honour of this Kingdom in the Eye of Foreign Nations: As the Chief ſupport of many thouſand families of the Layety who enjoy fair Eſtates under them in a free way: As yielding a conſtant and ample Revenue to the Crown: And as by which many of the Learned* Profeſſors *in our Univerſities are maintained. The ſubverſion or alienation whereof muſt (as we conceive) not only be attended with ſuch conſequences as will redound to the Scandal of many well affected to our Religion, but open the mouths of our Adverſaries, and of Impiety againſt us, and as likely in time to draw after it harder conditions upon a conſiderable part of the Layety, and Univerſal cheapneſs and contempt upon the Clergy, a lamentable drooping and defection of Induſtry and knowledge in the Univerſities; which is eaſie to foreſee but will be hard to Remedy.*

The like petition came from *Cambridge*, as much concerned in this common cauſe, as their ſiſter of *Oxon.* But neither of them could prevail ſo far as take off the edge of the ax, which had been thus laid at the Root of the tree, though it did blunt it at the preſent. For they which had the managing of the Deſign, finding that the Cathedral Churches were too ſtrongly Cemented, to be demoliſh-

ed

ed at an Inſtant, conſidered ſeaſonably for themſelves, that the furtheſt way about, did many times prove the neareſt way to the journeys end; A Bill was therefore paſſed in the Houſe of Commons and ſent up to the Lords, by which it was to be Enacted (if their Vote had carried it); Firſt, that the Biſhops ſhould have no Voices in Parliament; Secondly, that they ſhould not be Commiſſioners for the Peace, or Judges in any Temporal Courts; And that they ſhould not ſit in the *Star-chamber* nor be Privy Counſellors. Which Bill being Voted part by part; The two laſt parts were paſſed, by a general conſent, not above one or two diſſenting: But the firſt branch was carried in the Negative by ſuch an Uniſon conſent in the Lords then preſent, that if the Biſhops had not Voted in defence of themſelves, the Temporal Lords alone who appeared for them, had carried it by ſixteen Voices. The point being ſtill upon debate, thoſe Lords which had ſhewed themſelves againſt the Biſhops, reſolved to put it to the Fortune of another day, proteſting that the Former manner of Voting the ſaid Bill by *Branches* was both *Unparliamentary* and *Illegal*; and therefore that the *Bill* was either *wholly* to be paſſed, or ejected *wholly*: which being condeſcended to, the whole *Bill* was utterly caſt out of the Houſe by ſo many voices, that the Biſhops might have ſpared their own till another time. And though according to the Rules of all former Parliaments that a Bill which had been once caſt out of the Houſe, ſhould never be preſt again the ſame Seſſion; yet this Bill found a way to it within few moneths after, and almoſt twelve years before the end of this Seſſion, as we ſhall ſee too ſoon in the courſe of this Hiſtory. In the mean time, the *Anti-Prelatical* party in the houſe of Peers ſo beſtirred themſelves, that they prevailed upon the Reſt to put a lower valuation on the Biſhops then they had done formerly; inſomuch, that at a Solemn Faſt following not long after, the Temporal Lords took Precedence of the Biſhops, contrary to the Cuſtom of their Predeceſſors in all times foregoing: the Biſhops not thinking it convenient to contend for place, at ſuch time as their whole *Order* was in danger of *Falling*. Which being obſerved by the Lord *Spencer*; *Is this*, ſaid he, *a day of Humiliation, wherein we ſhew ſo great a Pride, in taking place of thoſe to whom it was allowed by all our Anceſtors?* A day of *Humiliation* if it might be called; it was made ſuch to the Biſhops only, the Temporal Lords being never higher in their Exaltation.

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

But now we muſt look back on the Earl of *Strafford*, the proſecution of whoſe Impeachment had been long delaid upon ſome probable hope, that the diſpleaſures of his greateſt adverſaries might be mitigated by ſome Court-preferments. In Order whereunto it was agreed upon (if my intelligence or memory fail not); that the *Earl* of *Bedford* ſhould be made Lord *Treaſurer*, and *Vane Chancellor* of the Exchequer, the Earl of *Eſſex* Governour of the Prince, and that *Hambden* ſhould be made his Tutor, the Lord *Say* Maſter

of

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

of the *Wards*, and *Hollis* Principal Secretary in the Place of *Windebank*; the *Deputieſhip* of *Ireland* was diſpoſed of alſo, and ſome command appointed for the Earl of *Warwick* in the Royal Navy. Which Earls together with the Earl of *Hartford*, and the Lord *Kimbolton* (eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Mancheſter*) were taken at this time into his Majeſties Council, that they might witneſs to the Reſt of that Party, with what ſincerity and Piety his Majeſties Affairs were Governed at the Council Table. And in Relation to this purpoſe the Biſhop of *London* delivered to the King the *Treaſurers Staff*, the Earl of *New-caſtle* relinquiſhed the Governance of the Prince, and the Lord *Cottington* reſigned his Offices both in the *Exchequer*, and the Court of *Wards*, there being no doubt but that Biſhop *Duppa* in Order to ſo good a work, would relinquiſh the Tutorſhip of the Prince, when it ſhould be required of him: So gallantly did theſe great perſons *deny themſelves*, to advance the *Service of their Maſter*. But before all theſe things were fully ſettled and performed, the Kings mind was altered, (but by whom altered, hath been more conjectured then affirmed for certain) which ſo exaſperated them who were concerned in this deſignation, that they perſued the Earl of *Strafford* with the great eagerneſs. And ſomewhat to this purpoſe was hinted in the Kings Declaration of the 12th of *Auguſt*; in which he ſignified *what overtures had been made by them, and with what importunity for Offices and preferments, what great ſervices ſhould have been done for him, and what other undertaking even to have ſaved the Life of the Earl of* Strafford. By which diſcovery as he blemiſhed the Reputes of ſome Principal Members in the eyes of many of the people; ſo he gave no ſmall cauſe of wonder to many others, when they were told from his own Pen, at how cheap a *Rate* (a *Rate* which would have coſt him nothing) he might have ſaved the Life of ſuch an able and deſerving Miniſter.

This deſign being thus unhappily daſht, the Earl was called unto his Tryal on the 22th day of *March* laſt paſt; which being continued many days with great expectation, his Adverſaries (though the ableſt men in the Houſe of Commons) perceived that his Defences were ſo ſtrong, and their proof ſo weak that they thought it not ſafe to leave the Judgement of the Cauſe to the Houſe of Peers in way of Judicature. For finding that their proofs amounted not to a *Legal Evidence*; and that nothing but *Legal Evidence*, could prevail in a Court of Judicature, they Reſolved to Steer their courſe by another wind, and to call the *Legiſlative* power to their aſſiſtance; according unto which both *Lords*, and *Commons* might proceed by the Light of their own Underſtanding without further Teſtimony. And ſo it was declared by *Saint-Johns* then Solicitor General in a conference between the Committees of both Houſes, *April* 29. 1641. Where it is ſaid, *That although ſingle Teſtimony might be ſufficient to ſatisfie private Conſciences, yet how far it would*

*have*

*have been ſatisfactory in a judicial way, where forms of Law are more to be ſtood upon, was not ſo clear; whereas in this way of Bill, private ſatisfaction to each mans Conſcience, is ſufficient, although no Evidence had been given in at all.* Thus they Reſolved it in this Caſe; But knowing of what dangerous conſequence it might be to the Lives, and Fortunes of themſelves and the Reſt of Subjects, a *ſaving* clauſe was added to the Bill of *Attainder*, that it ſhould not be drawn into Example for the time to come. By which it was Provided, *That no Judge or Judges, Juſtice or Juſtices whatſoever, ſhall adjudge or Interpret any Act or thing to be Treaſon, nor hear or determine any Treaſon, nor in any other manner, then he or they ſhould or ought to have done before the making of this Act, and as if this Act had never been made.*

His Majeſty underſtanding how things were carried, Reſolved to uſe his beſt endeavours to preſerve the man, who had deſerved ſo bravely of him. And therefore in a Speech to both Houſes of Parliament on the firſt of *May*, abſolved him from all Treaſons charged upon him; conjuring them by the merit of his former graces, and the hopes of greater, not to compel him to do any thing againſt his conſcience, to which no worldly conſideration whatſoever, ſhould be able to tempt him. This put the Lords to ſuch a ſtand, who were before enclinable enough to that unfortunate Gentleman, that multitudes of the Rabble were brought down out of *London* and *Southwark*, to cry for ſpeedy Juſtice, and Execution; the names of ſuch as had not voted to the Bill, being poſted up in the Palace-yard, by the Title of *Straffordians*, and Enemies to the Commonwealth. Which courſe ſo terrified the Lords, that moſt of them withdrawing themſelves from the Houſe of Peers, the *Attainder* paſſed, and certain Biſhops nominated to attend the King, for ſatisfying his Conſcience, and perſwading him to ſign that Deſtructive Bill. Never was Poor Prince, brought to ſo ſad an Exigent, betwixt his Conſcience on the one ſide, and the Fears of ſuch a Publick Rupture on the other, as ſeemed to threaten nothing but deſtruction to himſelf and his Family. But humane frailty, and the continual Solicitation of ſome about him, ſo prevailed at laſt, that on Munday morning the ninth of *May*, he put a moſt unwilling hand to that fatal Bill, Iſſuing a Commiſſion unto certain Lords to paſs the ſame into an Act, and with the ſame to ſpeed another (which he had alſo ſigned with the ſame Penful of Ink) for the continuance of the preſent Parliament during the pleaſure of the Houſes. The Act thus paſt on Munday Morning, the Earl was brought unto the Scaffold on the Wedneſday following, deſiring earneſtly, but in vain, to Exchange ſome words with the Archbiſhop before his Death; Which gave occaſion to a report, that a little before his Death he had charged his misfortunes, overſights and miſdemeanours upon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as the Prime Author of the ſame; and had bitterly Curſt the day of their

firſt

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

first acquaintance: Which being so scandalous and dishonourable to this great Prelate, I shall lay down the whole truth in this particular, as it came from the Archbishops own mouth, in the presence of *Balfore* a *Scot*, and then Lieutenant of the Tower, who was required to attest to each period of it.

*Relation of the Answers, &c. of the E. of Strafford. p. 99.*

The Lord *Strafford* the night before the Execution, sent for the Lieutenant of the Tower, and asked him whether it were possible he might speak with the Archbishop: The Lieutenant told him, he might not do it without Order from the Parliament. Whereupon the Earl replied, You shall hear what passeth between us; for it is not a time now either for him to plot Heresie, or me to plot Treason. The Lieutenant answered, That he was limited; and therefore desired his Lordship would Petition the Parliament for that Favour. No (said he) I have gotten my dispatch from them, and will trouble them no more; I am now Petitioning an Higher Court, where neither partiality can be expected, nor Error feared. But my Lord, said he, (turning to the Primate of *Ireland*, whose company he had procured of the Houses in that fatal Exigent) I will tell you what I should have spoken to my Lords Grace of *Canterbury*. You shall desire the Archbishop to lend me his Prayers this night, and to give me his Blessing when I do go abroad to morrow; and to be in his Window, that by my last Farewell I may give him thanks for this, and all other his former Favours. The Primate having delivered the Message without delay, the Archbishop replied, That in conscience he was bound to the first, and in duty and obligation to the second: but he feared his weakness and passion would not lend him eyes to behold his last Departure. The next morning at his coming forth he drew near to the Archbishops Lodging, and said to the Lieutenant, Though I do not see the Archbishop, yet give me leave I pray you to do my last observance towards his Rooms. In the mean time the Archbishop, advertised of his approach, came out to the Window; Then the Earl bowing himself to the ground, My Lord (said he) *your Prayers and your Blessing*. The Archbishop lift up his hands, and bestowed both: but overcome with grief, fell to the ground *in Animi deliquio*. The Earl bowing the second time, said, Farewell my Lord, God protect your Innocency. And because he feared, that it might perhaps be thought an effeminacy or unbecoming weakness in him to sink down in that manner, he added, That he hoped by Gods Assistance, and his own Innocency, that when he came to his own Execution (which he daily longed for) the World should perceive he had been more sensible of the Lord *Strafford*'s Loss, than of his own: And good reason it should be so (said he) for the Gentleman was more serviceable to the Church (he would not mention the State) than either himself, or any of all the Church-men had ever been. A gallant Farewell to so eminent and beloved a Friend.

Thus march'd this Great Man to the Scaffold; more like a General

ral in the Head of an Army, to breath out Victory; than like a Condemned Man, to undergo the Sentence of death. The Lieutenant of the Tower deſired him to take Coach, for fear the People ſhould ruſh in upon him and tear him in pieces. No (ſaid he to the Lieutenant) I dare look Death in the face, and I hope the People too; Have you a care that I do not eſcape, and I care not how I die, whether by the hand of the Executioner, or the madneſs and fury of the People; If that may give them better content, it is all one to me. In his laſt Speech upon the Scaffold, he declared, That in all his Imployments, ſince he had the honour to ſerve his Majeſty, he never had any thing in the purpoſe of his heart, but what tended to the joynt and individual proſperity both of King and People; That he was ſo far from being an Enemy to Parliaments (which had been charged amongſt his Crimes) that he did always think the Parliaments of *England* to be the moſt happy Conſtitution that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the beſt means under God to make the King and People happy; That he acquitted all the World for his death, heartily beſeeching the God of Heaven to forgive all them that contrived it, though in the intentions and purpoſes of his heart, he was not guilty of the Offences which he was to die for; That it was a great comfort to him, that his Majeſty conceived him not meriting ſo ſevere and heavy a Puniſhment, as the utmoſt execution of this Sentence: And finally, (after many other Expreſſions) That he died a true Son of the Church of *England*, in which he had been born and bred; for the Peace and Proſperity whereof he moſt heartily prayed. Turning his eyes unto his Brother Sir *George Wentworth*, he deſired him to charge his Son to fear God, to continue an obedient Son to the Church of *England*, and not to meddle with Church-Livings, as that which would prove a Moth or Canker to him in his Eſtate. And having ſeveral times recommended his prepared Soul to the Mercies of God, he ſubmitted his Neck with moſt Chriſtian Magnanimity to the ſtroke of the Ax, which took his Head from him at one blow, before he had filled up the number of fifty years. "A man on whom his Majeſty looked "as one whoſe great Abilities might rather make a Prince afraid, "than aſhamed to employ him in the greateſt Affairs of State: For "thoſe were prone to create in him great confidence of Undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great Errors, "and many Enemies; whereof he could not but contract good ſtore, "while moving in ſo high a Sphere, and with ſo vigorous a Luſtre, "he muſt needs (as the Sun) raiſe many envious Exhalations, which "condenſed by a Popular *Odium*, were capable to caſt a Cloud upon "the higheſt Merit and Integrity. So far he ſtood commended by the Pen of his ſorrowful Sovereign, who never could ſufficiently bewail his own Infelicity, in giving way unto an Act of ſuch high Injuſtice (as he calls it there) of which he gives this Teſtimony in his *Meditation* on the Death of this unfortunate Earl, "That he was ſo

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

*Eikon Baſil.* p. 5.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

"far from excuſing or denying that Compliance on his part (for ple-
"nary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in his own judg-
"ment he thought not by any clear Law, guilty of death; that he did
"never bear any touch of Conſcience with greater regret: which, as
"a ſign of his Repentance, he had often with ſorrow confeſſed both
"to God and Men, as an Act of ſo ſinful frailty, that it diſcovered
"more a fear of Man than of God, whoſe Name and Place on Earth
"no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid Inconveniences of State
"by Acts of ſo high Injuſtice, as no Publick Convenience can com-
"penſate.

The loſs of this Gentlemans Life after ſuch a manner, ſo terrified the reſt of his Majeſties Servants; that as ſome had deſerted him in the firſt appearance of his Troubles: ſo there were few that durſt ſtand to him, or put him upon reſolute or couragious Counſels, when he moſt wanted ſuch Aſſiſtance. In which reſpect, it was no hard matter for the Houſes of Parliament to wire-draw him by degrees to ſuch Condeſcenſions, as finally left the Church without any Authority, and the Crown with little more Prerogative than a Titular and precarious Empire. He had before paſſed an Act for Triennial Parliaments, to be called in his default by Sheriffs and Conſtables; and ſigned a Bill for the continuance of the preſent Parliament during the pleaſure of the Houſes, at ſuch time as he paſſed away this poor Gentlemans Life. He muſt now give up ſo much of his Power at once, as would diſable him from ſubſiſting by any other means than the Alms of his Parliament; or keeping down thoſe factious and ſeditious Humours, for which the ordinary Courts of Juſtice, tied to Formalities of Law, could provide no remedy. In reference to the firſt, having kept him hungry and in appetite for ſeven Months and more, from their firſt meeting in *November*, they preſent him with a Bill for *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, to be paid only for the three Months following; and that too clogged in the Preamble with ſuch a Condition, as to diſclaim all ſuch Right unto, it as had been formerly enjoyed by his Predeceſſors. They prepared alſo other Bills, for Repealing the Statute concerning *Knighthood*, made by K. *Edward* ii. and then made rather for the eaſe of the Subject, than the advantage of the Crown; as alſo, For aboliſhing his Preſentions to the Raiſing of *Ship-money*, For retrenching the *Perambulations* of his Foreſts, For ſuppreſſing the Court of *Stanneries* in *Cornwal*. And the long-continued Juriſdiction of his Clerk of the Market. And in relation to the other, they prepared two Bills more; the one for putting down the Court of *Star-Chamber*, the other for deſtroying the *High-Commiſſion*, without which bridles there had been no ruling of the *Puritan* Faction. But as in the Bill for putting down the *Star-Chamber*, there were ſome Clauſes which extended to the overthrow of the Court of the *Marches*, and the Council eſtabliſhed in the North, and for Regulating the Authority of the Council-Table; ſo in that for deſtroying the *High-Commiſſion*, there was a Clauſe which took

took away the Coercive power of Biſhops, Chancellors, Archdeacons, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Judges. To theſe two laſt (the Royal Aſſent having been paſſed unto all the former without any difficulty) the King was pleaſed to demur, which bred ſuch a heat amongſt the Commons, that he was forced on *Munday* the fifth of *July*, (being but two daies after his paſſing of the other) to make an excuſe for this ſmall delay; the buſineſs being of ſuch importance as the Altering in a great meaſure thoſe Fundamental Laws, both *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil*, which ſo many of his Predeceſſors had eſtabliſhed. How great a blow was given by the firſt Act to the Royal Authority I leave to be conſidered by our Civil Hiſtorians. What the Church ſuffered by the ſecond will appear by theſe words, in which it was Enacted (under the ſeveral penalties therein contained) "That from the fifth day of *Auguſt* then next following no "Archbiſhop, or Biſhops, or any other Perſon or Perſons, having "or exerciſing any Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction under the Kings Maje"ſty, within the Realm of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, ſhould "award, impoſe or inflict any Pain, Penalty, Fine, Amercement, "Impriſonment, or any Corporal Puniſhment for any Contempt, "Miſdemeanour, Crime, Offence, Matter, or Thing whatſoever, "belonging to Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Cognizance or Juriſdiction; "or ſhould *Ex Officio*, or at the inſtance or promotion of any per"ſon whatſoever, urge, enforce, tender, give, or miniſter unto any "Churchwarden, Sideman, or perſon whatſoever, any Corporal "Oath, whereby they ſhall be obliged to make any Preſentment "concerning others, or confeſs any thing againſt themſelves, which "might make them lyable, or expoſe them to any Cenſure, Pain, "Penalty of what ſort ſoever. Which in effect was to take away the Power of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, belonging naturally and originally to the Epiſcopal Function, that is to ſay, Suſpenſions, Excommunications, Deprivations, and Degradations, (all which are both inflicted and renounced as Pains or Penalties) to the no ſmall encouragement of Inconformity, Incontinency, and all other irregular Courſes, both in Clergy and Laity, becauſe it nouriſht an opinion of impunity in the hearts of thoſe who formerly had been awed reſpectively by thoſe ſeveral Cenſures. For when the Subject fears neither Pain nor Penalty, the Superiour under whom he lives will find little obedience, and the Laws much leſs.

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

*Bill. Regis.* p. 308.

But we have too long left our Archbiſhop in his cares and ſorrows, and therefore muſt return to eaſe him of ſome part of his cares, though his ſorrows continued as before. Hitherto he had given himſelf no improbable hopes of being called unto his Trial, and given ſuch ſtrong proof of his integrity and innocence from the Crimes objected, as might reſtore him to a capacity of doing thoſe good offices to the Univerſity as that place of *Chancellor* did require. But finding by the late proceedings of the Houſes of Parliament in the buſineſs of his dear Friend the Earl of *Strafford*, that his affairs

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

were like to grow from bad to worſe, he would no longer undergo the name of that Office which he was not able to perform. Reſolved to put the Univerſity into ſuch a condition as might enable them to proceed in the choice of a more fortunate Patron, he acquaints the King with his intent by the Biſhop of *London*; and finding his Majeſties Concurrence in opinion with him, he ſends his Reſignation in his Letter of *June* 28. Which being publiſhed, and excepted in the Convocation of the Univerſity on *July* 1. The Earl of *Pembroke* was now elected to ſucceed him, who had before been named in competition for the Office with him.

MY *Preſent Condition* (ſaith the Letter) *is not unknown to the whole World, yet by few pitied or deplored; The righteous God beſt knows the Juſtice of my ſufferings, on whom both in life and death I will ever depend: the laſt of which ſhall be unto me moſt welcome, in that my life is now burdenſome unto me, my mind attended with variety of ſad and grievous thoughts, my ſoul continually vexed with Anxieties and Troubles, groaning under the burden of a* diſpleaſed Parliament, *my name aſperſed and groſly abuſed by the multiplicity of Libellous Pamphlets, and my ſelf debarred from wonted acceſs to the beſt of Princes, and it is* Vox Populi *that I am* Popiſhly affected. *How earneſt I have been in my Diſputations, Exhortations, and otherwiſe to quench ſuch ſparks, leſt they ſhould become Coals, I hope after my death you will all acknowledge; yet in the midſt of all my afflictions there is nothing more hath ſo nearly touched me as the remembrance of your free and joyful acceptance of me to be your* Chancellour, *and that I am now ſhut up from being able to do you that Service which you might juſtly expect from me. When I firſt received this honour I intended to have carried it with me to my Grave; neither were my hopes any leſs, ſince the Parliament (called by his Majeſties Royal Command) committed me to this Royal Priſon. But ſith (by reaſon of matters of greater conſequence yet in hand) the Parliament is pleaſed to procraſtinate my Trial, I do hereby as thankfully reſign my Office of being Chancellor, as ever I received that Dignity, entreating you to Elect ſome Honourable Perſon, who upon all occaſions may be ready to ſerve you; and I beſeech God ſend you ſuch an one as may do all things for his glory, and the furtherance of your moſt famous Univerſity. This is the continual Prayer of*

*Tower, June* 28, 1641.

Your dejected Friend and Chancellour,

Being the laſt time I ſhall write ſo,

***Will. Cant.***

This Reſignation having eaſed him of ſome part of his cares, it was no ſmall refreſhment to him in the midſt of his ſorrows, that notwithſtanding all the clamour about *Innovations*, the Parliament had

had made no Order to alter any thing which he had laboured to eſtabliſh. The Commons might perhaps have ſome thoughts that way, but they either kept them to themſelves, or found but little comfort in them when they ſuffered them to go abroad, or ſhew themſelves in any motion to the Houſe of Lords. The Peers were then ſo far from entertaining any ſuch extravagant Fancies, that taking notice of the Irregular Zeal of ſome forward men, who had not patience enough to attend the leiſure of Authority, they joyned together with the Prelates, in this Order of *January* 16. for putting a ſtop to their Exorbitancies at the firſt breaking out. For by that Order it was ſignified to be the pleaſure of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal aſſembled in the High Court of Parliament, "That the Divine Service "be performed as it is appointed by the Acts of Parliament of this "Realm: And that all ſuch as ſhall diſturb that wholſom Order, "ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed according to the Law: And the Par-"ſons, Vicars, and Curates in the ſeveral Pariſhes ſhall forbear to "introduce any Rites or Ceremonies that may give offence, other-"wiſe than thoſe which are eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the Land. Which laſt Clauſe being couched in ſuch general terms, related only to ſuch Rites and Ceremonies, as otherwiſe might have been introduced for the time to come, not unto ſuch as had been entertained and ſettled by any former Authority. Countenanced and ſecured by which Declaration, the Ordinaries went on chearfully in the exerciſe of their Juriſdiction, ſuffering no alteration or diſturbance to paſs unqueſtioned, if any troubleſome or unquiet perſon did begin to ſtir. But no ſooner was the Coercive power of Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtical Judges reſtrained, or rather utterly aboliſhed, by the late Act of Parliament; and the Kings Journey into *Scotland* left men and matters at more liberty than before they were: but preſently the Houſe of Commons took upon them ſuch a Reformation (ſo it muſt be called) in which they neither found concurrence of the Houſe of Peers, or could expect it from the King. But finding that they were ſtrong enough to ſet up for themſelves, without working Journey-work any longer unto either of them, they made the following Order of *September* 8. to be the firſt Experiment or Eſſay of their undertakings. For though in a Conference, had the ſame day with the Lords, they deſired their conſent therein, and that the Lords returned them no other Anſwer than by ſending them the next day (being the day of the Receſs) a Copy of the former Order of *January* 16. in which they deſired then to concur; yet *Pym*, who governed the Committee during that Receſs, diſpatcht his Mandate of the 29th. of the ſame month over all the Kingdom, requiring all Miniſters and Churchwardens to publiſh the ſaid Order in their ſeveral Churches, to ſee it put in execution, and cauſe Certificates to be made thereof by the time appointed. Which Order being the Leading Card to the Game that followed, was *verbatim* thus: *viz.*

*Whereas*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

*WHereas divers Innovations in or about the Worship of God have been lately practised in this Kingdom, by enjoyning some things, and prohibiting others, without warrant of Law, to the great grievance and discontent of his Majesties Subjects; For the suppression of such Innovations, and for preservation of the Publick Peace, It is this day Ordered by the Commons in Parliament assembled, That the Churchwardens of every Parish Church or Chappel respectively doth forthwith remove the Communion Table from the East end of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel into some other convenient place, and that they take away the Rails, and Level the Chancels as heretofore they were before the late Innovations. That all Crucifixes, scandalous Pictures, of any one or more Persons of the Trinity, and all Images of the Virgin* Mary *shall be taken away and abolished; and that all Tapers, Candlesticks, and Vasons be removed from the Communion Table. That all Corporal Bowing at the Name of* JESUS, *or toward the East end of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel, or towards the Communion Table be henceforth forborne. That the Orders aforesaid be observed in all the several Cathedral Churches of this Kingdom, and all the Colledges, Churches, or Chappels in the two Universities, or any other part of this Kingdom, and in the* Temple Church, *and the Chappels of other Inns of Court, by the Deans of the said Cathedral Churches, by the Vice-Chancellours of the said Universities, and by the Heads and Governours of the several Colledges and Halls aforesaid, and by the Benchers and Readers in the said Inns of Court respectively. That the Lords day shall be duly observed and sanctified: All Dancing, or other Sports either before or after Divine Service be forborne and restrained; and that the Preaching of Gods Word be permitted in the Afternoon in the several Churches and Chappels of this Kingdom, and that Ministers and Preachers be encouraged thereunto. That the Vice-Chancellours of the Universities, Heads and Governours of Colledges, all Parsons, Vicars, Churchwardens, do make Certificate of the performance of these Orders: and if the same shall not be observed in any places aforementioned, upon complaint thereof made to the two next Justices of the Peace, Major, and Head-Officers of Cities and Towns Corporate, It is ordered, That the said Justices, Major, and other Head-Officer respectively shall examine the truth of all such complaints, and certifie by whose default the same are committed. All which Certificates are to be delivered in Parliament before the thirtieth of* October *next ensuing*, Anno 1641.

It may be justly wondred at, that all this while we have heard nothing of the *Scots*, the chief promoters of these mischiefs; but we may rest our selves assured that they were not idle, soliciting their affairs both openly and underhand, *instant in season, and out of season*, till they had brought about all ends which invited them hither. They had made sure work with the Lord Lieutenant, and feared not the Resurrection of the Lord Archbishop though *Doomed* at that time

time only to a Civil death. They had gratified the Commons in procuring all the Acts of Parliament before remembred, and paring the Biſhops nails to the very quick, by the only terrour of their Arms; and were reciprocally gratified by them with a gift of three hundred thouſand pounds of good Engliſh money, in the name of a *brotherly aſſiſtance*, for their pretended former loſſes, which could not rationally be computed to the tenth part of that Sum. And in relation to that Treaty they gained in a manner all thoſe points which had been firſt inſiſted on in the meeting at *Rippon*, and many additionals alſo, which were brought in afterwards by *Louden*. In their *Demand* concerning Unity in Religion, and Uniformity in Church-Government, the Anſwer favoured rather of delay than ſatisfaction; amounting to no more than this, "That his Majeſty, with the Advice of both Houſes of Parliament, did well approve of the affections of his Subjects of *Scotland*, in their deſires of having a "Conformity of Church-Government between the two Nations; "And that as the Parliament had already taken into conſideration "the Reformation of Church-Government, ſo they would proceed "therein in due time as ſhould beſt conduce to the glory of God, "and peace of the Church and of both Kingdoms. Which Condeſcenſions and Concluſions being ratified on *Auguſt* 7. by Act of Parliament in *England*, a Proviſion was alſo made for the ſecurity of all his Majeſties Party in reference to the former troubles, excluding only the Scottiſh Prelates, and four more of that Nation, from the benefit of it. And that being done, his Majeſty ſet forwards toward *Scotland* on *Tueſday* the tenth of the ſame month, giving order as he went for the Disbanding of both Armies, that they might be no further charge or trouble to him. Welcomed he was with great joy to the City of *Edenborough*, in regard he came with full deſires and reſolutions of giving all ſatisfaction to that People which they could expect, though to the Diminution of his Royal Rights and juſt Prerogative. He was reſolved to ſweeten and Careſs them with all Acts of Grace, that ſo they might reciprocate with him in their Love and Loyalty, though therein he found himſelf deceived. For he not only ratified all the Tranſactions of the Treaty confirmed in *England* by Act of Parliament, in that Kingdom; but by like Act aboliſhed the Epiſcopal Government, and yielded to an alienation of all Church-Lands, reſtored by his Father or himſelf for the maintenance of it. A matter of moſt woful conſequence to the Church of *England*. For the Houſe of Commons being advertiſed of theſe Tranſactions, preſt him with their continual importunities after his Return, to ſubvert the Government of Biſhops here in *England*, in the deſtruction whereof he had been pleaſed to gratifie his *Scottiſh* Subjects, which could not be reputed ſo conſiderable in his eſtimation, nor were ſo in the eye of the World as the Engliſh were. What followed hereupon we may hear too ſoon.

This

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

This good ſucceſs of the *Scots* encouraged the *Iriſh Papiſts* to attempt the like, and to attempt it in the ſame way the *Scots* had gone; that is to ſay, by ſeiſing his Majeſties Towns, Forts and Caſtles, putting themſelves into the body of an Army, baniſhing and impriſoning all ſuch as oppoſed their Practices, and then Petitioning the King for a publick exerciſe of their Religion. And they had this great furtherance to promote their hopes; For when the King was preſt by the Commons for the disbanding of the *Iriſh* Army, a ſuite was made unto him by the Embaſſadour of *Spain*, that he might have leave to liſt three or four thouſand of them for his Maſters Service in the Wars; to which motion his Majeſty readily condeſcending gave order in it accordingly. But the Commons never thinking themſelves ſafe, as long as any of that Army had a Sword in his hand, never left importuning the King (whom they had now brought to the condition of denying nothing which they asked) till they had made him eat his word, and revoke thoſe Orders to his great diſhonour; which ſo exaſperated that Army conſiſting of 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, that it was no hard matter for thoſe who had the managing of that Plot to make ſure of them. And then conſidering that the *Scots* by raiſing of an Army had gained from the King an abolition of the *Epiſcopal* Order, the Reſcinding of his own and his Fathers Acts about the reducing of that Church to ſome Uniformity with this, and ſettled their Kirk in ſuch a way as beſt pleaſed their own humours, Why might not the *Iriſh Papiſts* hope, that by the help of ſuch an Army, ready raiſed to their hands, or eaſily drawn together, though diſperſed at preſent, they might obtain the like indulgences and grants for their Religion? The 23 of *October* was the day deſigned for the ſeizing of the City and Caſtle of *Dublin*, and many places of great Importance in that Kingdom: But failing in the main deſign, which had been diſcovered the night before by one *O Conally*, they brake out into open Arms, dealing no better with the Proteſtants there, than the Covenanters had done with the Royal Party in *Scotland*. Of this *Rebellion* (for it muſt be called a *Rebellion* in the *Iriſh*, though not in the *Scots*) his Majeſty gives preſent notice to the Houſes of Parliament, requiring their Counſel and aſſiſtance for the extinguiſhing of that Flame, before it had waſted and conſumed that Kingdom. But neither the neceſſity of the Proteſtants there, nor the Kings importunity here, could perſwade them to Levy one man toward the ſuppreſſion of thoſe Rebels, till the King had diſclaimed his power of preſſing Souldiers in an Act of Parliament, and thereby laid himſelf open to ſuch Acts of violence, as were then hammering againſt him.

But to proceed, his Majeſty having ſettled his Affairs in *Scotland* to the full contentment of the People by granting them the Acts of Grace before remembred, and giving ſome addition of Honour to his greateſt enemies, (amongſt whom *Leſly*, who commanded their two late Armies, moſt undeſervedly was advanced to the Title of Earl

Earl of *Leven*) prepared in the beginning of *Novemb.* for his journey to *London*; where he was welcomed by the Lord Mayor, and Citizens with all imaginable expreſſions of Love and Duty. But the Commons at the other end of the Town entertain'd him with a ſharp Declaration, Entituled, *The Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom*, which they preſented to him at *Hampton-Court*, with a Petition thereunto annexed, within few days after his return; In which it was deſired amongſt other things, that he would pleaſe to paſs an Act for depriving the Biſhops of their place and Vote in Parliament: which Bill had formerly been caſt out of the Houſe of Peers, as before was ſaid, and was not by the courſe of Parliaments to be offered again. To this Demand and others which concerned Religion he returned this Anſwer, "That for preſerving the peace "and ſafety of this Kingdom from the deſigns of the Popiſh party, "he had and would ſtill concur with all the juſt deſires of his peo- "ple, in a Parliamentary way; That for the depriving of the Bi- "ſhops of their Votes in Parliament, he wiſht them to conſider "that their right was grounded upon the Fundamental Law of the "Kingdom, and conſtitution of Parliament; That he conceived the "taking away of the *High Commiſſion* had well moderated the *In-* "*ordinate* power of the Clergy, but if there continued any uſur- "pations, or Exceſſes in their *juriſdictions*, he then neither had nor "would protect them; That he would willingly concur in the re- "moval of any illegal *Innovations*, which had crept into the "Church; That if the Parliament ſhould adviſe to call a National "*Synod*, which might duly Examine ſuch Ceremonies, as gave juſt "cauſe of offence to any, he would take it into conſideration and ap- "ply himſelf to give due ſatisfaction therein; That he was very "ſorry to hear *Corruptions* in *Religion* to be Objected in ſuch Gene- "ral terms, ſince he was perſwaded in his Conſcience that no "Church could be found upon earth, that profeſſed the true Re- "ligion with more purity of Doctrine then the Church of *England* "at that time; That by the grace of God he was reſolved to main- "tain both the Government and Doctrine of it in their Glory and "Purity, and not only againſt all invaſions of *Popery*, but from the "Irreverence of thoſe many *Schiſmaticks*, and *Separatiſts* where- "with of Late this Kingdom and the City of *London* did ſo much a- "bound, to the great diſhonour and hazard both of Church "and State, for the ſuppreſſing of whom he required their aid and "timely aſſiſtance.

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

*Bill. Reg.* Sect. 4. c. 4.

This Reſolute, and Religious Anſwer did not ſo ſatisfie the Commons, but that they were Reſolved to perſue the Enterprize till they had gained the Point they aimed at. Some endeavours had formerly been uſed by the Earl of *Eſſex* and the Baron of *Kimbolton* to perſwade the Biſhops, ſo far to gratifie the importunate deſires of the houſe of Commons, as voluntarily to Relinquiſh their Votes in Parliament; upon aſſurance that the Peers would be bound in

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

Honour to preſerve them in all the eſſential parts of their calling and Function. But the Biſhops who had little or nothing left to keep them up in Reputation amongſt the People, but their Rights of Peerage, could not be eaſily entreated to betray themſelves, and become *Felones de ſe* (as the Lawyers Phraſe it) as long as his Majeſty would be pleaſed to maintain their Intereſt, and in theirs, His own. Doubly Repulſt, the Apprentices are drawn in huge multitudes to cry at the Parliament doors *No Biſhops, No Biſhops*; Petitions daily brought againſt them as the *Common Grievances*, imputing to them the decay of Trade, and the obſtruction of all buſineſſes in both Houſes of Parliament; their Perſons preſented with Revilings, and ſometimes with ſtones, ſo that they could neither come out of their Coaches if they came by Land, nor out of their Barges if they came by water, without manifeſt danger of their lives; the Abby of *Weſtminſter* Violently Aſſaulted, and as Couragiouſly defended by the Scholars, Choiremen, Officers, and other Servants, concluding in the death of *Wiſeman* a Knight of *Kent*, who having taken on himſelf the Conduct of the Tumult, was killed by one of the Defendants, with a Tile from the Battlements. Hereupon *Williams* the Late Biſhop of *Lincoln* having been tranſlated unto *York*, invites as many of the Biſhops as were left in *London* to a Private Conference to be held amongſt them in the Lodgings of the Dean of *Weſtminſter*; where they ſubſcribed to a *Proteſtation*, and Petition to be preſented to his Majeſty in the Houſe of *Peers*, containing a Relation of the abuſes offered them for ſome days laſt paſt, together with a Declaration of their ſenſe and meaning, for the time to come. The Apprehenſion of their own dangers inclined them willingly to any ſuch courſe, as viſibly conduced to the preſervation of their Rights as Biſhops, and their lives as men; For both which the ſubſcribing of this Petition and Proteſtation, and the entring of it in the Journal of the Houſe of Lords, ſeems to have provided. It was about the middle of *Chriſtmas*, when ſome of the Biſhops were retired into the Countrey, others not returned from their *Receſs*, and no fewer then five Sees, either vacant, or not filled Actually, at the preſent; ſo that no more of them met at this Aſſembly, then the Archbiſhop of *York*, the biſhops of *Durham*, *Lichfield*, *Gloceſter*, *Norwich*, *Aſaph*, *Wells*, *Hereford*, *Oxon*, *Ely*, *Peterborough*, and *Landaff*; all which ſubſcribed this laſt preſervative for their Place and Perſons. And being it was the laſt *flaſh* of their dying *light*, I ſhall not think it improper to keep it from *Expiring*, as long as I can, by ſerving as a *Prolonger* to it in this preſent Hiſtory; Now the Petition, and Proteſtation was as followeth.

Hiſt. Exact. Collect. p. 41.

*WHereas the Petitioners are called up by Several and Reſpective Writs, and under great Penalties to attend the Parliament, and have a clear and indubitable right to vote in Bills and other matters whatſoever, Debateable in Parliament by the Ancient Cuſtoms, Laws*

*Laws and Statutes of this Realm, and ought to be Protected by your Majeſty quietly to attend and proſecute that Great Service. They humbly Remonſtrate and Proteſt before God, Your Majeſty, and the Noble Lords and Peers now Aſſembled in Parliament; that as they had an Indubitate Right to ſit and Vote in the Houſe of Lords: ſo are they, if they may be Protected from force and violence, moſt Willing and Ready to Perform their Duties accordingly. And that they do abominate All Actions or Opinions tending to Popery or the maintainance thereof, as alſo all propenſion and Inclination to any Malignant Party or any other Side or Party whatſoever, to the which their own Reaſons and Conſcience ſhall not move them to adhere. But whereas they have been at ſeveral times Violently Menaced, Affronted, and Aſſaulted by multitudes of People in their coming to perform their Services in that Honourable Houſe, and lately chaſed away and put in danger of their lives, and can find no Redreſs or Protection upon ſundry Complaints, made to both Houſes in theſe particulars; They humbly proteſt before Your Majeſty and the Noble Houſe of Peers, That, ſaving unto themſelves all their Right, and Intereſs of Sitting and Voting in that Houſe at other times, they dare not Sit or vote in the Houſe of Peers, until Your Majeſty ſhall further ſecure them from all Affronts, Indignities, and Dangers in the Premiſes. Laſtly, Whereas theſe fears are not built upon Conceits, but upon ſuch Grounds and Objects as may well terrifie Men of Reſolution and much Conſtancy, they do in all Humility and Duty Proteſt before Your Majeſty and the Peers of the Moſt Honourable Houſe of Parliament, againſt all Laws, Orders, Votes, Reſolutions and Determinations, as of themſelves Null and of None Effect, which in their Abſence, ſince the 27th of this Inſtant Moneth of* December, 1641. *have already paſſed; As likewiſe, that all ſuch as ſhall hereafter Paſs in the Moſt Honourable Houſe, during the time of this their Forced and Violent Abſence from the ſaid Moſt Honourable Houſe: not denying but if their abſenting of themſelves were Wilful and Voluntary, that Moſt Honourable Houſe might Proceed in all their Premiſes, their Abſence or this Proteſtation Notwithſtanding. And humbly beſeeching Your Moſt Excellent Majeſty to Command the Clerk of the Houſe of Peers, to Enter this their Petition and Proteſtation among his Records.*

They will ever Pray God to bleſs, &c.

This Petition being preſented to his Majeſty, was by him delivered to the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, to be Communicated the next day, being the 30th of *Decemb.* to the Houſe of Peers: But the Lord Keeper contrary to his Majeſties directions, did firſt impart it to ſome of the Preaching party in both Houſes of Parliament; and after, as the plot was laid, to the *Peers* in general. Upon the Reading whereof a conference was deſired with the Houſe of Commons, to whom the Lord Keeper whom they had under the Lath, was pleaſed to ſignifie, that this Petition, and Proteſtation of the twelve Bi-

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

ſhops, *contained matters of high and dangerous conſequence, extending to the deep intrenching upon the Fundamental Priviledges and Being of Parliament.* Whereupon the ſaid twelve Biſhops were Impeached by the Commons of high Treaſon. The Uſher called Black-Rod, Commanded to find them out, and to bring them to the Bar in the Houſe of *Peers*, which by reaſon of their ſcattered and divided Lodgings, could not be effected till eight of the Clock at night, at what time being brought together their offence was ſignified unto them, and an Order preſently made for their commitment to the Tower, whither they were all carried the next day, Except the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Lichfield* who found the favour (the one by reaſon of his Eminent Learning, and both of them in regard of their age and Infirmities) to ſtand committed to the cuſtody of the Gentleman Uſher. Our Archbiſhop had now more Neighbours then he deſired, but not more company then before, it being prudently Ordered amongſt themſelves, that none of them ſhould beſtow any viſits on him, for fear of giving ſome advantage to their common enemy; as if they had been hatching ſome conſpiracy againſt the Publick: But they refrained not on either ſide from ſending meſſages of Love and conſolation unto one another; thoſe mutual civilities being almoſt every day performed betwixt the two Archbiſhops alſo, though very much differing both in their Counſels and Affections in the times foregoing. The Archbiſhop of *York* was now ſo much declined in favour, that he ſtood in as bad terms with the Common People, as the other did. His picture cut in Braſs, attired in his Epiſcopal Robes, with his ſquare Cap upon his head, and Bandileers about his Neck, ſhouldering a Musket upon one of his ſhoulders in one hand, and a Reſt in the other, either preſaging that which followed, or elſe relating unto that which had paſſed in defence of the Abbey; Together with which a book was Printed, in which he was Reſembled to the *Decoy-Duck*, (alluding to the *Decoyes* in *Lincolnſhire* where he had been Biſhop) reſtored to Liberty on deſign, that he might bring more company with him at his coming back, and a device Ingraven for the Front of the Book, which repreſented the conceit; and that not unhappily. Certain I am that our Archbiſhop in the midſt of thoſe ſorrows ſeemed much pleaſed with the Fancy, whither out of his great Love to wit, or ſome other ſelf-ſatisfaction which he found therein, is beyond my knowledge.

Theſe Biſhops being thus ſecured, and no body left in a manner to ſolicite the Common Cauſe but the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the Bill againſt their Votes paſſed currantly in the Houſe of Peers on *February 6.* the Citizens who before had feaſted the King with ſuch ſigns of Affection, now celebrating the Concurrence of the Houſe againſt his Intereſt, with Bells and Bonfires. Nor was it long before the King gave over the Cauſe, for which he had ſo long contended; For either

either terrified with the Apprehenſion of his own Dangers, or wrought on by the importunity of ſome about him, he ſigned the Bill at *Canterbury* on *February* 14. to which place he had accompanied the Queen in her way toward *Holland*: And by that Bill it was deſired to be Enacted, "That no Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or any other "Perſon in Holy Orders, from *February* 15. then next following, "ſhould have any Seat or Place, Suffrage or Voice, uſe or execute "any Power or Authority in the Parliaments of this Realm; nor "ſhould be of the Privy-Council of his Majeſty, his Heirs, or "Succeſſors, or Juſtices of the Peace of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, or "*Gaol-delivery*; or execute any Temporal Authority, by vertue of "any Commiſſion: but ſhould be wholly diſabled, or be uncapable to have, receive, uſe, or execute any of the ſaid Offices, "Places, Powers, Authorities, and Things aforeſaid. The paſſing of which Act, what ſpecious Pretences ſoever were given out for it, redounded little to his Majeſties Benefit, and far leſs to his Comfort. For by cutting off ſo many of his Friends at a blow, he loſt his Power in the Houſe of Peers, and not long after was deprived of his Negative Voice, when the great Buſineſs of the *Militia* came to be diſputed. And though he pleaſed himſelf ſometimes with this perſwaſion, of their *contentedneſs in ſuffering a preſent diminution of their Rights and Honours, for his ſake and the Commonwealths*; yet was it no ſmall trouble to his Conſcience at other times, that he had added this to the former injury, in conſenting to the taking away of the Coercive Power of their Juriſdiction, for this we find to be one of thoſe three things which lay heavieſt on him, in the time of his Solitude and Sufferings, as appears by this paſſage in one of his Prayers, *viz. Was it through ignorance that I ſuffered innocent Blood to be ſpilt by a falſe pretended Juſtice? Or that I permitted a wrong way of Worſhip to be ſet up in* Scotlan? *Or injured the Biſhops in* England? By which we ſee, that the *Injury* done unto the Biſhops of *England*, is put into the ſame ſcale with his permitting a *wrong way of Worſhip* to be ſet up in *Scotland*, and the ſhedding of the *innocent Blood* of the Earl of *Strafford*. And if this Act proved ſo unpleaſing to the King, it muſt needs be grievous to the Biſhops themſelves; to none more than the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had ſet ſo great a part of his affections on the preſerving of this Church in her Power and Glory. Whoſe ſenſe hereof is thus expreſs'd, by one who for the time was his greateſt Adverſary, (a) *That it ſtruck proud* Canterbury *to the heart, and undermined all his Prelatical Deſigns to advance the Biſhops Pomp and Power*; whether with greater bitterneſs or truth, is hard to ſay.

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

*Bibl. Regia.*

*Eicon Baſil.* cap. 17.

(a) *Examen*, p. 55.

Their great *hope* was (though it was ſuch a *hope* as that of *Abraham*, which the Scripture calls *a hope againſt hope*) that having pared the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops, and impaired their Power, they would have ſuffered them to enjoy their Function with Peace and quiet, as the only remaining Ornament and Honour of the Church

of

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

of *England*. Conform therein unto the gallantry of the Ancient *Romans*, who when they had brought the *Carthaginians* unto that condition, as to compel them to deliver up their Ships, Arms, and Elephants, and to make neither War nor Peace without their permiſſion, (a) eſteemed it an eſpecial honour to their Commonwealth, to preſerve the City, which was no longer to be feared, though formerly it had contended for the Superiority. But the Biſhops Crimes were ſtill unpuniſhed: And as the old *Roman* Citizen cried out upon his fine Country-houſe and pleaſant Gardens, when he found his name poſted up amongſt the *Proſcripts*, in the time of *Sylla*; ſo might theſe Holy men complain of thoſe fair Houſes and goodly Manors which belonged to their Epiſcopal Sees, as the only means of the Subverſion of their Sacred Calling. This had been formerly reſolved on, but was not to be done at once, as before was noted; nor to be followed now, but on ſome ſuch colour as was pretended for depriving them of their Juriſdiction and Place in Parliament. It was pretended for ſuppreſſing the Court of *High-Commiſſion*, and the coercive Power of Juriſdiction, That the Prelates had abuſed them both, *to the inſufferable wrong and oppreſſion of his Majeſties Subjects*; And for the taking away of their Votes in Parliament, with all other Civil Power in Church-men, That it was found to be an occaſion of great miſchief both to Church and State, *the Office of the Miniſtry being of ſuch great importance as to take up the whole Man*. And now to make way for the Abolition of the Calling it ſelf, it was given out amongſt the People to have been made of no uſe to the Church, by the Biſhops themſelves; againſt whom theſe Objections were put in every mans mouth, That they had laid aſide the uſe of *Confirming* Children, though required by Law, whereby they had deprived themſelves of that dependence, which People of all ſorts formerly had faſtned on them; That they had altogether neglected the duty of Preaching, under the colour of attending their ſeveral Governments; That in their ſeveral Governments they ſtood only as Cyphers, tranſmitting their whole Juriſdiction to their Chancellors and under-Officers; That none of them uſed to ſit in their *Conſiſtories*, for hearing Grievances, and Adminiſtring Juſtice to the Subject, whether Clergy or Laity, leaving them for a prey to Regiſters, Proctors, and Apparitors, who moſt unconſcionably extorted from them what they pleaſed; That few or none of them held their Viſitations in perſon, whereby the face of the Biſhop was unknown to the greateſt part of the Clergy, and the greateſt part of the Clergy was unknown to him, to the diſcouragement of the Godly and painful Miniſters, and the encouragement of vicious and irregular Parſons; That few of them lived in their Epiſcopal Cities, and ſome there were who had never ſeen them, whereby the Poor (which commonly abound moſt in populous places) wanted that Relief, and thoſe of the better ſort that Hoſpitality, which they had reaſon to expect; the Divine Service in the mean time

(a) *Nihil ſpectius Carthaginenſibus quam ut imperium. Liv. Hiſt. l. 2.*

*Act of Pa. 16[illegible].*

time performed irreverently and perfunctorily in the Cathedrals of thoſe Cities, for want of the Biſhops Reſidence and Superinſpection; That they had transferred the ſolemn giving of *Orders* from the ſaid Cathedrals, to the Chappels of their private Houſes, or ſome obſcure Churches in the Country, not having nor requiring the Aſſiſtance of their Deans and Chapters, as they ought to do; That they engroſſed a ſole or ſolitary Power to themſelves alone, in the Sentence of Deprivation and Degradation, without the Preſences and Conſents of their ſaid Deans and Chapters, or any Members of the ſame, contrary to the *Canons* in that behalf; by which laſt Acts they had rendred thoſe Capitular Bodies as uſeleſs to the Church as they were themſelves: And finally, That ſeeing they did nothing which belonged unto the place of a Biſhop, but the receiving of their Rents, living in eaſe and worldly pomp, and domineering over the reſt of their Brethren, it was expedient to remove the Function out of the Church, and turn their Lands and Houſes unto better uſes. This I remember to have been the ſubſtance of thoſe Objections made by ſome of the Gentry, and put into the mouths of the Common People; in which if any thing were true (as I hope there was not) ſuch Biſhops as offended in the Premiſes, or in any of them, have the leſs reaſon to complain of their own misfortunes, and the more cauſe to be complained of, for giving ſuch Advantages to the Enemies of their Power and Function. Nor was the alienating of their Lands and Houſes the Total Sum of the Deſign, though a great part of it. As long as the *Epiſcopal* Juriſdiction ſtood, much *Griſt* was carried from the *Mills* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, *Toll* whereof was taken by the Biſhops Officers; Therefore thoſe Courts to be ſuppreſſed (which could not be more eaſily done, than in aboliſhing the Biſhops whoſe Courts they were) that ſo the managing of all Cauſes, both *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil*, might be brought into the hands of thoſe who thought they could not thrive ſufficiently by their own *Common Law*, as long as any other *Law* was *Common*, beſides their own. By means whereof, all Offices and Preferments in the Admiral, Archiepiſcopal, and Dioceſan Courts, being taken from the Civil Lawyers, nothing can follow thereupon but the diſcouragement and diſcontinuance of thoſe Noble Studies, which formerly were found ſo advantagious to the State and Nation.

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

It is not to be thought that ſuch a general Concuſſion ſhould befal the Church, ſo many Practices entertained againſt it, and ſo many Endeavours uſed for the Ruine of it; and that no man ſhould lend a helping hand to ſupport the Fabrick, or to uphold the Sacred Ark when he ſaw it tottering. Some well-affected in both Houſes, appeared ſtoutly for it; amongſt which, none more cordially than the Lord *George Digby*, in a Speech made upon occaſion of the City-Petition, and Sir *Lucius Cary* Viſcount *Faulkland*, both Members of the Houſe of Commons: Which laſt, though he expreſſed much bitterneſs againſt the Biſhops, in one of his Speeches made in the firſt

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

first heats and agitation of buſineſs; yet afterwards in another of them he ſhewed himſelf an eſpecial Advocate in behalf of the Epiſcopal Order. In which Speech of his it is affirmed, "That the "ground of this Government by Epiſcopacy is ſo ancient, and ſo "general, ſo uncontradicted in the firſt and beſt times that "our moſt laborious Antiquaries can find no Nation, no City, "no Church, no Houſes under any other, that our firſt Eccleſia-"ſtical Authors tell us of; That the Apoſtles not only allowed "but founded Biſhops, ſo that the Tradition for ſome Books "of Scripture, which we receive as Canonical, is both leſs ancient, "leſs general, and leſs uncontradicted than that is. So he when he was come again to his former temper, and not yet entred nor initiated into Court preferments. Nor was the point only canvaſed within thoſe walls, but managed in a more publick way by the Pens of ſome, than there it had been toſſed on the Tongues of others. The Biſhop of *Exon.* leads the way, preſenting *An humble Remonſtrance* to the High Court of Parliament in behalf of *Liturgie* and *Epiſcopacy*, which preſently was encountred with an anſwer to it, wherein the *Original of Liturgy and Epiſcopacy* is pretended to be *diſcuſſed*, &c. This Anſwer framed by a Juncto of five Presbyterian Miniſters in or about the City of *London*, the firſt Letters of whoſe names being laid together made up the word *Smectymnuus*, which appears only for the Author. The Biſhop hereunto replies in a *Vindication* (by which name he called it) which *Vindication* had an Anſwer or Rejoynder to it, by the ſame *Smectymnuus*. During which Interfeats of Arms, and exchange of Pens, a Diſcourſe was publiſhed by Sir *Thomas Aſhton* Knight and Baronet. In the firſt part whereof he gives us *A ſurvey of the Inconveniences of the Presbyterian Diſcipline, and the inconſiſtences thereof, with the conſtitution of this State.* And in the ſecond, *The original Inſtitution, Succeſſion, and Juriſdiction of the ancient and venerable order of Biſhops.* This laſt part ſeconded within the compaſs of this year by the *Hiſtory of Epiſcopacy*, firſt publiſhed as the work of *Theophilus Churchman*, and not till many years after, owned by the Authors name. The next year bringing forth a book of Dr. *Taylors*, called *Epiſcopacy aſſerted*, and the *Aeriomaſtix* of *John Theyer*, &c. All of them backt, and the two laſt encouraged by many Petitions to his Majeſty and both Houſes of Parliament, not only from the two Univerſities, whom it moſt concerned; but from ſeveral Counties of the Kingdom, of which more hereafter.

I ſhall conclude this year with a remembrance of ſome change of Officers in the Court, but of more in the Church. *Windebanke*, Secretary of State, being queſtioned for releaſing divers Prieſts and Jeſuites, contrary to the eſtabliſhed Laws, conveyed himſelf over into *France*; and *Finch* Lord Keeper, on ſome diſtruſt which he had of his ſafety, for acting too zealouſly in the Forreſt-buſineſs, and the caſe of *Shipmoney*, withdrew at the ſame time into *Holland*. *Pembroke*

*broke*, Lord *Chamberlain* of the houſhold, was diſcharged of his Office by the King upon juſt diſpleaſures, before his late going into *Scotland*; The Earl of *Newcaſtle* for the Reaſons before remembred, had relinquiſhed his charge of the Princes Perſon, and *Cottington* his Offices in the *Exchequer* and Court of Wards; *Neile* Archbiſhop of *York* died ſome few daies before the beginning of the Parliament, *Mountague* of *Chicheſter*, *Bancroft* of *Oxon*. *Davenant* of *Salisbury*, *Potter* of *Carliſle*, and *Thornborough* of *Worceſter* within few months after. Nature abhorreth nothing more than *Vacuity*, and it proved to be very agreeable to the Rules of *Polity*, not to ſuffer their preferments to lye longer in a ſtate of *Vacancy*. To fill theſe Places, the Earl of *Hertford* (about that time advanced to the Title of *Marquiſs*) was made and ſworn Governour of the Prince; *Eſſex*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold; *Say*, Maſter of the Court of Wards and Liveries; *Littleton*, Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, preferred to the honour of Lord Keeper; *Faulkland* made Secretary of Eſtate, and *Culpepper* Chancellour of the Exchequer: Which two laſt being Members of the Houſe of Commons, and well acquainted with ſuch deſigns as were then in Project, and men of good parts withall, were thought worth the gaining, and faſtned to the Court by theſe great Preferments. Next for the *Vacancies* in the Church they were ſupplied by preferring *Williams*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, to the See of *York*; and *Winiff*, Dean of St. *Pauls*, to the See of *Lincoln*; *Duppa* of *Chicheſter*, to *Salisbury*; and *King*, then Dean of *Rocheſter*, to ſucceed at *Chicheſter*; *Hall*, Biſhop of *Exon.* tranſlated to *Norwich*; and *Brownrigg*, Maſter of *Catharine* Hall in *Cambridge*, preferred to *Exon.* *Skinner* of *Briſtol* removed to *Oxon.* and *Weſtfield*, Archdeacon of St. *Albons*, advanced to *Briſtol*; the Biſhoprick of *Carliſle* was given in *Commendam* to the Primate of *Ireland*, during the troubles in that Kingdom; and *Worceſter*, by the power of *Hamilton*, conferred on *Prideaux*, who formerly had been his Tutor; all of them of good parts and merit, and under ſome eſpecial Character of eſteem and favour in the eyes of the People, though ſome of them declined afterwards from their former height. Nor were there more Changes after theſe, till the ſuppreſſing of Epiſcopacy by the Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, bearing date *October* 9. *anno* 1646. but that *Frewen*, Dean of *Gloceſter*, and Preſident of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxon.* was conſecrated Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield* on the death of *Wright*, in the beginning of the year 1644. and *Howel*, one of the Prebends of *Windſor*, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty, was preferred to the Biſhoprick of *Briſtol* on the death of *Weſtfield*, before the end of the ſame year.

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

The paſſing of this Act forementioned, put the impriſoned Biſhops in ſome hope of a ſpeedy deliverance, though it proved not ſo quick as they expected. For though on *Munday February* 14. an Order came that they might put in bail if they would, that they ſhould have their hearing on the *Friday* following, and that ſome

1642.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1642.

of them went out of the *Tower* the morrow after, as appears by *Breviate*, fol. 25. yet the Commons took it ſo indignly, that either that Order was revoked, or the Biſhops had ſome private Advertiſement to return and continue where they were. The Biſhops being deprived of their right of Peerage, muſt be ſuppoſed to ſtand on the ſame ground with the reſt of the People; and conſequently to be accountable for their Actions to the Houſe of Commons, whoſe Priviledges, if the Peers invade, they muſt look to hear of it, as well as the poor Biſhops had done before. And on theſe terms the buſineſs ſtood till *May* 5. being juſt eighteen weeks from their firſt Impriſonment; at which time, without making ſuite to the Houſe of Commons, the Peers releaſt them upon baile, and diſmiſt them to their ſeveral dwellings. There they continued all of them at their own diſpoſing, till the War forced them to provide themſelves of ſafer quarters, except the Biſhop of *Ely* only, who, within few months after he was diſcharged from the Tower, was ſeiſed on by a party of Souldiers at his houſe of *Downham*, and brought back again to the *Tower*, where he continued till the end of the year 1659. without any Charge or Accuſation produced againſt him.

But as for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as he firſt took poſſeſſion of that Fatal Lodging before any of the reſt came to him; ſo he continued there after their diſmiſſion, without hope of finding his paſſage out of it by any other door than the door of Death: which as he did not look for before it came, ſo when it came he did not fear it. He had then been fifteen months a Priſoner ſince his firſt Commitment to that place, as far from being brought unto his Trial as he was at the firſt; and is to lye there as much longer before he ſhould hear any thing of them which might tend that way: only they had ſome pulls at him from one time to another, to keep him in remembrance of his preſent condition, and to prepare him by degrees to his laſt diſſolution. For on *October* 23. in the year foregoing, the Houſe of Peers ſequeſtred his Juriſdiction from him, conferring it on *Brent*, and others of his under-officers; and ordered that he ſhould beſtow none of the Benefices within his gift without acquainting them with the name and quality of the party whom he intended to prefer, leaving to them the Approbation, if they ſaw cauſe for it. And on *October* 15. this preſent year, for ſo long he remained without further diſturbance, it was reſolved upon the Queſtion, That the Fines, Rents, and Profits of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, ſhould be ſequeſtred for the uſe and ſervice of the Commonwealth. In which though he was no more concerned, yet he was as much concerned as any other of the Epiſcopal Order; ſo much the more, as being ſure to find leſs favour, whenſoever that Vote ſhould be put in execution by them that made it. For on the ninth of *November* following, his houſe at *Lambeth* was forcibly poſſeſſed by a Party of Souldiers to keep it for the publick Service, and 78 pounds of his Rents

Rents as forcibly taken from ſome of his Officers, by an Order under the hands of ſome of the Lords upon pretence of imploying it to the maintenance of his Majeſties Children. But upon his Petition, ſhortly after he had an Order for ſecuring of his Goods and Books, though he ſecured them rather from the power of the Souldiers than from the hands of any other on whom the Houſes ſhould beſtow them, when they ſaw time for it. Upon the neck of that came another Order to bar him from having Conference with any of the other Priſoners; or ſpeaking with any other, but in the preſence of the Warder who was appointed to attend him; and from having the Liberty of the Tower; or from ſending any of his Servants into the City but on occaſion of providing Victuals, and other neceſſaries. Not long after, the Souldiers brake open the doors of his Chappel in *Lambeth* houſe, and began to make foul work with the Organs there: but before any great hurt was done, their Captain came, and put a period to their fury. On *December* 21. his Saddle-horſe was ſeiſed on by Order from ſome Members in the Houſe of Commons; and on 23. *Leighton* the Schiſmatick, who had before been ſentenced in the *Star-Chamber* for his libellous and ſeditious Pamphlets, came with an Order from that houſe to diſpoſſeſs the Souldiers of their quarters there, and turn his houſe into a Priſon. His Wood and Coals ſeiſed on, without any permiſſion to make any uſe of them for himſelf. On *March* 14. he had word brought him of a plot for ſending him and Biſhop *Wren*, his fellow Priſoner to perpetual Exile in *New-England*; and that *Wells*, a factious Preacher, which came lately thence, had laid wagers of it: but when the matter came in agitation in the Houſe of Commons, it appeared to be ſo horrible and foul a practice, that it was generally rejected. In the beginning of *May* 1643 the Windows in his Chappel were defaced, and the ſteps torn up; his Goods and Books ſeiſed on by *Leighton*, and ſome others. And on the ſixteenth of the ſame month he was ſerved with an Order of both Houſes, debarring him from beſtowing any of his Benefices, which either were or ſhould be vacant for the time to come. And on the laſt day of the ſame an Order iſſued from ſome Members of that cloſe Committee, directed unto *Prynne* and others, to ſeiſe on all his Letters and Papers, to be peruſed by ſuch as ſhould be Authoriſed to that end and purpoſe.

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1642.

So far they had proceeded in pulling him from himſelf piecemeal, before they were ready for his Trial, or ſeemed to have any thoughts which might look that way. They had then a greater game to play, and on this occaſion. His Majeſty at his late being in *Scotland* expoſtulated with ſome of the chief amongſt them touching their late coming into *England* in an hoſtile manner, and found that ſome who were now leading men in the Houſes of Parliament had invited them to it; and having furniſhed himſelf with ſome proofs for it, he commanded his Atturney General to impeach ſome of them of High Treaſon; that is to ſay, the Lord *Kimbolton*, a

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1642. Member of the Houſe of Peers, *Hollis*, *Pym*, *Haſlerig*, *Stroud*, and *Hambden*, of the Houſe of Commons. But ſending a Serjeant at Arms to Arreſt their perſons, there came a countermand from the Houſe of Commons, by which the Serjeant was deferred from doing his office, and the Members had the opportunity of putting themſelves into the Sanctuary of the City. The next day, being *January* 4. his Majeſty being no otherwiſe attended than with his ordinary Servants, and ſome few Gentlemen, armed no otherwiſe than with Swords and Courage, went to the Houſe of Commons to demand the five Members, that he might proceed againſt them in a way of Juſtice; but his intention was diſcovered, and the birds flown before his coming. And this was voted by the Houſe of Commons for ſuch an unexpiable breach of Priviledge, that neither the Kings qualifying of that Action, nor his deſiſting from the proſecution of that impeachment, nor any thing that he could either ſay or do, would give ſatisfaction; nothing muſt ſatisfie their *Jealouſies*, and ſecure their *Fears*, but the putting the *Tower* of *London* into their hands, together with the Command of the *Royal* Navy, as alſo of the Forts, Caſtles, and the Train-bands of the Kingdom, all comprehended under the name of the *Militia*; which if his Majeſty would fling after all the reſt, they would continue *his moſt loyal and obedient ſubjects*. On this the King demurs a while, but having ſhipt the Queen for *Holland*, and got the Prince into his own power, he becoms more reſolute, and ſtoutly ſtands on the denial. But finding the Members too ſtrong for him, and *London*, by reaſon of the continual tumults, to be a dangerous Neighbour to him, he withdraws to *York*; that being in a place of ſafety he might the better find a way to compoſe thoſe differences which now began to embroil the Kingdom. At *Hull* he had a Magazine of Arms and Ammunition, provided for the late intended War againſt the *Scots*, and laid up there when the occaſion of that War was taken away. Of this Town he intended to poſſeſs himſelf, and to make uſe of his own Arms and Ammunition for his own preſervation; but coming before the Gates of the Town he was denied entrance by *Hotham*, who by the appointment of the Houſe of Commons had took charge of that place. The Gentry of *Yorkſhire*, who had Petitioned the King to ſecure that *Magazine*, became hereby more firmly united to him. The like had been done alſo by the *Yeomandry*, and thoſe of the inferiour ſort, if his proceedings had not been undermined by a Committee of four Gentlemen, all Members of the Houſe of Commons, and all of them Natives of that County, ſent thither purpoſely (in a new and unprecedent way) to lie as Spies upon his Counſels, and as Controllers to his Actions. Some Meſſages there were betwixt him and the Houſes of Parliament concerning the atoning of theſe differences, whilſt he was at *York*; but the *nineteen Propoſitions* ſent thither to him, did declare ſufficiently that there was no peace to be expected on his part, unleſs he had

had made himſelf a Cypher, a thing of no ſignification in the affairs of State. LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1642.

It was deſired in the eighth of theſe *Propoſitions*, *That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to conſent to ſuch a* Reformation *as ſhould be made, of the* Church Government *and* Liturgy, *as both Houſes of Parliament ſhould* Adviſe, *wherein they intended to have* Conſultation *with* Divines, *as was Expreſſed in their Declaration; And that his Majeſty would contribute his beſt aſſiſtance to them for the raiſing of a ſufficient* maintenance, *for* Preaching *Miniſters throughout the Kingdom; And that his Majeſty would* be pleaſed *to give his Conſent to Laws for taking away of* Innovations, *and* Superſtitions, *and of* Pluralities, *and againſt* Scandalous *Miniſters.* For ſatisfaction whereunto he firſt repeats unto them ſo much of a former Anſwer returned to their Petition, which accompanied the Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom, as hath already been laid down in the year foregoing; and after calls to their Remembrance a material clauſe in his Meſſage of the 14th of *February*, at ſuch time as he yielded his conſent to deprive the *Biſhops* of their Votes in Parliament. In which it was declared, *That his Majeſty had Obſerved great and different troubles to ariſe in the hearts of his people concerning the* Government *and* Liturgy *of the Church; and therefore that he was willing to refer the whole conſideration to the Wiſdom of his Parliament, which he deſired them to enter into ſpeedily, that the preſent Diſtractions about the ſame might be compoſed; that he deſired not to be preſſed to any ſingle Act on his part, till the whole was ſo digeſted and ſettled by both Houſes, that his Majeſty might cleerly ſee what was fit to be left, as well as what was fit to be taken away.* Of which he addeth, "that he the more hoped for a good ſucceſs to the general ſatisfa-"ction of his People, becauſe they ſeemed in their *Propoſition* to "deſire but a *Reformation*, and not (as had been daily Preached for "*Neceſſary*, in thoſe many Coventicles, which for the ninteen Months "laſt paſt had ſo ſwarmed in this Kingdom) a *Deſtruction* of the Pre-"ſent Diſcipline and Liturgy; that he ſhould moſt cheerfully give "his beſt aſſiſtance for raiſing a ſufficient maintenance for Preach-"ing Miniſters, in ſuch courſe as ſhould be moſt for the encourage-"ment of Piety and Learning; that to the Bills they mentioned, "and the *Conſultation* which they intimated, as he knew nothing of "the particular *matters* of the one (though he liked the Titles of "themſelves) ſo neither did he of the *manner* of the other, but by "an *Informer*, (to whom he gave little credit, and wiſht no "man did more) Common Fame, he could ſay nothing till he "ſaw them. With which general well ſtudied anſwer he diſmiſſed that Article.

*Husb.* Exact. Collect. p. 399.

*Id. Ib.* p. 337.

Theſe *Propoſitions*, and the entertaining of ſo many *Petitions* by the Houſes of Parliament viſibly tending to the Abolition of Epiſcopal Government, made it appear moſt neceſſary in the Eyes of thoſe who wiſht well to it, to haſten the publiſhing of ſuch Petitions

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1642.

tions, as had been preſented to the King in behalf thereof, and by his Majeſty had been Ordered to be publiſhed accordingly; For what could otherwiſe be expected, but that many ſuch Petitions ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, and both Houſes from ſeveral Counties in the Kingdom, for the preſerving of that Government, under which this Church had flouriſhed with Peace and Happineſs, ſince the Reformation. Amongſt which none did plead the cauſe with greater fervency, then that which was tendred in the name of the Gentry and Clergy of the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*; partly out of the eſteem they had to their *Metropolitan*, and partly out of the affection, which they carried to the cauſe it ſelf. In which Petition it was ſhewed, *That notwithſtanding this Kingdom, hath by the ſingular Providence of Almighty God for many years laſt paſt happily flouriſhed above all other Nations in the Chriſtian World, under the Religion and Government by Law Eſtabliſhed; yet hath it been of late moſt miſerably diſtracted through the ſiniſter Practices of ſome private perſons ill affected to them both; By whoſe means the preſent Government is diſgraced and traduced, the houſes of God are profaned and in part defaced, the Miniſters of Chriſt are contemned and deſpiſed, the Ornaments and many Utenſils of the Church are abuſed, the Liturgie and Book of Common Prayer, depraved and neglected, That abſolute model of Prayer,* the Lords Prayer *vilified, the Sacraments of the Goſpel in ſome places unduly adminiſtred, in other places omitted, Solemn days of Faſting obſerved, and appointed by private Perſons,* Marriages Illegally Solemnized, *Burials uncharitably performed, And the very Fundamentals of Religion ſubverted by the Publication of a new Creed, and teaching the Abrogation of the Moral Law. For which purpoſe many offenſive Sermons are daily Preached, and many Impious Pamphlets Printed; And in contemning of Authority many do what ſeemeth good in their own Eyes onely, as if there were no King nor Government in this our* Iſrael; *Whereby God is highly provoked, his Sacred Majeſty diſhonoured, the Peace of the Kingdom endangered the Conſciences of the People diſquieted, the Miniſtry of Gods word diſheartned, and the Enemies of the Church imboldned in their enterpriſe.* "For redreſs whereof, May it pleaſe this great and Honour- "able Council, ſpeedily to Command a due obſervation of the "Religion and Government by Law Eſtabliſhed; in ſuch manner as "may ſeem beſt to the Piety and Wiſdom of his Royall Majeſty "and this Honourable Court. Your Petitioners as they ſhall con- "fidently expect a bleſſing from heaven upon this Church, and "Kingdom; ſo ſhall they have this further cauſe to implore the "Divine Aſſiſtance upon this Honourable *Aſſembly*.

Collect. of Petitions, p. 45.

To this Petition there ſubſcribed no fewer then 24 Knights and Baronets, Eſquires and Gentlemen of note above 300. Divines 108. Freeholders and Subſidy men 800. A greater number in the total then might have been expected from ſo ſmall a Dioceſs, conſiſting but of 257. Pariſhes, diſtempered by the mixture of ſo many Churches

Churches of *French* and *Dutch*, and wholly under the command of the Houſes of Parliament. Many Petitions of like nature came from other Counties, where the People were at any Liberty to ſpeak their own ſenſe, and had not their hands tied from Acting in their own concernments; All which with ſome of thoſe, which had led the way unto the Reſt, were publiſhed by Order from his Majeſty, bearing date *May* 20. 1642. under the title of *a Collection of the Petitions of divers Countries*, &c. Which Petitions being ſo drawn together, and beſides many which were preſented after this Collection, amounted to nineteen in all, that is to ſay, two from the County of *Cheſter*, two from *Cornwall*, one from the Univerſity of *Oxon.* and another from the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; One from the Heads of Colledges and Halls, this from the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*; another from the Dioceſs of *Exeter*, one from the ſix Counties of *North-wales*, and one apiece from the Counties of *Notingham*, *Huntington*, *Somerſet*, *Rutland*, *Stafford*, *Lancaſter*, *Kent*, *Oxford* and *Hereford*. Nor came theſe Petitions thus collected, either from Perſons few in Number or inconſiderable in quality (like thoſe of the Porters, Watermen, and other poor people which clamored with ſo much noiſe at the doors of the Parliament) but from many thouſands of the beſt and moſt eminent Subjects of the Realm of *England*. The total Number of Subſcribers in ſeven of the ſaid Counties only, beſides the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, and the Burrough of *Southwark* (the reſt not being computed in the ſaid Collection) amounting to 482. Lords and Knights, 1748. Eſquires and Gentlemen of Note, 631. Doctors and Miniſters, 44559. Freeholders; which ſhows how generally well affected the People were, both to the Government, and Liturgy of the Church of *England*, if they had not been perverted, and over-awed by the Armies and Ordinances of the Houſe of Parliament, which Commanded the greateſt part of the Kingdom. And though perhaps the Subſcribers on the other ſide might appear more numerous, conſidering how Active and United that party was; yet was it very well obſerved in reference to the ſaid Subſcriptions, by a Noble Member of that Houſe, "That the numberleſs number "of thoſe of a different ſenſe, appeared not publickly, nor cried ſo "loud as being perſons more quiet, ſecure in the goodneſs of their "Laws, the wiſdom of their Law-makers; and that it was not a "thing uſual to Petition for what men have, but for what they have not. But notwithſtanding the importunity of the Petitioners on the one ſide, and the Moderation of the Kings Anſwer on the other, the prevailing party in both Houſes had *Reſolved* long ſince upon the *Queſtion*, which afterwards they declared by their publick Votes. For on the 11th of *September* the Vote paſſed in the houſe of Commons for aboliſhing *Biſhops*, *Deans*, and *Chapters*, celebrated by the intatuated Citizens (as all other publick miſchiefs were) with Bells and Bonfires; the Lords not coming in till the end of *January*, when it paſt there alſo.

A Draught of a Speach by the Lord Viſcount Falkland [illegible]

The

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1642.

The War in the mean time begins to open; The Parliament had their Guards already, and the affront which *Hotham* had put upon his Majesty at *Hull* prompted the Gentlemen of *Yorkshire* to tender themselves for a Guard to his Person. This presently Voted by both Houses to be a leavying of War against the Parliament, for whose defence not only the *Trained Bands* of *London* must be in readiness, and the *Good people of the Country* required to put themselves into a posture of Arms; but Regiments of Horse and Food are Listed, a General appointed, great Summs of Mony raised, and all this under pretence of taking the King out of the hands of his *Evil Counsellors*. The noise of these preparations hastens the King from *York* to *Notingham* where he sets up his *Standard* inviting all his good *Subjects* to repair unto him, for defence of their King, the Laws and Religion of their Country. He encreased his forces as he marched, which could not come unto the Reputation of being an Army, till he came into *Shropshire*, where great Bodies of the Loyall, and Stout hearted *Welch* resorted to him. Strengthened with this, and furnished sufficiently with field Pieces, Arms, and Ammunition, which the Queen had sent to him out of *Holland*, he resolves upon his March to *London*; but on *Sunday* the 23th of *Octob.* was encountred on the way at a place called *Edghill* by the Parliaments Forces. The Fight very terrible for the time, no fewer then 5000 men slain upon the place; The *Prologue* for a greater slaughter, if the Dark night had not put an end to that dispute. Each part pretended the Victory, but it went cleerly on the Kings side, who though he lost his General; yet he kept the Field, and possessed himself of the Dead bodies, and not so only: but he made his way open unto *London*, and in his way forced *Banbury* Castle in the very sight, as it were, of the Earl of *Essex*, who with his flying Army made all the hast he could toward the City (that he might be there before the King) to serve the Parliament. More certain signs there could not be of an absolute victory. In the battel of *Turo*, between the Confederates of *Italy*, and *Charles* the 8th of *France*, it happened so, that the Confederates kept the Field, possest themselves of the Camp, Baggage and Artillery, which the *French* in their breaking through, had left behind them. And yet the Honour of the day was generally given unto the *French*; For though they lost the Field, their Camp Artillery and Baggage: yet they obtained what they fought for, which was the opening of their way to *France*, and which the *Confederates* did intend to deprive them of. Which Resolution in that *Case* may be a Ruling *Case* to this; the King having not only kept the Field, possest himself of the dead bodies, Pillaged the Carriages of the Enemy: but forcibly opened his way toward *London*, which the Enemy endeavoured to hinder, and finally entred Triumphantly into *Oxon*, with no fewer then one hundred and twenty Colours taken in the fight.

Having assured himself of *Oxon*, for his *Winter Quarters*, he Resolved

ſolved on his Advance toward *London*: but made ſo many Halts in the way, that *Eſſex* was got thither before him, who had diſpoſed of his Forces at *Kingſton*, *Branford*, *Acton*, and ſome other places thereabouts, not only to ſtop his March, but to fall upon him in the *Rere* as occaſion ſerved. Yet he goes forward notwithſtanding as far as *Brainford*, out of which he beats two of their beſt Regiments, takes 500 Priſoners, ſinks their *Ordnance*, with an intent to march forward on the morrow after, being *Sunday November* 13. But underſtanding that the Earl of *Eſſex* had drawn his Forces out of *Kingſton*, and joyning with the *London Auxiliaries*, lay in the way before him, at a place called *Turnham-Green* neer *Chiſwick*, it was thought ſafer to retreat toward *Oxon.* while the way was open, than to venture his Army to the fortune of a ſecond Battel, which if it were loſt, it would be utterly impoſſible for him to raiſe another. At *Oxon.* he receives *Propoſitions* of Peace from the Houſes of Parliament: but ſuch as rather did beſeem a conquering than a loſing ſide: Amongſt which I find this for one. LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1642.

*That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to give his Royal Aſſent, for taking away* Superſtitious Innovations; *and to the Bill for the utter aboliſhing and taking away all* Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *their* Chancellors *and* Commiſſaries, Deans, Subdeans, Deans *and* Chapters, Archdeacons, Canons, *and* Prebendaries, *and all* Chanters, Chancellors, Treaſurers, Sub-Treaſurers, Succentors *and* Sacriſts, *and all* Vicars Choral *and* Choriſters, *old* Vicars *or new* Vicars *of any* Cathedral *or* Collegiate *Church, and all other their under-Officers out of the Church of* England; *To the Bill againſt* Scandalous Miniſters; *To the Bill againſt* Pluralities, *and to the Bill for* Conſultation *to be had with Godly, Religious, and Learned Divines; That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to paſs ſuch other Bills for ſettling of Church-Government, as upon* Conſultation *with the* Aſſemby *of the ſaid Divines ſhall be Reſolved on by both Houſes of Parliament, and by them to be preſented to his Majeſty.* *Propoſition* 4.

Which *Propoſition*, with the reſt, being preſented to him on *Candlemas*-day, he referred to the following Treaty to be held at *Oxon.* in which he found the Commiſſioners of the Houſes ſo ſtreighted in Time, and ſo tied up to their Inſtructions, that nothing could be yielded by them, which might conduce to the compoſing of the preſent Diſtempers. 1643.

But it was indifferent to them what Succeſs they found, either in the *Propoſitions* or the *Treaty*, who had already entred on the Rents and Profits of all the *Epiſcopal Sees* and *Capitular Bodies*, which were within the Power of their Armies; and Sequeſtred the Benefices of all ſuch as ſtood in their way, under the common notion of ſcandalous Miniſters: who if they had offended againſt the Laws of the Realm, by the ſame Laws were to have been proceeded againſt; that

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1643.

ſo being legally deprived, the vacant Churches might be left to be filled by the *Patrons* with more deſerving *Incumbents*. But ſuch a courſe was inconſiſtent with the preſent Deſign: Moſt of the Silenced *Lecturers* and Factious Miniſters, which within ten years then laſt paſt had left the Kingdom, either for Inconformity, or Debt, or their own intemperance of Spirit, had of late flock'd into it amain, like ſo many Birds of Rapine to ſeek after the *Prey*. And upon theſe, and ſuch as theſe, the Sequeſtred Benefices were beſtowed, to be held no otherwiſe by them, than as *Uſufructuaries* or *Tenants at Will*, that ſo they might continue in a ſervile obſequiouſneſs to the Power and Pleaſure of their great Landlords. With which his Majeſty being made acquainted, he preſently ſignified his diſlike and reſentment of it, by his Royal Proclamation bearing date at *Oxon. May* 15. 1643. In which he firſt complains, "That divers of the Clergy, "eminent for their Piety and Learning, were forced from their Cures "and Habitations, or otherwiſe ſilenced and diſcharged from exer- "ciſing their Miniſtry, for no other reaſon but becauſe (contrary to "the Laws of the Land, and their own Conſciences) they would not "pray againſt him and his Aſſiſtants, or refuſed to publiſh any ille- "gal Commands and Orders for fomenting the unnatural War rai- "ſed againſt him: but conformed themſelves according to the Book "of Common Prayers, and Preach'd Gods Word according to "the purity thereof, without any mixture of Sedition. Next, That "the ſaid Clergy being ſo forcibly driven out or diſcharged of their "Cures, many Factious and Schiſmatical Perſons were intruded in- "to them, to ſow Sedition, and ſeduce his good Subjects from their "Obedience, contrary to the Word of God and the Laws of the "Land: Part of the Profits of the ſaid Benefices allotted to the ſaid "Intruders; the reſt converted to the Maintenance of the War "againſt him. And thereupon he ſtreightly commandeth all his "good Subjects to deſiſt from ſuch illegal courſes againſt any of the "Clergy aforeſaid; to pay their Tythes to the ſeveral and reſpective "Incumbents, or their Aſſigns, without guile or fraud, notwith- "ſtanding any Sequeſtration, pretended Orders or Ordinances what- "ſoever, from one or both Houſes of Parliament; and this to do, "under pain of being proceeded againſt according to Law, as they "ſhould be apprehended and brought to the hands of Juſtice; their "Lands and Goods in the mean time to be ſequeſtred, and taken in- "to ſafe cuſtody for their diſobedience: Requiring all Churchwar- "dens and Sides-men, to be aſſiſtant in gathering and receiving their "Tythes, Rents and Profits; and to reſiſt all ſuch Perſons as much "as in them lay, which were intruded into any of the Benefices or "Cures aforeſaid. But this ſerved rather to declare his Majeſties Piety, than to ſtop the courſe of thoſe Proceedings: For juſtify- ing whereof, the Clergy muſt be branded with Offences of divers conditions; ſome of them of ſuch a ſcandalous and heynous nature, as were not to be expiated with the loſs of Livings, but of Lives, if any

*Fibl. Regia.* p. 1. p. 3-5

any Legal Evidence had been found to prove them. And that nothing might be wanting to their infelicity, an infamous Pamphlet is diſperſed, Licenced by *white* Chairman for the Committee for Religion, under the Title of, *The firſt Century of Scandalous and Malignant Prieſts, &c.* Which though his Majeſty abominated upon very good reaſon, when it firſt came unto his knowledge; yet would he not give way that a Recrimination ſhould be made of the adverſe Party, by ſuch as undertook to do it on far juſter grounds. LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1643.

In like manner they proceeded to the execution of another part of their deſign, mentioned and preſented in the ſaid Propoſition, touching a *Conſultation to be had with Godly, Religious, and Learned Divines.* For not intending to expect his Majeſties pleaſure, their Commiſſioners were no ſooner returned from the Treaty at *Oxon.* but they cauſed ſuch an Aſſembly to be called by their own Authority, as ſhould be ſure to do the Work recommended to them. The *Convocation* was in force, but not fit to be truſted; nor durſt they venture to commit the choice of men to the Beneficed Clergy, according to the courſe of *National* and *Provincial Synods*: That Power they kept unto themſelves, committing the Nomination unto ſuch as ſerved for the ſeveral Counties, that ſo each County might be furniſhed with ſuch Perſons to perform the Service, as could have no Authority to bind them by their Conſtitutions, or any other Publick Acts, made and agreed upon in that *Aſſembly*. An *Aſſembly* of a very ſtrange mixture, conſiſting of a certain number of the *Lords* and *Commons*, with a greater proportion of *Divines*, ſome of which were *Prelatical*, ſome *Independent*, and the greater part of them *Presbyterians*, out of which ſpawned another Fry by the name of *Eraſtians*. And that they might not be bound to this Journey-work without daily Wages, they had each of them their 4 *s. per diem* well and truly paid, and were beſides inveſted in ſeveral Lectures in and about the City of *London*, and the beſt Benefices (ſome of them three or four for failing) which could be found in all the Kingdom. His Majeſty looks on this as a new Provocation, a ſtrange and unparallell'd Incroachment on his Royal Prerogative, to which alone the calling of ſuch *Aſſemblies* did belong by the Laws of the Realm. He ſees withal the dangerous ends for which it was called, of what Ingredients for the moſt part the whole *Aſſembly* was compoſed, what influence the prevailing party in both Houſes was to have upon it, and the ſad conſequents which in all probability were to be expected from it to the Church and State. And thereupon by his Proclamation of *June* 22. (being juſt ten days after the date of the Ordinance by which the *Aſſembly* was indicted) "He inhibits all "and every Perſon named in that pretended Ordinance (under ſeveral pains) from aſſembling together for the end and purpoſe therein "ſet down; declaring the *Aſſembly* to be illegal; and that the Acts "thereof ought not to be received by any of his good Subjects, as "binding them, or of any Authority with them. Which Prohibi- *Bill. Regia.* 331. p.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1643.

tion notwithſtanding, moſt of the Members authoriſed by that Ordinance aſſembled in the Abby of *Weſtminſter*, on the firſt of *July*, in contempt of his Majeſty and the Laws: But what they did, or whether they did any thing or not, more than their taking of the *Covenant*, and iſſuing a new Form of Worſhip by the name of a *Directory*, comes not within the compaſs of my Obſervation.

Such were his Majeſties pious Cares for preſerving the Peace of the Church, the Purity of Religion, and the poſſeſſions of his Clergy; in the midſt whereof he kept his eye on the courſe of that War, which hitherto he had proſecuted with ſuch good ſucceſs, with hopes of better fortune for the time to come. For having triumphantly brought the Queen into *Oxford* in the beginning of the *Spring*, with ſome Supplies of Men, and a conſiderable Stock of Powder, Arms, and Ammunition, which ſhe bought in *Holland*, he finds himſelf in a condition to take the Field, and in this *Summer* becomes Maſter of the *North* and *Weſt*, ſome few places only being excepted. The Earl of *Newcaſtle* with his Northern Army, had cleared all parts beyond *Trent* (but the Town of *Hull*) of the Enemies Forces. And with his own Army, under the Command of Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* (two of the younger Sons of his Siſter *Elizabeth* Queen of *Bohemia*) he reduced the Cities of *Briſtol* and *Exeter*, the Port-Town of *Weymouth*, and all the Towns of any importance in the *Weſtern* Parts, except *Poole*, *Lime*, and *Plymouth*: So that he was in a manner the abſolute Commander of the Counties of *Wilts*, *Dorſet*, *Sommerſet*, *Devon*, and *Cornwal*. And though the Towns of *Plymouth*, *Lime*, and *Poole*, ſtill held out againſt him; yet were they ſo bridled by his neighbouring Garriſons, that they were not able to create him any great diſturbance. The noiſe of which ſucceſſes was ſo loud at *London*, that moſt of the leading men in both Houſes of Parliament, prepared for quitting of the Kingdom, and had undoubtedly ſo done, if the King had followed his good Fortunes, and advanced toward *London*: But unhappily diverting upon *Gloceſter*, he lay ſo long there without doing any thing to the purpoſe, that the Earl of *Eſſex* came time enough to raiſe the Siege, and relieve the Town, though he made not haſte enough to recover *London* without blows. For beſides ſome Skirmiſhes on the *by*, which fell out to his loſs, the King with the whole Body of his Army overtook him at *Newbury*, where after a ſharp Fight (with the loſs of the Earl of *Carnarvan*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Lord Viſcount *Faulkland* on his Majeſties ſide) he had the worſt of the day, and had much ado to ſave his Cannon, and march off orderly from the place; followed ſo hotly the next morning, that his own *Horſe* which were in the *Rere*, were fain to make their way over a great part of his *Foot*, to preſerve themſelves. But being returned to *Oxford* (with Succeſs and Honour) he Summons the Lords and Commons of Parliament to attend there on *January* 22. then next following, and they came accordingly. And for their better welcome, he advances

Prince

Prince *Rupert* to the Titles of Earl of *Holderneſs* and Duke of *Cumberland*, and creates *James* his Second Son (born *October* 13. *Anno* 1633.) Duke of *York*, by which name he had been appointed to be called at the time of his Birth, that they might Sit and Vote amongſt them. But being come, they neither would take upon themſelves the name of a *Parliament*, nor acted much in order to his Majeſties Deſigns: but ſtood ſo much upon their terms, and made ſo many unhandſom Motions to him upon all occaſions, that he had more reaſon to call them *A Mongrel Parliament*, in one of his Letters to the Queen, than they were willing to allow of. LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1643.

Scarce were they ſettled in their ſeveral and reſpective Houſes, when they were entertained with a hot Alarm, made by the coming in of the *Scots* with a puiſſant Army; the greateſt and beſt accommodated with all ſorts of Arms and Ammunition, that ever was muſtered by that Nation, ſince it had a being. His Majeſties wonderful Succeſſes in the *North* and *Weſt*, ſtrook ſuch a terrour in the prevailing Party of both Houſes, that they were forced to caſt themſelves upon the *Scots* for Support and Succour; diſpatching *Armine*, and ſome other of their active Members, to negotiate a new Confederacy with them. The *Scots* had thrived ſo well by the former Service, as made them not unwilling to come under the pay of ſuch bountiful Maſters; and by the Plunder of ſo many of the *Northern* Counties, had made themſelves Maſters of a greater ſtock of Arms and Horſes, than that Kingdom formerly could pretend to in its greateſt Glories. But knowing well in what neceſſity their *dear Brethren* in *England* ſtood of their aſſiſtance, they were reſolved to *make Hay* while the *Sun ſhined*, and husband that neceſſity to their beſt advantage. The *Engliſh* muſt firſt enter into Covenant with them, for conforming of this Church with that; They muſt be flattered with the hopes of dividing the Biſhops Lands amongſt them, that they might plant themſelves in ſome of the faireſt Houſes and beſt Lands of this Kingdom; So great a ſtroke is to be given them in the Government of all Affairs, that the Houſes could act nothing in order to the preſent War, no not ſo much as to hold a Treaty with the King, without the conſent of their Commiſſioners; Some of their Miniſters (*Gilleſpie*, *Henderſon*, *&c.*) with as many of their *Ruling Elders*, to ſit in the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, that nothing might be acted which concerned Religion, but by their Advice; One hundred thouſand pounds for Advance-money, to put them into heart and provide them Neceſſaries, before they would budge toward the *Tweed*. And yet all theſe Temptations were not of ſuch prevalency with the Principal Covenanters, as an Aſſurance which was given them, of calling *Canterbury*, their ſuppoſed old Enemy, to a preſent Tryal: Who having been impriſoned upon their complaint, almoſt three years ſince, ſeems to have been preſerved all this while for no other purpoſe, than for a bait to hook them in for ſome new Imployments. The Walls of ſome

Confederacies,

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1643.

Confederacies, like that of *Catiline*, are never thought to be ſufficiently well built but when they are cemented with bloud.

All matters thus reſolved on, the Covenant agreed on betwixt them and the *Scots* was ſolemnly taken by both Houſes in St. *Margarets* Church, and generally impoſed upon all ſuch as were obnoxious to their power, and lived under the command of their Forts and Garriſons: the taking whereof conduced as viſibly to the deſtruction of this moſt reverend and renowned Prelate, as to the preſent ſubverſion of the Government, and Liturgy here by Law eſtabliſhed. In the firſt branch it was to be covenanted and agreed between the Nations (that is to ſay, between the *Puritan* or *Presbyterian* Factions in either Kingdom) "That all endeavours ſhould be uſed for "the preſervation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of *Scot-*"*land*, both in Doctrine, Worſhip, Liturgy, and Government; "and for bringing the three Kingdoms to the neareſt Conjunction, "and Uniformity in Religion, Confeſſion of Faith, Form of Church-"Government, *Directory* for Worſhip and Catechiſing. And in "the ſecond, That in like manner they endeavour without any re-"ſpect of Perſons, the extirpation of *Popery*, Prelacy, that is, "Church-Government by Archbiſhops and Biſhops, their Chan-"cellors or Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-"deacons, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Officers depending on the "Hierarchy, Superſtition, Hereſie, Schiſm, Profaneneſs, and what "ſoever ſhould be found contrary to ſound Doctrine, and the power "of Godlineſs. But all this might have been purſued to the end of the Chace without danger to the life of any, whether they endeavoured it or not, whether their lives might be an hindrance, or their deaths give a ſpur to put on the work. And therefore in the fourth place it was alſo Covenanted, "That they ſhould with all diligence "and faithfulneſs diſcover all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be Incen-"diaries, Malignants, or evil Inſtruments, by hindring the Refor-"mation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of "the Kingdoms from one another, or making any Faction or Parties "amongſt the People contrary to this League and Covenant, that "they may be brought to publick trial, and receive condign puniſh-"ment as the degree of their offences ſhall require or deſerve, or "the ſupream Judicatories of both Kingdoms reſpectively, or "others having power from them for that effect, ſhall judge conve-"nient. Which Article ſeems to have been made to no other purpoſe but to bring the Archbiſhop to the Block, as the like clauſe was thruſt into the *Proteſtation* of the third of *May*, *Anno* 1641. to make ſure work with the Earl of *Strafford*, whom they had then deſigned to the ſaid ſad end. And this may be the rather thought becauſe the Covenant was contrived, and framed in *Scotland*, where none but his ſworn Enemies could be ſuppoſed to have had any hand in it; and being by them ſo contrived was ſwallowed without much chewing by the Houſes of Parliament, who were not then in a condition to deny them any thing.

But

But by whomſoever it was framed, his Majeſty ſaw well enough that it aimed at the ſubverſion of the preſent Government, and the diminution of his Power, if not the deſtruction of his Perſon; the preſervation and ſafety whereof was to be endeavoured no further than in *defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom.* Which how great or little it might be, or what was meant by true Religion and the publick Liberties, was left wholly unto their conſtruction, who would be ſure not to interpret any thing to his beſt advantage. His Majeſty therefore looking on it as a dangerous Combination againſt himſelf, the eſtabliſhed Religion, and the Laws of this Kingdom, for the bringing in of Foreign Forces to ſubvert them all, interdicted all his Subjects from impoſing, or taking the ſame, as they would anſwer the contrary at their utmoſt Perils. Which Proclamation, bearing date on the ninth of *October*, came out too late to hinder the taking and enjoyning of this *Covenant*, where the reſtraint thereof might have been moſt neceſſary. For the Commons were ſo quick at their work, that on *Munday*, *September* 25. it had been ſolemnly taken by all the Members of that Houſe, and the Aſſembly of Divines at St. *Margarets* in *Weſtminſter*; in the ſame Church, within two daies after, it was adminiſtred with no leſs ſolemnity to divers Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Colonels, Officers, Souldiers, and others reſiding in and about the City of *London*, a Sermon being preached by *Coleman* (though otherwiſe a principal *Eraſtian* in point of Government) to juſtifie the Piety and Legality of it; and finally, enjoyned to be taken on the Sunday following in all Churches and Chappels of *London*, within the *Lines of Communication*, by all and every the Inhabitants within the ſame, as afterwards by all the Kingdom in convenient time. Proſecuted in all places, with ſuch curſed rigour, that all ſuch who refuſed to ſubſcribe the ſame, and to lift up their hands to God in teſtimony that they called him to witneſs to it, were turned both out of houſe and home, as they uſe to ſay, not ſuffered to compound for their Goods or Lands till they had ſubmitted thereunto. A terrible and wofull time, in which men were not ſuffered to enjoy their Eſtates without betraying themſelves to the Kings diſpleaſure, and making ſhipwrack of a good conſcience in the ſight of God. Upon which ground, conſidering it conſiſted of ſix Principal branches, it was compared by ſome to the ſix knotted whip, or the Statute of the ſix Articles in the time of King *Henry* viii. this Covenant drawing in the *Scots*, and thereby giving an occaſion of ſhedding infinitely much more bloud than thoſe Articles did. Certain I am, that if all ſuch as died in the War upon that account may not go for *Martyrs*; all ſuch as irrecoverably loſt their Eſtates and Livings for refuſal of it, may be called Confeſſors. Others with no unhappy curioſity obſerving the number of the words which make up this Covenant, abſtracted from the Preface and Concluſion of it, found them amounting in the total to *666.* neither more nor leſs, which being the number

*Pri. C. Reg.* p. 1. p. 332.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1643.

ber of the Beast in the Revelation, pursued with such an open persecution, and prosecuted to the loss of so many lives, the undoing of so many Families, and the subverting of the Government both of Church and State, may very justly intitle it to so much of *Antichrist*, as others have endeavoured to confer on the Popes of *Rome*. For if the Pope shewed any thing of the Spirit of *Antichrist* by bringing *Cranmer*, the first Protestant Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to the Stake at *Oxon*. this Covenant, and the Makers of it, did express no less, in bringing the Last Protestant Archbishop to the Block in *London*.

For no sooner was this Covenant taken, but to let the *Scots* see that they were in earnest, a further impeachment consisting of ten Articles was prepared against him, which being digested into Form and Order, were to this effect, *viz.* "1. That to introduce an Arbitrary Government, and to destroy Parliaments, he had caused "the Parliament, held in the third and fourth year of his Majesty, "to be dissolved, and used many reproachful speeches against the "the same. 2. That out of an endeavour to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Land he had laboured to advance the power "of the Council Table, the Canons of the Church, and the Kings "Prerogative against the said Fundamental Laws, and had used several Speeches to the same effect. 3. That to advance the Ecclesiastical Power above the Laws of the Land, he had by undue means to "the Judges, procured a stop of his Majesties Writs of Prohibition, "whereby Justice had been delayed and hindred, and the Judges diverted from doing their duties. 4. That a judgment being given "against one *Burly* for wilful non-residency, he caused execution on "it to be staid, saying, That he would never suffer a Judgment to "pass against any Clergy-man by a *nihil dicit*. 5. That he had caused Sir *John Corbet* of *Shropshire* to be committed to prison by an "Order of the Council Table, for calling for the *Petition of Right*, "and causing it to be read at the Sessions of the Peace for the County upon just and necessary occasion, and had used some other Acts "of Injustice toward him. 6. That he had suppress the Corporation of Feoffees for buying in Impropriations, under pretence of "being dangerous to the Church and State. 7. That contrary to "the known Laws of the Land he had advanced *Popery*, and Superstition within this Realm; and to that end had wittingly and willingly harboured divers Popish Priests, as *Sancta Clara*, and "St. *Giles*. 8. That he had said, about four years since, there "must be a blow given to the Church, such as hath not been yet given, before it could be brought to Conformity. 9. That after the "dissolution of the Parliament 1640. he caused a *Synod* or *Convocation* to be held, and divers Canons to be made therein, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, *&c.* and particularly the Canon which enjoyns the Oath, "which he caused many Ministers of the Church to take upon pain

"of

of Suſpenſion, &c. 10. That a Vote having been paſſed at the Council Table a little before the laſt Parliment, for ſupplying his Majeſty in Extraordinary ways, if the ſaid Parliament ſhould *prove peeviſh*, he wickedly adviſed his Majeſty to diſſolve the ſame, telling him not long after, that now he was abſolved from all Rules of Government, and left free to uſe Extraordinary ways for his ſupply. Such was the ſubſtance of the Charge, which ſome intended Chiefly for an Introduction to bring on the Tryal, or to revive the noiſe and clamor amongſt Ignorant People which rather judge of ſuch particulars by tale then weight: For otherwiſe there is nothing in theſe laſt ten, which was not eaſily reducible to the firſt fourteen, no not ſo much as his ſuppreſſing the *Feoffees* for *Impropriations*, which ſeemed moſt odious in the eyes of any knowing men.

Theſe Articles being thus digeſted, were ſent up to the Lords the 23th of *Octob.* preſented by the hands of *Wilde*, a Serjeant at Law, and one of the Members of the Houſe of Commons, by whom he was deſigned to manage the Evidence, when the cauſe was Ready for a hearing; on the Receipt whereof it was Ordered that he ſhould appear on that day Sevennight, and to bring in his anſwer in writing to the particular Articles of the ſeveral charges: which Order being ſerved upon him, within few hours after found him not very well provided for a preſent conformity. He had obtained leave at his firſt Commitment to repair to his Study at *Lambeth* Houſe, and to take thence ſuch Papers and Memorials as might conduce to his defence; but all theſe had been forcibly ſeazed on, and in a manner raviſht from him by *Prynne* and others, which made his caſe not much unlike to that of the *Iſraelites* in the Houſe of Bondage, deprived firſt of their former allowance of Straw and Stubble, and yet injoyned to make up their *whole tale of Brick*, as at other times. His Rents, and Goods were Sequeſtred for the uſe of others, ſo that he had not a ſufficiency for a poor Subſiſtence, but by the Charity of his Friends; much leſs a ſuperabundance, out of which to Fee his Counſel and reward his Solicitors. And what were ſeven days to the drawing up of an Anſwer unto twenty four Articles, moſt of them having young ones in their bellies alſo, as like to make as Loud a cry as the Dams themſelves. No way to Extricate himſelf out of this perplexities but by petitioning the Lords, and to them he flys, humbly beſeeching, that *Chute* and *Hearn* two able Lawyers might be aſſigned him for his Counſel; that he might be allowed money out of his own Eſtate to reward them and others for their pains in his buſineſs; his Books and Papers reſtored to him, for the inſtruction of his Counſel, and his own Defence; ſome of his own Servants to attend him for following all ſuch neceſſary occaſions, as the cauſe required; and that a Solicitor, and further time might be allowed, as well for drawing up his anſwer as providing witneſſes, To which this Anſwer was returned. Upon reading of the Petition of the *Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *this* 24th *day of* Octob.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1643.

*It is Ordered*, &c. *that time is given him until Munday the* 6th *of* November *next for putting in his anſwer in writing into this houſe unto the particular Articles brought up from the Houſe of Commons, in maintenance of their former impeachment of High Treaſon*, &c. *That Maſter* Hearn, *and Maſter* Chute, *are hereby aſſigned to be of Counſel for the drawing up of his Anſwer, who are to be permitted to have free acceſs in and out to him. That this houſe doth hereby recommend to the Committee of Sequeſtrations, that the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop ſhall have ſuch means afforded him out of his Eſtate, as will enable him to pay his Counſel, and defray his other Charges. That when his Lordſhip ſhall ſet down particularly what Papers and Writings are Neceſſary for his Defence that ſhould be reſtored unto him, their Lordſhips will take it into conſideration. That upon his Lordſhips nominating who ſhall be his Solicitor, the Lords will return their Anſwer. And for the witneſſes when a day ſhall be appointed for his Lordſhips tryal, this Houſe will give ſuch directions therein as ſhall be juſt.*

This doubtful Anſwer gave him ſmall aſſurance of an equal hearing. His deſired Counſel was allowed him, *Hales* ſuperadded to the reſt, and three of his Servants nominated to attend the buſineſs: But he was left uncertain of providing for their ſatisfaction. His Solicitor muſt be firſt approved by them before he could ſettle to his cauſe, and whether they would approve of ſuch an one as he thought fit to truſt with his life and fame, was to him unknown; and if he point particularly to ſuch of his Papers and Remembrances, as he conceived moſt neceſſary to his preſervation, it was onely promiſed to be taken into conſideration, which kept him in as great ſuſpence as all the reſt. In this diſtreſs he was adviſed by his Counſel to move their Lordſhips, that a Diſcrimination might be made betwixt the Articles; to the end that ſuch of them as were held to contain *High Treaſon* might be diſtinguiſhed from ſuch matters, as were to be charged for miſdeamenors: But no clear anſwer coming from their Lordſhips in that behalf he was Commanded to make his perſonal appearance before them on the 13th of *Novemb.* where by the adviſe of his Counſel he pleaded not guilty to the whole charge, without anſwering more particularly to any Article or clauſe contained in it. And on that day month it was Ordered by the Houſe of Commons, that the Committee Formerly appointed to prepare the Evidence for his Tryal, ſhould put the buſineſs into a quick and ſpeedy courſe, with power to ſend for Parties, Witneſſes, Papers, Records, &c. And to make all things ready for the ſight of the Houſe: the care thereof Committed ſpecially to *Wilde* who had before brought up the additional Articles. Brought to the Bar again on Tueſday the 16th of *January*, their Lordſhips were informed by *Maynard*, in the name of the Houſe of Commons, that his former Anſwer being made only to the *Additional* Articles, and not to the *Original* alſo, they could not in defect thereof proceed

(as

(as otherwiſe they would have done) to draw up the Iſſue; and thereupon he was required peremptorily to prepare his Anſwer to thoſe alſo againſt Munday following, though deemed ſo *General* by his Counſel, as not to be ſufficiently capable of a *Particular* Reply. Which day being come he claimed the benefit of the Act of *Pacification*, for his diſcharge from all matters comprehended in the 13th Article relating to the troubles of *Scotland*; and to the reſt pleaded *not Guilty* as before. Which put the cauſe to ſuch a ſtand, that there was no further ſpeech of it in the Houſe of Commons till the 22th of *February*, when the Committee was required to prepare their evidence and the diſtribution of the parts thereof, with all poſſible ſpeed. And thus the buſineſs was drilled on, haſtned, or ſlackned, as the *Scots* advanced in their expedition; and as the expedition proſpered in ſucceſs and fortune, ſo was it proſecuted and advanced to its fatal Period. For underſtanding that the *Scots* were entred *England* and had marcht victoriouſly almoſt as far as the Banks of the River *Tine*, they preſt the Lords to name a day for the beginning of his Tryal, who thereupon fixed it upon Tueſday the twelfth of *March* next enſuing. LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1643.

The day being come, and the Archbiſhop brought unto the Bar in the Houſe of Peers, the Articles of the Impeachment were firſt read by the Clerk of the Houſe, together with the ſeveral anſwers of *Not Guilty* before remembred; upon the hearing whereof he moſt humbly prayed, that the Commons might be Ordered to ſever the Articles which were pretended to be Treaſon, from thoſe which contained miſdemeanors only, that ſo he might know which of them were Treaſon and which not. To which it was reply'd by *Maynard*, that the Commons would not give way to that Propoſition, in regard that all the Articles together, not any of them by it ſelf, made up the Treaſon wherewith he was charged, that is to ſay, his ſeveral endeavours to ſubvert and deſtroy Religion, the Fundamental Laws of the Land and Government of the Realm, and to bring in *Popery*, and an Arbitrary Tyrannical Government againſt Law. So that we have a *Cumulative* and Conſtructive Treaſon, (ſuch as had formerly been charged on the Earl of *Strafford*) A Treaſon in the concluſion, which could not be gathered from the Premiſes; A Treaſon in the *Summa Totalis*, when nothing but miſdemeanors at the moſt, could be found in the *Items*. Which being thus Reſolved upon, a long Studied Speech was made by *Wilde*, in which there wanted neither words nor animoſity to make him culpable of the crimes wherewith he was charged, if his words could have done it. One paſſage there was in it, which was Subject to ſome miſconſtruction, and ſo interpreted by thoſe, which otherwiſe had no good affection to the Priſoners Perſon; for having ſet forth his offences in their fouleſt Colours, he ſeems to make a wonder of it that any thing could be expected *of the people, but that they ſhould have been Ready to have ſtoned him, as they did him that did but Act the*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1643.

*part of* Bellerophon *in* Rome. Which Paſſage was interpreted for an intimation to the Raskal multitude to ſave the Houſes the diſhonor of putting him to death in a form of Law, by Stoneing him to death or Tearing him in pieces, or laying violent hands upon him in ſome other way, as he paſt between his Barge and the Houſe of Peers. *Wilde* having done, he humbly craved Liberty to wipe of the dirt, which ſo injuriouſly had been caſt upon him, that he might not depart thence ſo foul a Perſon as he had been rendred to their Lordſhips. Which leave obtained (as it could not reaſonably be denied a far meaner Perſon) without any trouble in his Countenance, or perturbation of his Mind, he ſpake as followeth;

My Lords,

MY *being in this Place in this Condition, recalls to my Memory that which I long ſince read in* Seneca, Tormentum eſt, etiam ſi abſolutus quis fuerit, cauſam dixiſſe (6. *de Benef. c.* 28.) *'Tis not a Grief only, no, 'tis no leſs than* Torment, *for an ingenious man to plead capitally or criminally, though it ſhould ſo fall out that he be abſolved. The great Truth of this I find at preſent in my ſelf; and ſo much the more, becauſe I am a Chriſtian; and not that only, but in* Holy Orders; *and not ſo only, but by Gods Grace and Goodneſs preferred to the* greateſt place this Church affords; *and yet brought* cauſam dicere, *to plead for my ſelf at this Great Bar. And whatſoever the World think of me* (*and they have been taught to think much more ill of me, than, I humbly thank Chriſt for it, I was ever acquainted with*) *yet my Lords, this I find,* Tormentum eſt, *'tis no leſs than a Torment to me to appear in this Place; nay, my Lords, give me leave to ſpeak plain truth, No Sentence that can juſtly paſs upon me* (*and other I will never fear from your Lordſhips*) *can go ſo neer me, as* cauſam dicere, *to plead for my ſelf upon this occaſion in this place. But as for the Sentence, be it what it ſhall, I thank God for it, I am for it at St.* Paul's *word* (Acts 25. 11.) If I have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuſe not to die; *For I thank God I have ſo lived, that I am neither afraid to die, nor aſhamed to live. But ſeeing the* Malignity *which hath been raiſed againſt me by ſome men, I have carried my Life in my hands theſe divers years paſt. I may not in this Caſe, and at this Bar, appeal unto* Cæſar; *yet to your Lordſhips* Juſtice *and* Integrity, *I both may and do: not doubting, but that God of his Goodneſs will preſerve my Innocency. And as* Job *in the midſt of his afflictions ſaid to his* miſtaken Friends, *ſo ſhall I to my* Accuſers, God forbid I ſhould juſtifie you; till I die I will not remove my Integrity from me, I will hold it faſt and not let it go: my heart ſhall not reproach me as long as I live, *Job* 27. 5, 6. *My Lords, the Charge againſt me is brought up in* Ten Articles; *but the* main Heads *are two,* An Endeavour to ſubvert the Laws of the Land, and the Religion Eſtabliſhed: *Six Articles* (*the five firſt and the laſt*) *concern the Laws, and the other four Religion.*

*For*

*For the Laws firſt, I think I may ſafely ſay, I have been, to my underſtanding, as ſtrict an Obſerver of them, ſo far as they concern me, as any man hath; and ſince I came into the Place, I have followed them, and have been as much guided by them, as any man that ſate where I had the honour to ſit: And of this I am ſorry I have loſt the Teſtimony of the Lord Keeper* Coventry, *and other Perſons of Honour ſince dead. And the Counſellors which attended the Council-Board can witneſs, ſome of them here preſent, That in all References to the Bord, or Debates ariſing at it, I was for that part of the Cauſe where I found Law to be; and if the Counſel deſired to have the Cauſe left to the Law, well might I move in ſome Caſes* Charity *or* Conſcience *to them: but I left them to the Law, if thither they would go. And how ſuch a Carriage as this, through the whole courſe of my Life in private and publick, can ſtand with an intention to overthrow the Laws, I cannot ſee. Nay, more, I have ever been of opinion,* That Laws bind the Conſcience, *And have accordingly made* conſcience *in obſerving of them: and this Doctrine I have conſtantly Preached, as occaſion hath been offered me; and how is it poſſible I ſhould ſeek to overthrow thoſe Laws, which I held my ſelf bound in conſcience to keep and obſerve?*

*As for* Religion, *I was born and bred up under the Church of* England, *as it ſtands eſtabliſhed by Law. I have by Gods Bleſſing grown up in it to the years which are now upon me, and the Place of Preferment which I now bear. I have ever ſince I underſtood ought of my* Profeſſion, *kept one conſtant Tenor in this my* Profeſſion, *without variation, or ſhifting from one Opinion to another for any worldly ends. And if my conſcience would have ſuffered me to do ſo, I could eaſily have ſlid through all the difficulties which have been preſt upon me in this kind: But of all Diſeaſes, I ever held a* Palſie *in* Religion *moſt dangerous; well knowing, and ever remembring, That that Diſeaſe often ends in a* Dead Palſie. *Ever ſince I came in place, I have laboured nothing more, than that the External Publick Worſhip of God, (ſo much ſlighted in divers parts of this Kingdom) might be preſerved; and that with as much Decency and Uniformity as might be. For I evidently ſaw, That the publick neglect of Gods Service in the outward face of it, and the naſty lying of many Places dedicated to that Service, had almoſt caſt a damp upon the true and inward Worſhip of God, which while we live in the body needs external helps, and all little enough to keep it in any vigour. And this I did to the utmoſt of my knowledge, according both to Law and Canon, and with the conſent and liking of the People: Nor did any Command iſſue out from me, againſt the one, nor without the other. Further, my Lords, give me leave I beſeech you, to acquaint you with this alſo, That I have as little acquaintance with* Recuſants, *as I believe any man of my place in* England, *hath, or ever had ſince the Reformation: And for my Kindred, no one of them was ever a* Recuſant, *but Sir* William Webb, *Grandchild to my Uncle Sir* William Webb, *ſometimes Lord Mayor of* London; *and ſince which ſome of his*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1643.

*his Children I reduced back again to the Church of* England. *On this, I humbly desire one thing more may be thought on, That I am fallen into a great deal of Obloquy in matter of Religion, and that so far (as appears by the Articles against me) that I have* endeavoured to advance and bring in Popery. *Perhaps, my Lords, I am not ignorant what Party of men have raised these Scandals upon me, nor for what end, nor perhaps by whom set on: but howsoever, I would fain have a good Reason given me, if my Conscience stood that way, and that with my Conscience I could subscribe to the Church of* Rome, *what should have kept me here before my Imprisonment, to endure the Libelling, and the Slander, and the base Usage that hath been put upon me; and these to end in this Question for my Life? I say, I would know a good Reason for this.*

*First, my Lords, Is it because of any Pledges I have in this World, to sway me against my Conscience? No sure; for I had neither Wife nor Children to cry out upon me to stay with them: And if I had, I hope the calling of my Conscience should be heard above them. Is it because I was loth to lose the* Honour *and* Profit *of the Place I was risen to? Surely no; For I desire your Lordships and all the World should know, I do much scorn the one and the other, in comparison of my Conscience. Besides, it cannot be imagined by any man, but that if I should have gone over to them, I should not have wanted both* Honour *and* Profit: *and suppose not so great as this I have here; yet sure would my Conscience have served my self of either, less with my Conscience, would have prevailed with me more, then greater against my Conscience. Is it because I lived here at* Ease, *and was loth to venture the loss of that? Not so neither; For whatsoever the World may be pleased to think of me, I have led a very painful Life, and such as I would have been content to change, had I well known how: And would my Conscience have served me that way, I am sure I might have lived at far more ease, and either have avoided the barbarous Libelling, and other bitter grievous Scorns which have been put upon me; or at least, been out of the hearing of them. Not to trouble your Lordships too long, I am so innocent in the Business of Religion, so free from all Practice, or so much as thought of Practice, for any Alteration unto* Popery, *or any blemishing of the true Protestant Religion established in* England, *as I was when my Mother first bore me into the World. And let nothing be spoken but truth, and I do here re-challenge whatsoever is between Heaven and Hell, that can be said against me in point of my Religion, in which I have ever hated dissimulation. And had I not hated it, perhaps I might have been better for worldly safety, than now I am: but it can no way become a Christian Bishop to halt with God.*

*Lastly, If I had a purpose to blast the true Religion established in the Church of* England, *and to introduce* Popery, *sure I took a wrong way to it. For, my Lords, I have staid more going to* Rome, *and reduced more that were already gone, than I believe any Bishop or Divine in this Kingdom hath done; and some of them men of great Abilities,*

*and*

*and ſome perſons of great place. And is this the way to introduce* Popery? *My* Lords, *If I have blemiſhed the true Proteſtant Religion, how could I have brought theſe men to it? And if I had promiſed to introduce* Popery, *I would never have reduced theſe men from it. And that it may appear unto your* Lordſhips *how many, and of what condition the perſons are, which by Gods bleſſing upon my labours, I have ſettled in the true Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in* England, *I ſhall briefly name ſome of them, though I cannot do it in order of time as I converted them; Firſt* Henry Berkinſtead *of* Trinity *Colledge in* Oxon. *ſeduced by a Jeſuite, and brought to* London. *Two Daughters of Sir* Richard Lechford *in* Surrey, *ſent towards a* Nunnery. *Two Scholars of S.* Johns *Colledge in* Cambridge, Toppin, *and* Aſhton, *who had got the* French Embaſſadors *Paſs; and after this I allowed means to* Toppin, *and then procured him a Fellowſhip in St.* Johns: *And he is at this preſent as hopeful a young man as any of his time, and a Divine. Sir* William Webb *my Kinſman, and two of his Daughters; and his Son I took from him, and his Father being utterly decayed, I bred him at my own charge: and he is a very good Proteſtant. A Gentleman brought to me by Mr.* Chesford, *his Majeſties Servant, but I cannot recall his name. The* Lord Mayo *of* Ireland, *brought to me alſo by Mr.* Chesford. *The Right Honourable the Lord* Duke *of* Buckingham, *almoſt quite gone between the Lady his Mother and Siſter. The Lady* Marquiſs Hamilton *was ſettled by my direction, and ſhe died very Religiouſly, and a* Proteſtant. *Mr.* Digby *who was a* Prieſt. *Mr.* James *a Gentleman brought to me by a Miniſter of* Buckinghamſhire, *as I remember. Dr.* Heart *the* Civilian, *my Neighbours Son at* Fulham. *Mr.* Chriſtopher Seaborne, *a Gentleman of an ancient Family in* Herefordſhire. *The Right Honourable the Counteſs of* Buckingham. *Sir* William Spencer *of* Parnton. *Mr.* Chillingworth. *The Sons and Heirs of Mr.* Winchcomb, *and Mr.* Wolleſcot, *whom I ſent with their Friends liking to* Wadham *Colledge* Oxon. *and received a Certificate* Anno 1638. *of their continuing in Conformity to the Church of* England. *Nor did ever any one of theſe named relapſe again, but only the* Counteſs *of* Buckingham *and Sir* William Spencer; *It being only in Gods power, not mine, to preſerve them from relapſe. And now let any Clergy-man in* England *come forth, and give a better account of his zeal to the Church.*

This being ſaid, and all Parties commanded to withdraw, their Lordſhips, after ſome ſhort time of conſideration, appointed the next Morning at nine of the clock for the beginning of the Proſecution to be made againſt him. In order whereunto the twenty four Articles (for ſo many there were in both impeachments) were reduced under theſe four general Heads, *viz.* 1. His traiterous Endeavours and Practices to alter and ſubvert Gods true Religion by Law eſtabliſhed in this Realm, and inſtead thereof to ſet up Popiſh Superſtition and Idolatry; the particulars wherof are ſpecified in the 5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13 *Original*, and 6,7,8,9 *Additional* Articles. 2. His traiterous uſurpation of a Papal and Tyrannical Power in the Church

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1643.

Church of *England* in all Eccleſiaſtical affairs, to the prejudice and derogation of his Majeſties Royal Prerogative, and the Subjects Liberties; compriſed in the ſixth *Original* Article. 3. His traiterous Attempts and Endeavours to ſubvert the Fundamental Temporal Laws, Government and Liberties of the Realm and Subjects of *England*, and inſtead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary and Temporal Government, againſt Law and the Subjects Liberty; expreſſed in the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13 *Original*; and 1, 2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10 *Additional* Articles. And 4. His traiterous Endeavours to ſubvert the Rights of Parliament, and ancient courſe of Parliamentary Proceedings, and by falſe and malicious ſlanders to incenſe his Majeſty againſt them, contained in the 14 *Original*, and the 1, 9, 10 *Additional* Articles. The managing of the Evidence committed to *Maynard*, *Wilde*, and *Nicholas*, all Members of the Houſe of Commons; by whom the buſineſs was drawn out to ſo great a length, that it took up no leſs than ſeventeen daies; not altogether, but with ſo many pauſes and intermiſſions (as the *Scots* proſpered and came forwards) that the pleadings were not fully finiſhed till the end of *July*. I hope it will not be expected that I ſhould lay down the proceedings on both ſides, the Proofs and Teſtimonies which were brought againſt him, or the defences which were made by him in full Anſwer to them; that being a work, which of it ſelf would make a greater Volume than our preſent Hiſtory. All I ſhall ſay, amounts to no more but this, That there wanted neither wit nor will in the Proſecutors to make him appear as guilty in the eye of the Lords, as his Accuſers could deſire. And as for him, it is related by the Pen of his greateſt Adverſary, That *he made as Full, as Gallant, as Pithy a Defence, and ſpake as much for himſelf as was poſſible for the wit of man to invent*; *and that with ſo much Art, Vivacity, Oratory, Audacity, and Confidence*, that he ſhewed not the leaſt acknowledgment of Guilt in any of the particulars which were charged upon him. And though the Relator, putting the worſt gloſs upon the Text, be pleaſed to ſay, that theſe Abilities did argue *him rather Obſtinate, than Innocent*; *Impudent, than Penitent*; *a far better Orator, Sophiſter, than Proteſtant or Chriſtian*; *a truer Son of the Church of* Rome, *than of the Church of* England: yet in the midſt of theſe Reproaches he gives him the Commendations of Wit and Eloquence, of being a good Orator, and a ſubtle Diſputant; which with the reſt of the Abilities aſcribed unto him, conſidering the ſuddenneſs of his Preparations, the frailty of his Memory, the burthen of ſeventy years, with other natural infirmities then lying heavy on him, may not unjuſtly be imputed to Divine aſſiſtance. What ſenſe the Commons had of his juſtification, and what ſatisfaction was found in it by the Houſe of Peers, we ſhall ſee hereafter.

*Cont. Dom.* p. 462.

And here we leave him for a time, to ſee how far the *Scots* proceeded, and what they did in order to the ſervice of thoſe that ſo dearly hired them, which might be equal to the merit of ſo great a Sacrifice.

Sacrifice. Of whom we are to know, that paſſing by the Town of *Berwick*, they entred *England* in the middle of *January* with a puiſſant Army, conſiſting of eighteen thouſand Foot, two thouſand Horſe, and one thouſand Dragoons, accommodated with all things neceſſary for the Expedition; not hindred in their March till they came almoſt to the River *Tine*, where they were ſtopped by the interpoſition of the Northern Army, under the Conduct and Command of the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle*, but ſo that they remained unfought with, unleſs it were in petit Skirmiſhes and *Pickeerings*, without engaging the whole Power on either ſide. *Langdale*, a Gentleman of approved Valour and Fidelity, was commonly reported to have been earneſt with the *Marquiſs* to give them battel, or at the leaſt to ſuffer him with a Party of Horſe to aſſault them in ſuch places where they lay moſt open to Advantage; not doubting but to give a good account of his undertakings. In all which motions and deſires he is ſaid to have been croſſed by General *King*, an old experienced Souldier, but a *Scot* by Nation, whom his Majeſty had recommended to the *Marquiſs* of *Newcaſtle*, as a fit man to be conſulted with in all his Enterpriſes, and he withal took ſuch a fancy to the man, that he was guided wholly by him in all his Actions. Which *King* if he had been imployed in any of the *Southern* or *Weſtern* Armies, he might have done his Majeſty as good ſervice as any whoſoever: But being in this Army, to ſerve againſt the *Scots*, his own dear Countrymen, he is ſaid to have diſcouraged and diſwaded all attempts which were offered to be made againſt them, giving them thereby the opportunity of gaining ground upon the *Engliſh*, till the *Marquiſſes* retreat toward *York*. For in the opening of the Spring News came unto the Marquiſs of the taking of *Selby* by the Forces Garriſoned in *Hull*; by which neceſſitated to put himſelf, and the greateſt part of his Army, into the City of *York*, on the ſafety whereof the whole fortune of the *North* depended. Followed at the heels by *Leſly*, who, notwithſtanding the undeſerved Honours conferred upon him by the King, and his own vehement proteſtations of a future Loyalty, commanded this third Army alſo as he did the two firſt, and leaving *Newcaſtle* at his back, ſtruck like a Souldier at the head, not troubling himſelf in taking in ſuch places as imported nothing in reference to the main concernment. Reſolving on the ſiege of the Capital City, they were ſeconded by the Army of the Earl of *Mancheſter*, drawn out of the Aſſociated Counties, and the remaining *Yorkſhire* Forces under the Command of the Lord *Fairfax*: By which, beleaguered on all ſides, that great City was reduced to ſome diſtreſs for want of Victuals, and other neceſſary Ammunition to make good the place.

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

The News whereof being brought to *Oxon.* Prince *Rupert* is diſpatched with as much of the Kings Army as could well be ſpared, with a Commiſſion to raiſe more out of the Counties of *Cheſter*, *Stafford*, *Darby*, *Leiceſter*, and *Lancaſter*; ſo that he came before

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

*York* with an Army of twelve thouſand men, relieved the Town with ſome Proviſions for the preſent, and might have gone away unfought with, but that ſuch counſel was too cold for ſo hot a ſtomack. Reſolved upon the onſet, he encountred with the Enemy at a place called *Marſton More*, where the Left Wing of his Horſe gave ſuch a fierce Charge on the Right Wing of the Enemy, conſiſting of *Fairfax* his Horſe in the Van, and the *Scots* Horſe in the Rear, that they fell foul on a part of their Foot which was behind them, and trod moſt of them under their Horſes feet: But *Ruperts* Horſe following the Execution too far, and none advancing to make good the place which they had left, the Enemy had the opportunity to Rally again, and got the better of the day, taking ſome Priſoners of good note, and making themſelves Maſters of his Cannon. So that not being able to do any thing in order to the regaining of the Field, he marched off unfortunately; the greateſt part of his Army mouldring away, he retired to *Briſtol*. After this blow the Affairs of the *North* growing more deſperate every day than other, *York* yielded upon Compoſition on *July* 16. (being a juſt fortnight after the fight) the *Marquiſs* of *Newcaſtle* and ſome principal Gentlemen paſſing over the Seas, ſo that the ſtrong Town of *Newcaſtle* was taken by the *Scots* on the nineteenth of *October* following.

While theſe things were Acting in the North, *Eſſex* and *Waller* with their Armies drew near to *Oxford*, hoping to take it unprovided, in the abſence of ſo great a part of his Majeſties Forces. On whoſe approach his Majeſty leaving the greateſt part of his Army for defence of that place, marched on directly toward *Wales*. Upon the news whereof it was thought fit by the two *Generals* to divide their Armies: it being agreed upon, that *Waller* ſhould *purſue* the King, and that the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould march towards the *Weſt* for the regaining of thoſe Countries. And now the *Myſtery of iniquity* appeared in its proper colours; for whereas it was formerly given out by the Houſes of Parliament, that they had undertaken the War for no other reaſon, but to *remove the King from his evil Counſellors*, thoſe *Evil Counſellors* were left at *Oxon.* and the Kings Perſon only hunted. But the King underſtanding of this Diviſion, thought himſelf able enough to deal with *Waller*, and giving him the go-by, returned towards *Oxon.* drew thence the remainder of his Army, and gave him a ſharp meeting at a place called *Cropready Bridge*, where he obtained a ſignal Victory on the twenty eighth of *June*, and entred triumphantly into *Oxon*. This done, he marched after the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had made himſelf Maſter of ſome places in the *Weſt* of good importance. During this March it hapned that one of the Carriages brake in a long narrow Lane, which they were to paſs, and gave his Majeſty a ſtop, at a time of an intolerable ſhower of Rain which fell upon him. Some of his Courtiers, and others who were about him, offered to hew him out a way through the hedges with their Swords, that he might get ſhelter in ſome of

the

the Villages adjoyning; but he Reſolved not to forſake his Cannon upon any occaſion. At which when ſome about him ſeemed to admire, and marvelled at the patience which he ſhewed in that Extremity, his Majeſty lifting up his Hat, made Anſwer, *That as God had given him afflictions to exerciſe his patience, ſo he had given him patience to bear his afflictions.* The carriage being mended he went forward again, and trode ſo cloſe upon the heels of *Eſſex*, that at laſt he drave him into *Cornwall*, and there reduced him to that point, that he put himſelf into a *Cock-boat*, with *Stapleton* and ſome others of his principal Friends, and left his whole Army to his Majeſties mercy. His Horſe taking the Advantage of a dark night made a ſhift to eſcape, but the Commanders of the Foot came to this Capitulation with his Majeſty, that they ſhould depart without their Arms, which with their Cannon, Baggage and Ammunition, being of great Conſideration, were left wholly to his diſpoſing. LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

Immediately after this ſucceſs, his Majeſty diſpatched a meſſage from *Taveſtock* to the two Houſes of Parliament, in which he laid before them the miſerable Condition of the Kingdom, remembring them of thoſe many Meſſages which he had formerly ſent unto them for an accommodation of the preſent differences; and now deſiring them to bethink themſelves of ſome expedient by which this Iſſue of blood might be dried up, the diſtraction of the Kingdom ſettled, and the whole Nation put into an hope of Peace and Happineſs. To which meſſage as to many others before, they either gave no Anſwer, or ſuch an one as rather ſerved to widen then cloſe the breach, falſly conceiving, that all his Majeſties offers of Grace and Favour, proceeded either from an inability to hold out the War, or from the weakneſs and irreſolution of his Counſels. But if inſtead of this Meſſage from *Taveſtock* his Majeſty had gone on his own errand, and marched directly toward *London*, it was conceived in all probability that he might have made an end of the War, ſecured the life of the Archbiſhop his moſt truſty Servant, and put an end to thoſe calamities which the continuance and concluſion of the War, brought with it. The Army of *Eſſex* being thus broken, and that of *Mancheſter* not returned from the *Northern* Service, He could not chuſe but have obſerved in the courſe of that Action, with what a Military Prudence, *Leſly* had followed at the heels of the *Marquis* of *Newcaſtle*, not ſtopping or diverting upon the by, till he had brought his Army before *York*; the gaining whereof, as being the chief City of thoſe parts, brought in all the Reſt. And certainly it hath been counted no diſhonour in the greateſt Souldiers to be inſtructed by their enemies in the feats of War. But the King ſitting down before *Plymouth* (as before *Gloceſter* the laſt year) and ſtaying there to perfect an Aſſociation of the *Weſtern* Counties, he ſpent ſo much time that *Eſſex* was again in the head of his Army; and being ſeconded by *Mancheſter*, and *Waller*, made a ſtand at *Newbury*,

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

where after a very ſharp diſpute, the Enemy gained ſome of his Majeſties *Cannon*, which ſtruck ſuch a terrour into many of thoſe about him, that they adviſed him to withdraw his Perſon out of the danger of the Fight, as he did accordingly. But this he did ſo ſecretly and with ſo ſlender a Retinue, that he was not miſt, His Army holding on the fight with a greater courage, becauſe they thought the ſafety of his Majeſties Perſon did depend upon it; whoſe departure if it had been known, would queſtionleſs have created ſuch a general dejection in the hearts of his Souldiers, as would have rendred them to a cheap diſcomfiture. But the Loſt Cannon being regained, and the fight continued with thoſe of his Majeſties party with greater advantage then before, each Army drew of by degrees, ſo that neither of them could find any great cauſe to boaſt of the victory.

This Summers Action being ended, in which the *Scots* had done very good ſervice to the Houſes of Parliament, it was thought neceſſary to proceed in the Tryal of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which had taken up ſo much time already, that it ſeemed ready for a ſentence. But there appeared more difficulty in it, then at firſt was lookt for. For being admitted to a *Recapitulation* of his whole defence before the Lords, in the beginning of *September*, it gave ſuch a general ſatisfaction to all that heard it, that the muſtering up of all the evidence againſt him would not take it off. To prove the firſt branch of the charge againſt him, they had ript up the whole courſe of his Life, from his firſt coming to *Oxford*, till his Commitment to the Tower; but could find no ſufficient Proof of any deſign to bring in *Popery*, or ſuppreſs the true Proteſtant Religion here by Law Eſtabliſhed. For want whereof, they inſiſted upon ſuch Reproches as were laid upon him when he lived in the Univerſity, the beautifying of his Chappel Windows with Pictures and Images, the Solemn Conſecration of Churches and Chappels, the Placing of the Communion Table Altar-wiſe, and making Adoration in his Acceſſes to, or Approches toward it; Adminiſtring the Sacrament, with ſome more Solemnities, then in Ordinary Parochial Churches, though conſtantly obſerved in his Majeſties Chappels; the care and diligence of his Chaplains in expunging ſome offenſive paſſages out of ſuch Books, as were to be licenced for the Preſs, and their permitting of ſome paſſages to remain in others which were ſuppoſed to favor of *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*, becauſe they croſt the ſenſe of *Calvin*; the preferring of many able men to his Majeſties Service, and to advancements in the Church, who muſt the Stigmatized for *Papiſts*, or *Arminians*, becauſe they had not ſworn themſelves into *Calvins* Faction; his countenancing two or three *Popiſh Prieſts*, (for no more are named) of whom good uſe was to be made in Order to the Peace and Happineſs of the Church of *England*, as had before been done by *Bancroft*, and others of his Predeceſſors, ſince the Reformation. Such were the proofs of his deſigns

to

to bring in *Popery*; and yet his plots and purpoſes for ſuppreſſing the true Proteſtant Religion, had leſs proofs then this. Of which ſort were, His ſevere proceedings in the *High Commiſſion* againſt ſome Factious Miniſters, and Seditious Lecturers; the ſentencing of *Sherfield*, for defacing a Pariſh Church in *Salisbury*, under colour of a Veſtry-order, in contempt of the Dioceſan Biſhop who then Lived in that City; the preſſing of his Majeſties two *Declarations*, the one for *Lawful Sports*, the other for Silencing *unneceſſary*, though not unlawful, *Diſputations*; His zeal in overthrowing the Corporation of *Feoffees*, which had no Legal Foundation to ſtand upon, and ſeemed deſtructive to the Peace of the Church and State in the eyes of all that pierc'd into it; and finally the Piety of his endeavours, for uniting the *French*, and *Dutch* Congregations to the Church of *England*, in which he did nothing without Warrant, or againſt the Law.

Such were the Crimes or Treaſons rather, which paint him out with ſuch an ugly countenance in the Book called *Canterburies Doom*, as if he were the *Greateſt Traytor*, and the moſt *Execrable Perſon*, that ever had been bred in *England*. And he is promiſed to be Painted out in ſuch Lively Colours in the following Branches of his Charge, as ſhould for ever render him as *Treaſonable*, and as *Arch a Malefactor* as he was in the others, and in both alike; that promiſe never being performed in the ſpace of a Dozen years and more ſince it firſt was made, in all which time, we hear no news of that performance for which the Ground could be but Little, and the evidence leſs. To the other branches of his Charge, conſiſting in Words or Actions he anſwered firſt, That the Diſſolving of the ſaid Parliaments was no Act of his, the buſineſs being publickly debated at the Council Table and carried by the Unanimous conſent of all then Preſent; that the hard meaſure which he was complained of to have ſhown to *Corbet* of *Shropſhire* (he being but a Private Subject) could not be called an Act of Treaſon; That the words charged upon him at the Council Table and elſwhere, might well have been ſpared; That no ill effect did follow on them; and that they were innocently though ſuddenly ſpoken, which he hoped might proceed from a man of ſuch a haſty, and Incircumſpect humour as himſelf (made ſo as well by nature, as by the multiplicity of vexations which were put upon him) without involving him in the crime or guilt of Treaſon; That for his words unto the King, touching his being abſolved from the Rules of Government, they contained only matter of opinion, and in opinion delivered at the Council Table, where all had Liberty to ſpeak their own ſenſe as he did at time; which if it were Erroneous and contrary to the ſenſe of others, he hoped that no man ſhould juſtly be condemned of Treaſon, for ſhewing himſelf no wiſer then God had made him. And thereupon he deſired the Lords from his misfortune to provide for their own ſafety, and ſeriouſly to conſider what a way

*Cant. Doom*, p. 565.

was

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

was chalked out to ruine them, both in their Lives and their Eſtates, if for every Opinion given in Council, or Words ſuddenly or haſtily ſpoken, they (who are born to wield the great affairs of the Kingdom) ſhould be Arraigned or Sentenced as Traytors. To which he added in the cloſe, That there was no likelyhood that he had commited Real Acts of Treaſon, when his adverſe Party was content to trifle away ſo much time about Words: Neither was there any Treaſon in them, though they had been fully verified; and therefore in that (as in all other Articles) he reſerved a Power for his Counſel to diſpute in matter of Law. Which when it came to the Diſpute (not called on by the Commons till *October* 11.) the Queſtion or Point in Iſſue was, *whether any* Treaſon *was contained in all or any of the Articles which were charged againſt him*? And therein *Hearn* ſo plaid his part, as the mouth of the reſt, that after the expectation of more months, and the expence of almoſt as many days as had been ſpent in the Arraignment of the Earl of *Strafford*, his Enemies in the Houſe of Commons were forced to fall again on a Bill of *Attainder*, as they had been before, after ſo much noiſe and oſtentation of Wit and Eloquence, in the caſe of that Gentleman.

For being too far engaged to go back with Honour, and yet not having confidence enough to venture him to the Judgment of the Houſe of Peers, as in the way of Legal Tryal, they ſeemed to be at ſuch a ſtand, as the *Thames* is ſaid to be at, under *London*-Bridge, betwixt Ebb and Flood. In which perplexity, ſome who were fit for any miſchief, imployed themſelves to go from door to door, and from man to man, to get hands againſt him; and ſo Petition thoſe to haſten to his Condemnation, who muſt forſooth be forced to their own deſires (whereof, and of the *Magiſtrates ſtanding ſtill and ſuffering them to proceed* without any *Check*, he gave them a *Memento* in his dying Speech) Which Preparations being made, they followed it with ſuch double diligence, that by the beginning of *November* moſt men were great with expectation of a final Sentence; Conceived by ſome, That the whole Evidence being tranſmitted with the Priſoner to the Juſtices of his Majeſties Bench, he ſhould have been put over to a *Middleſex-Jury*: but they were only ſome poor Ignorants which conceived ſo of it. The Leading Members of the Houſe thought of no ſuch matter; and to ſay truth, it did concern them highly not to go that way. For though there was no queſtion to be made at all, but that they could have Impanelled a *Jury* to have found the *Bill:* yet by a Clauſe in the *Attainder* of the Earl of *Strafford*, they had bound the Judges not to declare thoſe Facts for Treaſon in the time to come, for which they had Condemned and Executed that Heroick Peer. And therefore they reſolved on the ſame courſe now, which they had found before ſo proſperous and ſucceſsful to them, to proceed now as then, by *Bill* of *Attainder*, and condemn him by Ordinance; in which being

Parties,

Parties, Witneſſes, and Judges too, they were aſſured to ſpeed as they would themſelves. And though for faſhion ſake he was brought unto the Commons Bar on the eleventh of that Month, not without magnifying the Favour of giving him leave to ſhew ſome Reaſon, why the Bill ſhould not paſs againſt him: yet was this but a matter of Formality only, the Ordinance paſſing in that Houſe within two days after. LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

But yet the Buſineſs was not done; for the Lords ſtuck at it: ſome of which having not extinguiſhed all the *Sparks* of *Humanity*, began to find themſelves compaſſionate of his Condition; not knowing how ſoon it ſhould or might be made their own, if once diſtavoured by the Grandees of that *Potent Faction*. For the Ordinance having been tranſmitted to the Houſe of Peers, and the Houſe of Peers deliberating ſomewhat long upon it, it was Voted on *December* 4. *That all Books, Writings, and Evidences which concerned the Tryal, ſhould be brought before the Lords in Parliament*; to the end that they might ſeriouſly and diſtinctly conſider of all Particulars amongſt themſelves, as they came before them. But meaning to make ſure work of it, they had in the mean time (after no ſmall Evaporations of Heat and Paſſion) prepared an Ordinance, which they ſent up unto the Lords, importing the diſplacing of them from all thoſe Places of Power and Command which they had in the Army. Which being found too weak to hold, they fall upon another and a likelier Project, which was to bring the Lords to ſit in the Commons Houſe, where they were ſure they ſhould be inconſiderable both for Power and Number. And to effect the ſame with more ſpeed and certainty, they had recourſe to their old Arts, drawing down *Watkins* with his *general muſter of Subſcriptions*, and putting a Petition into his hands, to be tendred by him to the Houſes, that is, themſelves; wherein it was required, amongſt other things, That they ſhould *vigorouſly proceed unto the puniſhment of all Delinquents*; and that for the more quick diſpatch of Publick Buſineſſes of State, the *Lords* would pleaſe to *Vote* and *Sit* together with the *Commons*. On ſuch uncertain terms, ſuch a tickliſh *Tenure*, did they then hold their Place and Power in Parliament, who ſo officiouſly complied with the Houſe of Commons, in depriving the Biſhops of their Vote, and the Churches Birth-right. And this was it which helped them in that time of need. And yet not thinking this Device ſufficient to fright their Lordſhips to a preſent compliance, *Stroud* was ſent up with a Meſſage from the Houſe of Commons, to let them know, That the *Londoners* would ſhortly bring a Petition, with 20000 Hands, to obtain that Ordinance. By which ſtale and common Stratagem, they wrought ſo far on ſome weak Spirits, the reſt withdrawing themſelves (as formerly in the caſe of the Earl of *Strafford*) that in a thin and ſlender Houſe, not above ſix or ſeven in number, it was paſs'd at laſt. The day before they paſs'd the Ordinance for eſtabliſhing their new *Directory*; which, in effect, was

nothing

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

nothing but a total abolition of the Common-Prayer-Book: and thereby ſhewed unto the World, how little hopes they had of ſettling their new Form of Worſhip, if the foundation of it were not laid in the blood of this famous Prelate, who had ſo ſtoutly ſtood up for it againſt all Novelliſm and Faction, in the whole courſe of his Life. It was certified by ſome Letters to *Oxon.* and ſo reported in the *Mercurius Aulicus* of the following week, That the Lord *Bruce* (not better known by the name of the Earl of *Elgin*) was one of the number of thoſe few Lords which had Voted to the Sentence of his Condemnation: The others which concurred in that fatal Sentence, being the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Bullingbrook*; together with the Lord *North*, and the Lord *Gray* of *Wark*. But whatſoever may be ſaid of the other ſix, I have been advertiſed lately from a very good hand, That the ſaid Lord *Bruce* hath frequently diſclaimed that Action, and ſolemnly profeſſed his deteſtation of the whole Proceedings, as moſt abhorrent from his nature, and contrary to his known affections, as well unto his Majeſties Service, as the Peace and Preſervation of the Church of *England*.

This *Ordinance* was no ſooner paſſed, but it revived many of thoſe Diſcourſes, which had before been made on the like occaſion in the Buſineſs of the Earl of *Strafford*. For hereupon it was obſerved, That as the predominant Party in the *United Provinces*, to bring about their ends in the death of *Barnevelt*, ſubverted all thoſe *Fundamental Laws* of the *Belgick Liberty*, for maintenance whereof they took up Arms againſt *Philip* ii. So the Contrivers of this Miſchief, had violated all the *Fundamental Laws* of the *Engliſh Government*, for maintenance whereof they had pretended to take up Arms againſt the King. It was (ſaid they) a *Fundamental Law* of the *Engliſh Government*, and the firſt Article in the *Magna Charta*, *That the Church of* England *ſhall be free, and ſhall have all her whole Rights and Priviledges inviolable*. Yet to make way unto the Condemnation of this Innocent Man, the Biſhops muſt be Voted out of their Place in Parliament, which moſt of them have held far longer in their *Predeceſſors*, than any of our Noble Families in their *Progenitors*; and if the Lords refuſe to give way unto it (as at firſt they did) the People muſt come down to the Houſe in multitudes, and cry *No Biſhops, no Biſhops*, at the Parliament doors; till by the terrour of their Tumults, they extort it from them. It is a *Fundamental Law* of the *Engliſh Liberty*, *That no Free-man ſhall be taken or impriſoned, without cauſe ſhewn; or be detained, without being brought unto his Anſwer in due form of Law*. Yet here we ſee a Freeman impriſoned ten whole weeks together, before any Charge was brought againſt him; and kept in Priſon three whole years more, before his General Accuſation was by them reduced unto Particulars; and for a year almoſt *detained* cloſe Priſoner, *without being brought unto his Anſwer*, as the Law requires. It is a *Fundamental Law* of the *Engliſh Government*, *That no man be diſſeized of his Freehold or Liberties, but by the known*

*Mag. Ch. c.* 1.

*Mag. Ch. c.* 29. 28 *Ed.* 3. and the *Petition of Right.*

*Laws*

*Laws of the Land.* Yet here we ſee a man *diſſeized* of his *Rents* and Lands, ſpoiled of his *Goods*, deprived of his *Juriſdiction*, deveſted of his Right of Patronage; and all this done, when he was ſo far from being convicted by the Laws of the Land, that no particular Charge was ſo much as thought of. It is a *Fundamental Law* of the *Engliſh Liberty*, *That no man ſhall be condemned or put to death, but by the Lawful Judgment of his* Peers, *or by the Law of the Land*; that is, in the ordinary way of Legal Tryal: And ſure an *Ordinance* of both Houſes, without the *Royal Aſſent*, is no part of the Law of *England*, nor held an ordinary way of Tryal for the *Engliſh* Subject, or ever reckoned to be ſuch in former times. And finally, It is a *Fundamental Law* in the *Engliſh Government*, *That if any other cauſe* (than thoſe recited in the Statute of King *Edward* iii.) *which is ſuppoſed to be* Treaſon, *do happen before any of his Majeſties* Juſtices, *the* Juſtices *ſhall tarry without giving Judgment, till the Cauſe be ſhewn and declared before the* King *and his* Parliament, *whether it ought to be judged* Treaſon, *or not*: Yet here we have a new-found *Treaſon*, never known before, nor declared ſuch by any of his Majeſties *Juſtices*, nor ever brought to be *conſidered of by the King and his Parliament*; but only *Voted* to be ſuch, by ſome of thoſe Members which ſate at *Weſtminſter*, who were reſolved to have it ſo for their private Ends. The firſt Example of this kind, the firſt that ever ſuffered death by the ſhot of an *Ordinance*, as himſelf very well obſerved in his dying Speech upon the Scaffold (though purpoſely omitted in *Hind*'s Printed Copy) to which now he haſteneth.

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

25 *Edw.* 3.

For the paſſing of the Ordinance being ſignified to him by the then Lieutenant of the *Tower*, he neither entertained the news with a *Stoical Apathy*, nor wailed his fate with weak and womaniſh Lamentations (to which Extremes moſt men are carried in this caſe) but he ſaid it with ſo even and ſo ſmooth a Temper, as ſhewed he neither was aſhamed to live nor afraid to die. The time between the Sentence and Execution, he ſpent in Prayers and Applications to the Lord his God; having obtained, though not without ſome difficulty, a Chaplain of his own to attend upon him, and to aſſiſt him in the Work of his Preparation: though little Preparation needed to receive that blow, which could not but be welcome, becauſe long expected. For ſo well was he ſtudied in the Art of Dying (eſpecially in the laſt and ſtricteſt part of his Impriſonment) that by continual Faſtings, Watchings, Prayers, and ſuch like Acts of Chriſtian Humiliation, his Fleſh was rarified into Spirit, and the whole man ſo fitted for Eternal Glories, that he was more than half in Heaven, before Death brought his bloody (but Triumphant) Chariot, to convey him thither. He that had ſo long been a *Confeſſor*, could not but think it a Releaſe of Miſeries to be made a *Martyr*. It is Recorded of *Alexander* the Great, That the night before his laſt and greateſt Battel with *Darius* the *Perſian*, he fell into ſo ſound a ſleep, that his Princes hardly could awake him when the morning came.

*Plutarch in Alexandr.*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

And it was likewiſe certified of this Great *Prelate*, That on the Evening before his *Paſſover*, the night before the diſmal Combate betwixt him and *Death*, after he had refreſhed his Spirits with a moderate Supper, he betook himſelf unto his Reſt, and ſlept very ſoundly, till the time came, in which his Servants were appointed to attend his Riſing. A moſt aſſured ſign of a Soul prepared.

The fatal morning being come, he firſt applied himſelf to his private Prayers, and ſo continued till *Pennington*, and others of their Publick Officers, came to conduct him to the Scaffold; which he aſcended with ſo brave a Courage, ſuch a chearful Countenance, as if he had mounted rather to behold a Triumph, than be made a *Sacrifice*; and came not there to *Die*, but to be *Tranſlated*. And though ſome rude and uncivil People reviled him as he paſs'd along, with opprobrious Language, as loth to let him *go to the Grave in Peace*; yet it never diſcompoſed his Thoughts, nor diſturb'd his Patience: For he had profited ſo well in the School of *Chriſt*, *that when he was reviled, he reviled not again; when he ſuffered, he threatned not, but committed his cauſe to him that judgeth righteouſly.* And as he did not fear the Frowns, ſo neither did he covet the Applauſe of the *Vulgar Herd*; and therefore rather choſe to read what he had to ſpeak unto the People, than to affect the oſtentation either of Memory or Wit in that dreadful *Agony*: whether with greater Magnanimity than Prudence, I can hardly ſay. As for the matter of his Speech, beſides what did concern himſelf and his own *Purgation*, his great care was to cleer his Majeſty, and the Church of *England*, from any inclination to *Popery*; with a perſwaſion of the which, the Authors of the then preſent Miſeries had abuſed the People, and made them take up Arms againſt their Sovereign. A faithful Servant to the laſt: By means whereof, as it is ſaid of *Samſon* in the Book of *Judges*, *That the men which he ſlew at his death, were more than they which he ſlew in his life*: So may it be affirmed of this famous Prelate, That he gave a greater blow unto the Enemies of the Church and the King at the hour of his death, than he had given them in his whole life before. But this you will more clearly ſee by the Speech it ſelf, which followeth here according to the beſt and moſt perfect Copy, delivered by his own hands unto one of his Chaplains, and in his name preſented to the King by the Lord *John Bellaſis* at the Court in *Oxon*.

The

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

# The Speech of the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſpoken at his Death, upon the *Scaffold* on the *Tower Hill*, *Jan.* 10. 1644.

Good People,

THis *is an uncomfortable time to preach, yet I ſhall begin with a Text of Scripture*, Heb. 12. 2. Let us run with Patience the Race which is ſet before us, looking unto JESUS the Author and Finiſher of our faith, who for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet down at the right hand of the Throne of God.

*I have been long in my* Race, *and how I have looked to* JESUS the Author and finiſher of my faith, *he beſt knows. I am now to come to the end of my* Race, *and here I find the Croſs, a death of* ſhame: *but the* ſhame *muſt be* deſpiſed, *or no coming* to the right hand of God. JESUS deſpiſed *the* ſhame *for me, and God forbid but that I ſhould* deſpiſe *the* ſhame *for him. I am going apace* (*as you ſee*) *towards the* Red Sea, *and my feet are now upon the very brinke of it; an Argument I hope that God is bringing me into the* Land *of* Promiſe, *for that was* the way through which he led his people: *But before they came to it, he inſtituted a* Paſſeover *for them, a* Lamb *it was, but it muſt be* eaten with ſoure herbs, *I ſhall obey, and labour to digeſt the* ſoure herbs, *as well as the* Lamb. *And I ſhall remember it is the* Lords Paſſeover; *I ſhall not think of the* Herbs, *nor be angry with the hand which gathereth them: but look up only to him, who inſtituted that, and governs theſe; for men can have* no more power over me, than what is given them from above. *I am not in love with this paſſage through the* Red Sea, *for I have the weakneſs and infirmities of fleſh and blood plentifully in me; And I have prayed with my Saviour,* Ut tranſiret Calix iſte, *that this Cup of red wine* might paſs from me: *but if not,* Gods will (not mine) be done, *and I ſhall moſt willing* drink of this Cup *as deep as he pleaſes, and enter in this* Sea; *yea, and paſs through it in the way that he ſhall lead me.*

Exod. 12. 8.

Ibid. 12.

*But I would have it remembred* (Good People) *That when Gods Servants were in this boyſterous Sea, and* Aaron *amongſt them, the* Egyptians *which perſecuted them* (*and did in a manner drive them into that Sea*) *were drowned in the ſame Waters, while they were in purſuit of them. I know* my God, whom I ſerve, *is as able to deliver me from the ſea of blood, as he was to deliver the* three Children *from the Furnace: and* (*I humbly thank my Saviour for it*) *my Reſolution is now as theirs was then, They* would not worſhip the Image the King had

Dan. 3.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

set up, *nor will I the* Imaginations *which the People are setting up*; *nor will I forsake the* Temple and the truth of God, *to follow the* bleating *of* Jeroboams *Calves in* Dan *and* Bethel. *And* as for this People, *they are at this day miserably misled* (*God of his mercy open their eyes that they may see the right way*) *for at this day the* blind *lead the* blind, *and if they go on*, both will certainly fall into the ditch. *For my self, I am* (*and I acknowledge it in all humility*) *a most grievous sinner many waies, by thought, word, and deed*; *I cannot doubt but that God hath mercy in store for me* (*a poor Penitent*) *as well as for other sinners. I have now, and upon this sad occasion, ransacked every corner of my heart, and yet* (*I thank God*) *I have not found* (*among the many*) *any one sin which deserves death by any known Law of this Kingdom: and yet hereby I charge nothing upon my Judges*; *for if they proceed upon proof* (*by valuable witnesses*) *I, or any other innocent, may be justly condemned. And* (*I thank God*) *though the weight of my Sentence lie heavy upon me, I am as quiet within as ever I was in my life. And though I am not only the first Archbishop, but the first man that ever died by an* Ordinance in Parliament; *yet some of my Predecessors have gone this way, though not by this means. For* Elphegus *was hurried away, and lost his head by the* Danes; *and* Simon Sudbury *in the fury of* Wat Tiler *and his Fellows*; *Before these, St.* John Baptist *had his head danced off by a lewd woman*; *and St.* Cyprian, *Archbishop of* Carthage, *submitted his head to a persecuting Sword. Many examples* (*great and good*) *and they teach me patience*; *for I hope my cause in heaven, will look of another dye than the colour that is put upon it here. And some comfort it is to me, not only that I go the way of these great men in their several Generations, but also that my charge* (*as foul as it is made*) *looks like that of the* Jews *against St.* Paul (*Acts* 25.3.) *for he was accused for the* Law, *and the* Temple, *i.e.* Religion; *and like that of St.* Steven (*Acts* 6.14.) *for breaking the* Ordinances which *Moses* gave, *i.e.* Law, *and* Religion, *the* holy place *and the* Temple (*v.*13.) *but you will then say, Do I then compare my self with the Integrity of St.* Paul *and St.* Steven? *No, far be that from me*; *I only raise a comfort to my self, that these great Saints and Servants of God were laid at in their time, as I am now. And it is memorable that St.* Paul, *who helped on this accusation against St.* Steven, *did after fall under the very same himself. Yea, but here is a great clamour, that I would have brought in* Popery; *I shall answer that more fully by and by. In the mean time you know what the* Pharisees *said against Christ himself*: If we let him alone, all men will believe in him, *ET VENIENT ROMANI*, and the *Romans* will come, and take away both our Place and Nation. *Here was a causeless cry against Christ, that the* Romans would come; *and see how just the Judgment was, they Crucified Christ for fear least the* Romans *should* come, *and his death was it which brought in the* Romans *upon them, God punishing them with that which they most feared. And I pray God this clamour of* Venient Romani (*of which I have given no cause*) *help not to bring them in*; *For the Pope never had*

*had ſuch an harveſt in* England *ſince the* Reformation, *as he hath now upon the Sects and Diviſions that are amongſt us. In the mean time by* Honour and diſhonour, by good report and evil report, as a Deceiver and yet true, *am I paſſing through this world* (2 Cor.6.8.) *Some Particulars alſo I think it not amiſs to ſpeak of.*

*And firſt, This I ſhall be bold to ſpeak of the King our Gracious Soveraign. He hath been much traduced alſo for bringing in of* Popery, *but on my conſcience* (*of which I ſhall give God a very preſent account*) *I know him to be as free from this Charge as any man living*; *and I hold him to be as ſound a Proteſtant* (*according to the Religion by Law Eſtabliſhed*) *as any man in this Kingdom: And that he will venture his life as far and as freely for it. And I think I do, or ſhould know both his affection to Religion, and his grounds for it, as fully as any man in* England.

*The ſecond Particular is concerning this great and Populous City* (*which God bleſs*) *Here hath been of late a Faſhion taken up to gather Hands, and then go to the great Court of this Kingdom* (*the Parliament*) *and clamour for Juſtice*; *as if that great and wiſe Court, before whom the Cauſes come* (*which are unknown to many*) *could not, or would not do Juſtice, but at their Appointment. A way which may endanger many an* Innocent *man, and pluck his bloud upon their own heads, and perhaps upon the Cities alſo*; *and this hath been lately practiced againſt my ſelf, the Magiſtrates ſtanding ſtill, and ſuffering them openly to proceed from Pariſh to Pariſh without any check. God forgive the Setters of this* (*with all my heart I beg it*) *but many well-meaning People are caught by it. In St.* Stevens *caſe, when nothing elſe would ſerve,* Acts.6.12. they ſtirred up the People againſt him; *and* Herod *went the ſame way when he had killed St* James: *yet he would not venture on St.* Peter, *till he found how the other* pleaſed the People. *But take heed of having your* hands full of bloud, *for there is a time* (*beſt known to himſelf*) *when God* (*above other ſins*) makes Inquiſition for bloud; Iſay 1.10. *and when that* Inquiſition *is on foot, the Pſalmiſt tells us,* That God Pſal.9.12. remembers, (*that's not all*) He remembers and forgets not the complaint of the poor, *that is, whoſe* bloud is ſhed by oppreſſion, ver.9. *Take heed of this,* It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God, *but then eſpecially,* when he is making Inquiſition for bloud. *And* (*with my prayers to avert it*) *I do heartily deſire this City to remember the Propheſie that is expreſſed,* Jer.26.15.

*The third Particular is the poor Church of* England. *It hath flouriſhed, and been a ſhelter to other Neighbouring Churches, when ſtorms have driven upon them: But alas! now it is in a ſtorm it ſelf, and God only knows whether, or how it ſhall get out*; *and* (*which is worſe than the ſtorm from without*) *it is become like an Oak cleft to ſhivers with wedges made out of its own body, and at every cleft Prophaneneſs and Irreligion is entring in, while, as* Proſper *ſpeaks* (*in his ſecond book* De vitæ contemptu, *cap.* 4.) Men that introduce profaneneſs, are cloaked over with the name, *Religionis Imaginariæ*, of Imaginary Religion;

*for*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

*for we have loſt the ſubſtance, and dwell too much in opinion: and that Church, which all the Jeſuites Machinations could not ruine, is fallen into danger by her own.*

*The laſt Particular (for I am not willing to be too long) is my ſelf. I was born and baptized in the Boſome of the Church of* England *eſtabliſhed by Law; in that Profeſſion I have ever ſince lived, and In that I come now to die. This is no time to diſſemble with God, leaſt of all in matters of Religion; and therefore I deſire it may be remembred, I have alwaies lived in the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in* England, *and in that I come now to dye. What clamours and ſlanders I have endured for labouring to keep an Uniformity in the extern Service of God, according to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church all men know, and I have abundantly felt.*

*Now at laſt I am accuſed of* High Treaſon *in Parliament, a Crime which my ſoul ever abhorred. This* Treaſon *was charged to conſiſt of two parts,* An endeavour to ſubvert the Laws of the Land; *and a like* endeavour to overthrow the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed by Law. *Beſides my Anſwers to the ſeveral Charges. I proteſted my innocency in both Houſes. It was ſaid, Priſoners Proteſtations at the Bar, muſt not be taken. I can bring no witneſs of my heart, and the intentions thereof; therefore I muſt come to my Proteſtation, not at the Bar, but my Proteſtation of this hour and inſtant of my death, in which I hope all men will be ſuch charitable Chriſtians, as not to think I would die and diſſemble, being inſtantly to give God an account for the truth of it. I do therefore here in the preſence of God and his holy Angels take it upon my death, that I never endeavoured the ſubverſion of* Law *or* Religion; *and I deſire you all to remember this Proteſt of mine for my innocency in this, and from all Treaſons whatſoever. I have been accuſed likewiſe as an Enemy to Parliaments; No, I underſtood them, and the benefit that comes by them too well, to be ſo: But I did miſlike the miſgovernments of ſome Parliaments, many waies, and I had good Reaſon for it; For* Corruptio optimi eſt Peſſima, *there is no Corruption in the World ſo bad, as that which is of the beſt thing within it ſelf; For the better the thing is in nature, the worſe it is corrupted. And that being the Higheſt Court, over which no other hath Juriſdiction, when it is miſinformed or miſgoverned, the Subject is left without all remedy. But I have done, I forgive all the the World, all and every of thoſe latter Enemies which have perſecuted me; and humbly deſire to be forgiven of God firſt, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have, Lord do thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveneſs of him. And ſo I heartily deſire you to joyn in Prayer with me.* Which ſaid, with a diſtinct and audible voice he prayed as followeth:

*O Eter-*

O *Eternal God, and Merciful Father, look down upon me in mercy, in the Riches and Fulneſs of all thy mercies look down upon me; but not till thou haſt nailed my ſins to the Croſs of Chriſt, not till thou haſt bathed me in the blood of Chriſt; not till I have hid my ſelf in the wounds of Chriſts: that ſo the puniſhment due unto my ſins may paſs over me. And ſince thou art pleaſed to try me to the utmoſt, I humbly beſeech thee, give me now in this great inſtant full Patience, Proportionable Comfort, and a heart ready to die for thine Honour, the Kings Happineſs, and this Churches preſervation. And my Zeal to this (far from Arrogancy be it ſpoken) is all the ſin (humane Frailty excepted and all the incidents thereunto), which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I now come to ſuffer, I ſay in this particular of* Treaſon; *but otherwiſe my ſins are many and great; Lord pardon them all, and thoſe eſpecially (what ever they are) which have drawn down this preſent Judgement upon me: and when thou haſt given me ſtrength to bear it, do with me as ſeems beſt in thine own Eyes: and carry me through death that I may look upon it in what viſage ſoever it ſhall appear to me.* Amen. *And that there may be a ſtop of this Iſſue of blood in this more then miſerable Kingdom* (I ſhall deſire that I may pray for the people too, as well as for my ſelf) *O Lord I beſeech thee give grace of Repentance to all blood-thirſty people, but if they will not Repent, O Lord confound all their devices, Defeat and fruſtrate all their deſigns and endeavours upon them; which are or ſhall be contrary to the Glory of thy Great name, the truth and ſincerity of Religion, the eſtabliſhment of the King and his Poſterity after him in their juſt Rights and Priviledges, the Honour and Conſervation of Parliaments in their juſt power, the preſervation of this poor Church in her truth, peace, and Patrimony, and the ſettlement of this Diſtracted, and diſtreſſed People, under their Ancient Laws and in their Native Liberty. And when thou haſt done all this in meer mercy to them, O Lord fill their hearts with thankfulneſs and with Religious Dutiful obedience to thee and thy Commandments all their days. Amen, Lord Jeſu,* Amen. *and receive my ſoul into thy Boſom.* Amen.

Our Father which art in Heaven, &c.

The

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

The Speech and Prayers being ended he gave the Paper which he Read into the hands of *Sterne* his Chaplain, permitted to attend him in his laſt extremity; whom he deſired to Communicate it to his other Chaplains that they might ſee in what manner he left this world; and ſo prayed God to ſhew his bleſſings and mercies on them. And taking notice that one *Hind* had imployed himſelf in writing the words of his Speech as it came from his mouth, he deſired him not to do him wrong in publiſhing a falſe or imperfect Copy. This done he next applyed himſelf to the fatal Block, as to the Haven of his Reſt: But finding the way full of people who had placed themſelves upon the Theatre to behold the Tragedy, he deſired he might *have room to die*, beſeeching them to let him have *an end of his miſeries which he had endured very long*. All which he did with ſo Serene and calm a mind, as if he rather had been taking Order for a Noble Mans Funeral, then making way for his own. Being come neer the block, he put off his Doublet, and uſed ſome words to this effect. *Gods will be done, I am willing to go out of this world, none can be more willing to ſend me.* And ſeeing through the Chink of the Boards that ſome people were got under the Scaffold about the very place where the block was ſeated, he called to the Officer for ſome duſt to ſtop them, or to remove the people thence, ſaying, it was no part of his deſires *that his blood ſhould fall upon the heads of the people*. Never did man put off mortality with a better courage, nor look upon his bloody and malicious Enemies with more Chriſtian Charity. And thus far he was on his way toward Paradiſe, with ſuch a Primitive Magnanimity as equalled, if not exceeded, the example of the Ancient Martyrs, when he was ſomewhat interrupted by one of thoſe who had placed himſelf on the Scaffold, not otherwiſe worthy to be named, but as a Fire-brand brought from *Ireland* to inflame this Kingdom. Who finding that the mockings and revilings of malicious people had no power to move him or ſharpen him into any diſcontent or ſhew of paſſion, would needs put in and try what he could do with his Spunge and Vinegar, and Stepping to him neer the Block he would needs propound unto him ſome Impertinent queſtions; not ſo much out of a deſire to learn any thing of him: but with the ſame purpoſe as was found in the Scribes and Phariſees, in propounding queſtions to our Saviour; that is to ſay, either to intrap him in his Anſwers, or otherwiſe to expoſe him to ſome diſadvantage with the ſtanders by. Two of the queſtions he made anſwer to withal Chriſtian meekneſs. The firſt queſtion was, What was the Comfortableſt ſaying, which a dying man would have in his mouth, to which he meekly made anſwer. *Cupio diſſolvi & eſſe cum Chriſto*: being asked again what was the fitteſt Speech a man could uſe to expreſs his Confidence and Aſſurance, he anſwered with the ſame Spirit of meekneſs, That ſuch Aſſurance was to be found within, and that no words were able to expreſs it rightly. But this not ſatisfying this buſie man (who aimed

aimed at ſomething elſe (as is probable) then ſuch ſatisfaction) unleſs he gave ſome Word or Place of Scripture, whereupon ſuch Aſſurance might be truly founded. He uſed ſome words to this effect, That it was the Word of God concerning Chriſt, and his dying for us. But then finding that there was like to be no end of the troubleſome Gentleman, he turned away from him, applying himſelf directly to the Executioner, as the gentler and diſcreeter perſon. Putting ſome mony into his hand he ſaid unto him without the leaſt diſtemper or change of countenance; *Here honeſt friend, God forgive thee and I do, and do thy Office upon me with mercy*, and having given him a ſign when the blow ſhould come, he kneeled down upon his knees, and prayed as followeth, *viz.* LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

*Lord I am coming as faſt I can, I know I muſt paſs thorough the ſhadow of death, before I can come to ſee thee; But it is but* Umbra Mortis, *a meer ſhadow of death, a little darkneſs upon nature; but thou by thy Merits and Paſſion, haſt broke thorough the jaws of death, the Lord receive my Soul, and have mercy upon me, and bleſs this Kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effuſion of Chriſtian blood amongſt them, for Jeſus Chriſt his ſake, if it be thy will.*

Then laying his head upon the Block and Praying ſilently to himſelf he ſaid aloud, *Lord receive my Soul*, which was the Signal given to the Executioner, who very dexterouſly did his Office, and took of his head at a blow, his Soul aſcending on the wings of Angels into *Abrahams* boſom, and leaving his body on the Scaffold, to the care of men.

This blow thus given, his life-leſs body remained a ſpectacle ſo unpleaſing unto moſt of them who had deſired his death with much heat and paſſion, that many who came with greedy eyes to ſee him ſuffer, went back with weeping eyes when they ſaw him dead; their own Conſciences perhaps, bearing witneſs to them, God knows whoſe did, that they *had ſinned* in being guilty of ſuch *Innocent blood*. Of thoſe whom only Curioſity and deſire of Novelty, brought thither to behold that unuſual ſight, many had not the Patience to attend the Iſſue, but went away aſſoon as the Speech was ended; others returned much altered in the opinion which before they had of him, and bettered in their Reſolutions toward the King and the Church, whoſe Honour and Religious Purpoſes, they ſaw ſo clearly vindicated in his dying, but never dying words. And for the Reſt (the moſt conſiderable, though perhaps the ſmalleſt part of that Great Aſſembly) as they came thither with no other intention, then to aſſiſt him with their Prayers, to embalm his body with their tears, and to lay up his laſt Speeches in their hearts and memories: ſo when they had performed thoſe Offices of Chriſtian duty, they comforted themſelves with this, that as his life was

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

honourable, ſo his death was glorious; the pains whereof were ſhort and momentary to himſelf, the benefit like to be perpetual unto them and others, who were reſolved to live and die in the Communion of the Church of *England*. And if the Bodies of us men be capable of any happineſs in the *Grave*, he had as great a ſhare therein, as he could deſire; his Body being accompanied to the Earth with great multitudes of People, whom love, or curioſity, or remorſe of Conſcience had drawn together purpoſely to perform that Office, and decently interred in the Church of *Alhallows Barking* (a Church of his own Patronage and Juriſdiction) according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, In which it may be noted as a thing remarkable, That being whilſt he lived the greateſt Champion of the *Common-Prayer-Book* here by Law eſtabliſhed, he had the honour being dead, to be buried in the form therein preſcribed, after it had been long diſuſed, and almoſt reprobated in moſt Churches of *London*. Nor need Poſterity take care to provide his Monument; he built one for himſelf whilſt he was alive: It being well obſerved by *Deering* (one of his moſt malicious Enemies, and he that threw the firſt ſtone at him in the beginning of this Parliament) that St. *Paul*'s Church will be his perpetual Monument, and his own Book (againſt the *Jeſuite*) his laſting *Epitaph*,

Thus fell *Laud*, and St. *Pauls* fell with him: The yearly Contribution toward whoſe Repair, *Anno* 1641. when he was plunged into his Troubles, fell from the ſum of 15000 *l.* and upward, to ſomewhat leſs than 1500. and afterwards by degrees to nothing. No leſs than 17138 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. ob. q.* which remained in the Chamber of *London* toward the carrying on of the Work, is ſeiſed on by an Order of both Houſes of Parliament, for the beginning of their War againſt the King; that ſo they might not only encounter him with his own Arms and Ammunition, which he had bought with his own Money: but with that Money too, which he alone had raiſed by his own Care and Piety. Moſt of the Materials intended for finiſhing the Work, were turned into Money; and the reſt beſtowed on the Pariſh of St. *Gregories*, for the Rebuilding of that Church: And all the Scaffolding of the Tower or Steeple, allotted to the payment of *Jephſon's* Regiment, who challenged an Arrear of 1746 *l.* 15 *s.* 8 *d.* for their Service in that cruel and unnatural War. The Pavement of the Church digged up, and ſold to the wealthier Citizens, for beautifying their Country-Houſes; The Floor converted into Saw-pits in many places, for cutting out ſuch Timber as was turned into Money; The Lead torn off in ſome places alſo; the Timber and Arches of the Roof being thereby expoſed to Wind and Weather; Part of the Stone-work which ſupported the Tower or Steeple, fallen down, and threatning the like Ruine unto all the reſt; The gallant *Portico* at the Weſt-end thereof, obſcured firſt by a new Houſe looking towards *Ludgate*; and afterward turned into

to an Exchange for Haberdaſhers of ſmall Wares, Hoſiers, and ſuch Petit Chapmen: And finally, the whole Body of it converted to a Stable or Horſe-Garriſon, for the better awing of that City, whoſe Pride and Faction raiſed the Fire, and whoſe Purſe added Fewel to it, for the enflaming of the Kingdom.

Thus *Laud* fell, and the Church fell with him; The *Liturgy* whereof was Voted down about the ſame time in which the Ordinance was paſs'd for his Condemnation; The *Presbyterian Directory* authoriſed for the Preſs, by Ordinance of *March* 13. next following; *Epiſcopacy* Root and Branch, which had before been precondemned, ſuppreſſed by Ordinance in like manner on *October* 9. 1646. The Lands of all Cathedrals ſold, to the expoſing of thoſe ſtately and magnificent Fabricks to an inevitable Ruine; The Biſhops diſpoſeſt of their Lands and Rents, without the Charity of a ſmall Annual Penſion toward their Support; The Regular and Conformable Clergy ſequeſtred, ejected, and turned out of all, to the utter undoing of themſelves, their Wives and Children; A wide gap opened for letting in of all Sects and Hereſies, many of which had been exploded and condemned in the Primitive times, others ſo new (and every day begetting newer) that few of them have ſerved out their Apprenticeſhip, and yet Trade as freely as if they had ſerved out all their Time; The Sacred Miniſtry in the mean time, or that part of it at the leaſt which conſiſts in Preaching, uſurped by Handicrafts-men, Boys, and Women, to the diſhonour of God, the infamy and diſgrace of the *Engliſh* Nation, and the reproach of our Religion, ſo much renowned (as long as he remained in Power) both for external Glory and internal Purity. And yet it cannot be denied, but that he fell very opportunely in regard of himſelf, before he ſaw thoſe horrible Confuſions which have ſince brake into the Church, the diſſipation of the Clergy, the moſt calamitous death of his Gracious Sovereign, and the Extermination threatned to the Royal Family: any of which would have been far more grievous to him, than a thouſand deaths. The opportunity of a quiet and untroubled death, was reckoned for a great felicity in the Noble (a) *Agricola*, who could not but in the courſe of a long life, have felt the hundredth part of thoſe Griefs and Sorrows, which would have pierced the Soul of this Pious Prelate, had not God gathered him to his Fathers in ſo good an hour.

(a) *Tu facile Agricola, non virtute tuum chariture ſed etiam opportunitate mortis.* Tacit. in vita Agric.

But fallen he is; and being fallen, there is no queſtion to be made, but moſt men would ſpend their Judgments on his Life and Actions. (b) One tells us of him, That the roughneſs of his uncourtly Nature, ſent moſt men diſcontented from him; though afterwards, of his own accord, he would find means to ſweeten many of them again, when they leaſt looked for it. (c) Another, That he had ſo little command of his paſſions, that he could not repreſs them at the *Star-Chamber*, or the *High-Commiſſion*; which made his Cenſure always follow the ſeverer ſide. Some thought, That out of a diſlike of that Popula-

(b) *Dering's Collection of Speeches.*

(c) *Ch. Hiſt.* B. 11. p. 119.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

rity, which was too much affected by his Predeceſſor, he was carried on ſo far to the t'other extreme, as to fail in many neceſſary Civilities to the Nobility and Gentry, by which he might have obliged them, and indeed himſelf. Others, that by this reſerved, and implauſible humor, he ſo far loſt the love of his own Dioceſs (the Gentry whereof he neither entertained at *Canterbury*, nor feaſted at *Lambeth*, as all his Predeceſſors had done before him) that one of them who ſerved in Parliament for the County of *Kent*, threw the firſt dirt at him. Some ſaid that he truſted too much to his own ſingle judgement, in the Contriving and carrying on of his deſigns; ſeldom adviſing with any of the other Biſhops, till he had digeſted the whole buſineſs, and then referring nothing to them but the Execution, which made it leſs Cordially followed by the greater part, then it had been otherwiſe. And others, that he preſumed too much on the Love and Goodneſs of the King, whoſe Love and Goodneſs not being ſeconded by Power, proved afterward ſo inſufficient to ſave him harmleſs, and keep his head upon his ſhoulders, that it ſerved rather to expoſe him to the publick hatred. In which Reſpect it was conceived that the Lord Protector *Sommerſet* followed his work more like a States-man (though of himſelf he was accounted no deep Polititian) not venturing on the Alteration of Religion which he had projected, till he had put himſelf into the head of an Army, under Pretence of making War againſt the *Scots*; nothing but the unſeaſonable disbanding whereof could have plunged him into thoſe Calamities, which enſued upon it. It was diſcourſed by ſome that he was too ſuddain and precipitate, in the perſuit of his undertakings, the fruits whereof he deſired to taſte before they were ripe; and did not think the work well done, except he might enjoy as well the comfort of it in his Life, as the Honour of it after his death: quite contrary therein to the Grandees of the *Puritan* faction, who, after the firſt heats were over in Queen *Elizabeths* time, carried their work for thirty years together, like *Moles* under the Ground, not caſting up any earth before them, till they had made ſo ſtrong a party in the Houſe of Commons as was able to hold the King to their own Conditions. And therefore it was thought by others, that his buſineſs was not ſo well timed as it ſhould have been; the three firſt Parliaments of this King being diſſolved in ſuch diſcontentments, as could not eaſily be forgotten; the *Scots* as much exaſperated by the Commiſſion of *Surrenders*, which they expreſt plainly by their diſaffections to his Perſon and Government, at his firſt Parliament in that Kingdom; and the *Engliſh* ſhortly after, ſtartled by the *Writs* for *Shipmony*, which ſeemed to threaten a deſtruction to that *Legal Property*, which every man challenged in his own.

Some who ſeemed wiſer then the Reſt complained, that his Embracements were two large and general; and that he had more Irons in the fire at once, then could be well hammer'd in one forge;

forge. Not ſuffering any one of his Counſels to hold on a *Probationſhip*, before it was retarded and pulled back by another. By means whereof the whole piece being laid open at once, the Figures of it appeared more terrible, and unhanſomly wrought then otherwiſe they would have done, in caſe they had been ſhown by little and little. By theſe it was diſcourſed, that within the ſpace of one year after his coming to the Chair of *Canterbury*, he had engaged himſelf, in Six ſeveral Counſels and deſigns, all of them of ſo high a nature, that each of them might have been enough to take up that ſhort remainder of time which he had to live. It was confeſſed, that the connivence and Remiſneſs of his Predeceſſor had left him work enough to do; but then it was averred withal, and proved by Ordinary obſervation, that an unskilful Carpenter might pull down more in one day then the ableſt Architect in the World could build up in twenty; and therefore that the Ruines of twenty years, were not to be repaired in one. And for the Proof of this they were pleaſed to note, that within ſix weeks after his coming to that Chair, his Majeſty had laid the Foundation of the *Scottiſh* Liturgy, by Iſſuing out his Inſtructions of the 8 of *Octob.* for Officiating the *Divine Service* in his Chappel at *Edenborough*, according to the form and Ceremony of his Royal Chappel at *White Hall*; that he had ſeconded it within ten days after by reviving his Fathers Declaration about Lawful Sports, with ſome additions of his own; and thirded it in the very beginning of *Novemb.* by an Order of the Council Table in the caſe of S. *Gregories*, for tranſpoſing the Communion Table to the Place of the *Altar*; and that within the firſt ſix Months of the year next following, he ſent out two *Injunctions* for reducing the Congregations of the *French* and *Dutch* to the Liturgy and Church of *England*; Countenanced the Petition of the *London* Miniſters, for encreaſe of maintainance, in the juſt payment of their Tithes; and procured the Repealing of the *Iriſh Articles*, and thoſe of *England* to be *approved* and *received* in the place thereof. And what ſaid they could be more unadviſedly, and unpolitickly done, then to draw upon himſelf at once the high diſpleaſure of three Kingdoms in the ſeveral Concernments of each Nation; as alſo all the *Genevian* Churches abroad in their Proper Intereſſes; Fomented by the Pride and Purſe of the City of *London*, and proſecuted by the Malice and Activity of the *Puritan* faction, in them all united in the Common quarrel of the Lords day Sabbath? They added that King *Edward* the firſt, began not with the Conqueſt of *Wales*, before he had well ſettled his affairs in *England*, and that he undertook not the following War againſt the *Scots* (whom afterwards he brought under his obedience) till ſome years after he had finiſhed the Conqueſt of *Wales*; that as all Superfetations are dangerous to the Product of the Births of Nature; and nothing more Repugnant to a Regular Diet than to fill the Stomach with freſh viands, before it is Emptied of the Former; ſo nothing can be

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

be more deſtructive to the Body Politick, than to try two many Experiments at once upon it, which cannot poſſibly work well together to the publick health; and therefore, that he ſhould have practiſed upon one Kingdom after another as beſt became ſo able a Phyſician, and ſo exact a Maſter in the Art of a Chriſtian Warfare; that one of them might have followed the good Example of the other, and not all joyn together (like ſo many ill humours) to the common diſturbance of the work.

Such were the Cenſures and Diſcourſes, which were paſſed upon him betwixt his Impriſonment and his Death, and for ſome years after. In which how much or little there is of truth, is left unto the judgment of thoſe, who are more thoroughly acquainted with his diſpoſition and affections, his ſecret Counſels, and the Reaſons which directed him in the conduct of them, than I can honeſtly pretend to. All I can ſay, is that, which may be ſaid by any other, which had no more acceſs to him than my ſelf: Of Stature he was low, but of ſtrong Compoſition; ſo ſhort a Trunck never contained ſo much excellent Treaſure, which therefore was to be the ſtronger, by reaſon of the wealth which was lodged within it. His Countenance chearful and well-bloudied, more fleſhy (as I have often heard him ſay) than any other part of his body; which chearfulneſs and vivacity he carried with him to the very Block, notwithſtanding the Afflictions of four years Impriſonment, and the infelicity of the times. For at his firſt Commitment he beſought God (as is obſerved in the *Breviate*) *to give him full patience, proportionable comfort, and contentment with whatſoever he ſhould ſend*; and he was heard in what he prayed for: for notwithſtanding that he had fed long on the *bread of carefulneſs*, and drank the *water of affliction*; yet as the Scripture telleth us of the four *Hebrew Children, His Countenance appeared fairer and fatter in fleſh, than any of thoſe who eat their portion of the Kings Meat, and drank of his Wine*; A gallant Spirit being for the moſt part like the Sun, which ſhews the greater at his ſetting. But to proceed in that weak Character, which my Pen is able to afford him, Of Apprehenſion he was quick and ſudden, of a very ſociable Wit, and a pleaſant Humour; and one that knew as well how to put off the Gravity of his Place, and Perſon, when he ſaw occaſion, as any man living whatſoever; Acceſſible enough at all times but when he was tired out with multiplicity and vexation of buſineſs, which ſome, who did not underſtand him, aſcribed unto the natural ruggedneſs of his Diſpoſition; Zealous he was in the Religion here eſtabliſhed, as hath been made apparent in the courſe of this Hiſtory; Conſtant not only to the Publick Prayers in his Chappel, but to his private Devotions in his Cloſet; A ſpecial Benefactor to the Town of *Reading*, where he had his Birth, and to the Univerſity of *Oxon.* where he had his Breeding; ſo much the more to this laſt, as he preferred his *well-being* before his *Being*. Happy in this, that he accompliſhed thoſe good

good works in the time of his Life, which otherwiſe muſt have ſhrunk to nothing in the hands of Executors. To ſpeak of the Integrity of ſo great a Perſon, would be an injury to his Vertues: One Argument whereof may be, if there were no other, That in ſo long a time of Power and Greatneſs, wherein he had the principal managing of Affairs both in Church and State, he made himſelf the Maſter of ſo ſmall a Fortune, that it was totally exhauſted in his Benefactions unto *Oxon.* and *Reading*, before remembred. The reſt I ſhall refer to the *Breviate* of his Life and Action, though publiſhed of purpoſe to defame him, and render him more odious to the Common People: In which it will appear, to an equal and impartial Reader, That he was a man of ſuch eminent Vertues, ſuch an exemplary Piety towards God, ſuch an unwearied Fidelity to his Gracious Sovereign, of ſuch a publick Soul towards Church and State, ſo fixt a Conſtancy in Friendſhip, and one ſo little byaſſed by his private Intereſſes, that *Plutarch*, if he were alive, would be much troubled to find a ſufficient Parallel wherewith to match him in all the Lineaments of perfect Vertue.

Thus lived this moſt Reverend, Renowned, and Religious Prelate; and thus he died; when he had lived ſeventy one years, thirteen Weeks, and four daies, if at the leaſt he may be properly ſaid to die: the great Example of whoſe Vertue ſhall continue alway, not only in the Minds of Men, but in the Annals of ſucceeding Ages with Renown and Fame. His Death the more remarkable in falling on St. *Williams* day, as if it did deſign him to an equal place in the *Engliſh* Calendar, with that which *William*, Archbiſhop of *Bourgeois*, had obtained in the *French*; Who being as great a Zealot in his time againſt the ſpreading and increaſe of the *Albigenſes*, (as *Laud* was thought to be againſt thoſe of the Puritan Faction, and the Scottiſh Covenanters) hath ever ſince been honoured as a Saint in the *Gallican* Church; the tenth of *January* being deſtined for the ſolemnities of his Commemoration, on which day our *Laud* aſcended from the Scaffold to a Throne of Glory.

*The End of the Second Part.*

## *ERRATA.*

PAge 12. l. 33. read *according to.* p. 14. l. 4. r. *out of.* l. 5. r. *that it is.* p. 31. l. 32. r. *Prefect ure.* p. 35. l. 13. r. *there be no.* p. 47. l. 30. r. *Lordship.* p. 59. l. 43. for *Queens College*, r. *Pembroke Hall.* p. 66. l. 41. r. *redounded.* p. 68. l. 42. r. *Chair.* p. 70. l. 14. r. *observances.* l. 30. r. *divulged it over.* r. also *The City was.* p. 74. l. 21. r. *wasted into smoak.* p. 91. l. 38. r. *commends and propounds.* p. 108. l. 40. r. *Pope.* p. 110. l. 25. r. *Church of.* p. 112. l. 39 r. *was commanded.* p. 113. l. 40. r. *Scrinia.* p. 119. l. 26. r. *home.* p. 134. l. 24. dele, *it.* p. 144 l. 23. r. *named any.* p. 150. l. 4. r. *ton.* p. 151. l. 11. r. *been.* p. 161. l. 1. r. *land.* p. 170. l. 8. r. *in the.* p. 172. l. 14. r. *Bugden.* p. 174. l. 17. r. *at it.* p. 181. l. 26. r. *the supposed.* p. 182. l. 28. r. *thereof.* p. 189. l. 36. r. *taxes.* p. 192. l. 14. for *worse*, r. *wiser.* p. 194. l. 19. r. *Acts of Grace.* p. 197. l. 4. dele, *for.* l. 27. r. *Embarasses.* p. 215. l. 40. r. *Twisse.* p. 219. l. 41. r. *Subscriptions.* p. 233. l. 3. r. *given.* p. 250. l. 31. r. *of them.* p. 271. l. 20. r. *Danphine.* p. 284. l. 33. *to them.* p. 298. l. 36. r. *quarrelled with.* p. 308. l. 38. r. *in a manner.* p. 321. l. 25. r. *But.* p. 331. l. 11. r. *knows.* p. 340. l. 26. r. *they come.* p. 343. l. 37. r. *keep.* p. 345. l. 15. r. *Obsession.* p. 378. l. 36. r. *distaste.* p. 381. l. 8. r. *too blame.* p. 390. l. 23. r. *sentences of the Kirk.* l. 25. r. *calumnies.* p. 392. l. 39. r. *Verres.* p. 401. l. 43. r. *ninth.* p. 407. l. 8. dele, *be.* p. 410. l. 35. dele, *as.* p. 412. l. 39. r. *imploy.* p. 413. l. 23. r. *be done.* p. 415. l. 45. dele, *for.* p. 432. l. 28. r. *in the.* p. 436. l. 37. r. *thwarting.* p. 465. l. 45. r. *by the Lord.* p. 464. l. 46. r. *he.* l. 46. r. *till*, p. 465. l. 45. r. *silliest*, p. 467. l. 31. r. *stole.* p. 476. l. 44. r. *as to take.* p. 488. l. 37. r. *nor.* p. 491. l. 11. r. *them.* p. 493. l. 30. r. *Scotland.* p. 495. l. 9. r. *Consents of.* p. 500. l. 40. dele, *the.* p. 515. l. 29. r. *nor.*

AN

# ELEGIE

ON THE

# DEATH

OF

The moſt Reverend FATHER in GOD

# WILLIAM

Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, &c.

*January* 10. 1644.

Horat. Carm. Lib. 4. Od. 8.

*Dignum* Laude *Virum muſa vetat mori.*

AND yet not leave thee thus, I fain would try
A Line or two in way of Elegie;
And wail ſo ſad a Loſs, if to expreſs
The greatneſs of it, would not make it leſs.
If to Lament thee, might not vex thee more
Than all the Scorns thou haſt endur'd before,
And make thee think we envied thee thy ſtart,
Or doubted that thou wert not where thou art.
Yet, with thy leave, I needs muſt drop a Verſe,
Write it with Tears, and fit it for thy Herſe;

And

And at this diſtance from thy Grave, which lacks
The Pomps of Sorrow, hang my Heart with Blacks.
Religious Prelate, What a Calm haſt thou,
I'th' midſt of thoſe turbulent Storms, which now
Shipwrack this Iſland! At how cheap a Rate
Haſt thou procur'd this Change of thy Eſtate!
The Mitre, for a Crown; A few poor days,
For endleſs Bliſs; Vile Earth, for Heavenly Joys!
Such Glories haſt thou found, ſuch Alteration
In this thy Higheſt, as thy laſt *Tranſlation.*
How were thine Enemies deceiv'd, when they
Advanc'd thee thus and chalk'd thee out the Way?
A Way ſo welcome to thee! No *Divine*
But knows the Red-Sea leads to *Paleſtine*:
And ſince *Chriſt Jeſus* Sanctified the Croſs,
Death's the beſt Purchaſe, Life the greateſt Loſs.
Nor be thou griev'd, Bleſt Soul, that Men do ſtill
Purſue thee with black Slanders, and do kill
Thy Shadow now, and trample on thy Ghoſt,
(As *Hectors* Carcaſs, by the *Grecian* Hoſt)
Or that thou want'ſt *Inſcriptions*, and a Stone,
I' ingrave thy Name, and write thy Titles on.
Thou art above thoſe Trifles, and ſhalt ſtand
As much above Mens malice. Though the hand
Of baſe Detraction hath defil'd thy Name,
And ſpotleſs Virtues; yet impartial Fame
Shall do thee all juſt Honours, and ſet forth
To all ſucceeding Times thy matchleſs Worth.
No *Annals* ſhall be writ, but what Relate
Thy happy Influence both on Church and State;
Thy Zeal to Publick Order, Thy Great Parts
For all Affairs of Weight, Thy Love to Arts;
And, to our ſhame, and his great Glory, tell,
For whoſe dear Sake, by whoſe vile Hands he fell.
(A Death ſo full of Merits, of ſuch Price,
To God and Man ſo ſweet a Sacrifice,

As

As by good Church-Law may his Name prefer
To a fixt Rubrick in the Kalender.
And let this silence the *Pure Sects* Complaint,
If they make *Martyrs*, we may make a *Saint*)
Or should Men envie thee this Right, thy Praise
An Obsequie unto it self can raise.
Thy brave Attempt on *Pauls*, in time to come,
Shall be a Monument beyond a Tombe:
Thy Book shall be thy *Statua*, where we find
The Image of thy Nobler Part, thy Mind:
Thy Name shall be thy Epitaph, and he
Which hears and reads of that, shall publish thee
Above the reach of Titles, and shall say
None could express thy Worths a braver way.
And thus, though murther'd, thou shalt never die,
But live Renown'd to all Posterity.
Rest thou then happy in the Sweets of Bliss,
Th' *Elyzian*, the Christians Paradise,
Exempt from Worldly Cares, secure from Fears;
And let us have thy Prayers, as thou our Tears.

FINIS.